Reg.No. 33387 Shelf No. Ref

" April. 1905-

MAGAZINE

OF

AMERICAN HISTORY

WITH

NOTES AND QUERIES

ILLUSTRATED

EDITED BY NATHAN G. POND

LAWRENCE
Public Library,
LAWRENCE, MASS.

VOL. XXIX

JANUARY—JUNE, 1893

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY COMPANY
120 BROADWAY, NEW YORK
1893

COPYRIGHT, 1893
BY S. VICTOR CONSTANT

Reg. No. 33,387
Ref

Press of J. J. Little & Co.
Astor Place, New York

CONTENTS

PAGE

Adams, John Quincy. Dramatic Ending of his Career. ..... *R. C. Winthrop.* 394
Alaska. Administrations in 390
American History, Fountain-Heads of 388
André, Major, Traditions of 522
Archdale, John, and some of his Descendants ..... *Stephen B. Weeks.* 157
Arnold's Raid on Connecticut Avenged 393
Astor Library, N. Y. Our Leading Libraries ..... *Frederick Saunders.* 150
A Strange Story 179
Blackhawk's Farewell Speech ..... *Eugene Davis.* 40
Book Notices 75, 190, 300, 413, 542
Brown, John. What Support did John Brown rely upon? The Famous Raid and its Localities, *Robert Shackleton, Jr.* 348
Burgoyne's Surrender, An Eye-Witness of 279
Bushnell's Submarine Torpedo in 1776, Sergeant Lee's Experience with ... *H. P. Johnston.* 262
California in the Civil War ..... Capt. *F. K. Upham.* 387
California. United States in Paragraphs ..... *Chas. L. Norton.* 61
Canada, Oldest Bell in 64
Castine, Maine, The Story of ..... *E. I. Stevenson.* 21
Cathedral of St. John the Divine, The ..... *Allan Grant.* 172
Christmas Sentiments 18
Colorado. History of United States in Paragraphs ..... *Chas. L. Norton.* 271
Columbian Celebration of 1792. The first in the United States ..... *Edward F. de Lancey.* 1
Columbian Celebration in 1792. Baltimore 527
Columbus, An Allegorical Drawing by 267
Concord Monument, Hymn to ..... *Emerson.* 266
Congressional Library, Washington. Our Leading Libraries ..... *Ainsworth R. Spofford.* 492
Constitution, Escape of the 518
Diodati, Count Jules, of Italy ..... *Frederick Diodati Thompson.* 60
Elizabeth, Queen, A Glance at the Age of ..... *George E. Hepburn.* 32
Exile, An Unknown: was he Charles X.? ..... *Henry C. Maine.* 440
George III.'s Proclamation against the Rebels of America. Original Document 514
Gladstone, Wm. E., An Autograph Letter from 181
Hayes, R. B., Death of Ex-President 175
Historical Novel and American History ..... *Leonard Irving.* 338
Holly Song, The 18
"Horse Shoe Robinson," the Successful Novel Fifty-six Years ago ..... *Emanuel Spencer.* 42
How we Lose our History ..... (*W. G. Simms, MS.*) 280
Hurlbut, John, A Journal of a Colonial Soldier kept by 395
Indian Medals ..... *W. M. Beauchamp.* 65
Iron Industry in America, The first 66
Jackson, Gen. Andrew. An Incident in his Career ..... *Horatio King.* 19

PAGE

Lamb, Mrs. Martha J. Biographical Sketch ..... Rev. *Daniel Van Pelt.* 126
Lamb, Mrs. Martha J., Resolutions on Death of, by Society of Colonial Dames of America .. 283
La Tour and Acadia in the Suffolk Deeds ..... *A. E. Allaben.* 108
Lee, General Charles, Mistake about ..... *John Fiske.* 393
Lexington, Instantaneous Duel at Battle of 392
Lincoln, A. First Suggestion of his Name 282
Lincoln, Abraham. Facsimile Letter from City Point, April 27, 1865, to his Wife 174
Luzerne, Letter of, to Jefferson 381
Manuscripts. An account of two MS. volumes now in the Library of Congress at Washington, D. C ..... *Alexander Brown.* 371
Mercer, General, at Princeton ..... *Chas. D. Platt.* 370
Miscellanea 189, 297, 411
Morris, Gouverneur, in Europe : his Dinner with the Poets ..... *Henry C. Lodge.* 54
New England, A Lost History of 387
New York after the Revolution, 1783–1789 ..... *Henry P. Johnston.* 305
New York. Great Cities in the Civil War. I ..... Gen. *T. F. Rodenbough.* 193
Nicholson, Sir Francis, A Sketch of ..... *Worthington C. Ford.* 499
North Carolina Monastery, A ..... *J. S. Bassett.* 131
Notes, Queries, and Replies 68, 69, 183, 185, 284, 294, 397, 409, 528, 539
Obituary, January, 1893 188
Papers sent by the Pope to the Columbian Fair 389
Prize Competition Department. Ballad and Sonnet 303, 415
Pintard, Lewis, Account of Moneys furnished by, to American Officers, Prisoners of War, on Long Island. A Revolutionary Document 163
Raleigh's "New Fort in Virginia," 1585 ..... *Edward Graham Daves.* 459
Relic, A Rare Colonial 520
Revere, Paul, The Ride of ..... *Howard A. Giddings.* 360
Revolutionary Troubles and Commerce ..... *John Austin Stevens.* 243
Sea Power, Elements of ..... Capt. *A. T. Mahan.* 52
Seal, The Great, of the United States ..... *E. T. Lander.* 471
Secession, Truth about 178
Second War with Great Britain ..... *John Austin Stevens.* 419
Settlements West of the Alleghanies prior to 1776 ..... *G. C. Broadhead.* 332
Slaves in New York, Price of 523
Society in the Early Days of the Republic ..... *James Grant Wilson.* 81
Societies 72, 186, 285, 398, 530
Story of a Brave Deed Bravely Told 281
Sumter, General, of South Carolina ..... *Dr. Muzzey.* 64
Tamenend (Tammany), The Grave of ..... *H. C. Mercer.* 255
Taylor, Bayard ..... *The Editor.* 136
Texas. The Struggle for Independence ..... *William H. Mayes.* 235
Town Resolutions of 1774. (Farmington, Conn) 521
United States History, How to Study ..... *Henry E. Chambers.* 37
United States Historical Exhibit at Madrid 180
Vespucius, Americus, An Autograph Manuscript of ..... *Walter S. Wilson.* 169
War of 1812, A Forgotten Battle of the 524
Washington, First Portrait of 275
Washington's Description of his own Person and Height in 1763, when Thirty-one Years of Age 66

PAGE

Washington's Sweethearts, One of 177
Washington, George, Do we Know ..... *Leonard Irving.* 222
Webster, Daniel, An Incident in the Life of ..... *W. I. Crandall.* 252
Whittier's Birthplace ..... *J. G. Tyler.* 50
Winthrop, John, An Injustice Done to 275

ILLUSTRATIONS

PAGE

Alamo, The ... 237
Alamo, Siege of the, March 6, 1836 ... 239
Alamo, Hymn of the. Facsimile. Reuben M. Potter ... 242
Anderson, Major Robert. Portrait ... 197
——— Telegram ... 198
Astor Library, New York ... 151
Bartlett, John Russell. Portrait ... 15
Bayard, John. Portrait ... 98
Bayard, Margaret. Portrait ... 84
Beekman, Mrs. James. Portrait ... 99
Boston Massacre ... 364
Botta, Mrs. Portrait ... 206
Boudinot, Elias. Portrait ... 97
Brick Church, The Old ... 93
Brown, John. Portrait ... 305
——— Facsimile Letter ... 359
——— Old Engine House, John Brown's Fort ... 354
Castine, Maine, Street Scene, 1892 ... 23
Cathedral of St. John the Divine ... 172
Charleston Courthouse, where John Brown was Tried ... 357
Clinton, George. Portrait ... 322
Cocked Hat of Revolution ... 366
College, First Attempt to Found an American. Wm. A. Beardslee ... 367
Columbus, Allegorical Drawing by ... 268
Congressional Library in Washington ... 498
Constitution, Escape of Frigate ... 419, 423
Diodati, Count Jules, of Italy. Portrait ... 60
Dix, General John A. Facsimile of his Historic Order ... 195
Duer, Catherine. Portrait ... 316
Elizabeth, Queen. Portrait ... 1
Federal Constitution, Procession in Honor of ... 331
Fish, Hamilton. Portrait ... 202
Fort Lafayette ... 221
Fraunce's Tavern, corner Broad and Pearl Streets ... 13
Gallatin, Albert. Portrait ... 428
Genoa, View of the City of ... 17
George III.'s Proclamation, in Facsimile ... 516
Gladstone, Wm. E. Autograph Letter ... 182
Goblet from Head of a Mace ... 520
Hamilton, Mrs. Alex. Portrait ... 91
Harper's Ferry ... 350

PAGE

Hayes, R. B., Ex-President. Portrait 176
Houston, General Sam. Portrait 240
Hughes, Archbishop John. Portrait 208
Hull, Isaac. Portrait 432
Inglis, Bishop Charles. Portrait 309
Jay, Mrs. John. Portrait 83
Kent, James. Portrait 90
King, Mrs. Portrait 86
Kirkland, Mrs. E. M. Portrait 212
Lamb, Colonel, Mansion 323
Lamb, Mrs. Martha J. Portrait 81
Lexington, News from 361
Liberty Hall, Birthplace of Mrs. Jay 87
Lincoln, Abraham. Facsimile Letter to his Wife 174
Lispenard Meadows 314
Livingston, John. Portrait 88
Livingston, Philip. Portrait 104
Luzerne, Letter to Jefferson. Facsimile 384
Madison, James. Portrait 430
Madison, Mrs. D. P. Portrait 431
Morgan, E. D. Portrait 200
Morris, Mary (Philipse). Portrait 177
Morton, General Jacob. Portrait 425
New York, Great Seal of the State 306
O'Conor, Charles. Portrait 193
Pintard, John. Portrait 3, 313
Provoost, Bishop Samuel. Portrait 95
Rodgers, Rev. John. Portrait 94
Royal Exchange in Broad Street 10
Royal Savage, The 307
Santa Anna, General. Portrait 235
Scott, General Winfield. Portrait 214
Seal of United States of 1784. 483.—Of 1782. 485.—Of 1885 489
Sleigh of 1788 317
Smith, William. Portrait 421
Soldiers and Sailors' Memorial Arch, Brooklyn, New York 217
Stirling, Lord, Residence of 106
Tammany Hall in 1830 7
Taylor, Bayard. Portrait 136
——— Autograph note 146
Temple, Sir John and Lady. Portraits 101, 102
Temple Arms 105
Tilden, Samuel J. Portrait 199
Van Cortlandt, Pierre. Portrait 310
Vanderbilt, Commodore C. Portrait 204
Vanderbilt, Steamer 205
Van Rensselaer, Cornelia. Portrait 96
Vespucius, Americus, An Autograph MS. of 169, 170
Wadsworth, General Jas. S. Portrait 220

PAGE

Washington, The First Portrait of 193
Washington Medal 234
Washington Letter. Facsimile 233
Washington's Note to Mrs. Jay. Facsimile 82
Webster, Noah. Portrait 318
Weed, Thurlow. Portrait 201
Worden, J. L. Portrait 209

Elizabeth

LAWRENCE Public Library LAWRENCE, MASS.

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. XXIX JANUARY, 1893 No. 1

COLUMBIAN CELEBRATION OF 1792

THE FIRST IN THE UNITED STATES*

ON the eve of the opening of the fifth century from Columbus's discovery of America it is proper that the New York Historical Society should call public attention to the fact that to the action in 1792 of John Pintard, the founder of historical societies, New York and the world owe the first movement in America to commemorate an anniversary of the greatest event in the history of mankind since the death of our Saviour.

In October, 1592, a century from the discovery, what is now New York was still a savage wilderness. In October, 1692, a hundred years later, New York had not recovered from the baleful effects of that rebellion and usurpation of the government by Jacob Leisler, which ended in his execution for treason in the preceding year. In October, 1792, the third centenary, was seen the first celebration in America of its discovery by Columbus.

That celebration, like the one we are about to witness in October, 1892, originated in this goodly city of New York. In a society organized here in May, 1789, through the efforts of John Pintard and some of his personal and political friends, and at his suggestion, the celebration of the third centenary of America's discovery was decided upon, and measures taken both to call to it general attention, and to carry it into effect in the city of New York.

That society was one of limited membership, which still exists in its pristine strength under its original organization, and a few years later gave its name and influence to a great political party, whose members believed in and supported its political principles, though not possessed of any control in the internal direction of the body itself—the *Tammany Society or Columbian Order*, of the city of New York—of which the first sagamore was John Pintard.

* Paper read before the New York Historical Society by Mr. Edward F. De Lancey, on the evening of October 3, 1892.

In a letter to his friend, the Rev. Jeremy Belknap, of Boston, dated "April 6th, 1791," eighteen months previous to the Columbian centenary of 1792, Mr. Pintard says: "My avocations, especially as a citizen, are numerous, and I can seldom steal a moment for private or literary correspondence. . . . My passion for American history increases, tho' I have but detached moments and scant means of gratifying it. . . . An account will be given, in some future magazine, of our Tammany Society. . . . This being a strong national society, I engrafted an antiquarian scheme of a museum upon it. . . . We have got a tolerable collection of pamphlets, mostly modern, with some histories. . . ."

In this same letter he also writes to Dr. Belknap the first suggestion of a Columbian celebration in the United States, in these words: "Our society purposes celebrating the completion of the third century of the discovery of America, on the 12th day of October, 1792, with some peculiar mark of respect to the memory of Columbus, who is our patron. We think, besides a procession and an oration—for we have annual orations—of erecting a column to his memory."

This purpose of the Tammany Society was communicated later by Dr. Belknap to members of a society which, at Pintard's suggestion, he had formed in Boston, in 1790, for the promotion of the study of American history and antiquities, and which later became the "Massachusetts Historical Society." This was the first institution of that nature in America, and in 1891 it commemorated the first centenary of an existence at once glorious to Massachusetts, to America, and to the great cause of historic truth.

Pintard's first suggestion of the society, which he termed "A Society of Antiquaries," was made to Dr. Belknap in the latter's own house in Boston, in a personal interview on the 19th of August, 1789. The idea pleased Dr. Belknap, and he mentioned it to many persons in Boston, but its germination was slow, though it was discussed in conversations. A year later, under date of 27th August, 1790, Dr. Belknap tells his friend Ebenezer Hazard, of New York, of the first step successfully taken in the matter, in these words: "When Mr. Pintard was here he strongly urged forming a society of American antiquarians. Several other gentlemen have occasionally spoken to me on the same subject. Yesterday I was in company where it was again mentioned, and it was wished that a beginning could be made. This morning I have written something, and communicated it to the gentlemen who spoke of it yesterday." This "something" was the formal "plan of an antiquarian society," afterward called the "Historical Society," and, later, the "Massachusetts Historical Society."

In October of the same year, 1790, Belknap sent to Pintard a copy of Eliot's Indian Bible, which, on the eleventh of that month, drew from Pintard this interesting account of his own society in New York. "I am exceedingly indebted to you for your present of the Indian Bible, which

The Founder of Historical Societies in America.
[From a rare print presented to the Editor by the late Stephen Whitney Phoenix.]

came safe to hand. I shall deposit it, with your permission, and in your name, in the American Museum, lately instituted by the St. Tammany Society in this city, for the express purpose of collecting and procuring everything relating to the natural or political history of America. A small fund is appropriated to that purpose, and should the society exist

this branch of it may lead to something useful. I have not time to explain the principles of this society, of which I am a member, further than that it is a political institution founded on a strong republican basis, whose democratic principles will serve in some measure to correct the aristocracy of our city." *

It is not intended now, intensely interesting as it is, to give an account of the origin, or rather, the *true causes* of the origin, and the formation of the *Tammany Society or Columbian Order.* That is a subject which requires more time than the hour devoted to these meetings, even to sketch in outline. It has never yet been done with the fullness, and frankness, which are demanded by its historic importance, as well as by the great results both social and political, which have flowed from it, in this city, state, and nation.

Its action, in relation to the Columbian tercentenary of 1792, is all that can, at present, be set forth. At the dinner on the second anniversary of its birth, held May 12, 1791, about five weeks after Pintard's letter to Dr. Belknap, just mentioned, in which he announced the society's decision to commemorate the third centenary of the discovery, the eighth toast drank, was, "The memory of the renowned Columbus—may our latest posterity inherit the goodly land which his intrepidity explored, and his sagacity discovered;" a sentiment than which none better can possibly be given at the banquet, or in the addresses, to which we are about to be bidden to partake, and to listen.

On the 23d of December of the same year, 1791, a formal proposal by Dr. Belknap for a celebration by the Massachusetts society was "postponed for consideration." In the following March, however, the proposal was adopted by that society, and Dr. Belknap was invited to deliver an address on October 12, 1792, at the Brattle street church, Boston. The society also, on the same day, "voted that the corresponding secretary open a correspondence with the St. Tammany Society of New York."

Dr. Belknap, who had been elected to that office, accordingly addressed a letter "to John Pintard, Esq., secretary of the Tammany Society of New York," soliciting a friendly intercourse, exchanges, etc., etc., and sent him four numbers of a publication called *The Apollo* which the Boston society had just begun to issue. Mr. Pintard replied with expressions of sympathy and offers of aid in every way.

On the appointed day the Massachusetts society went in procession, preceded by music, to the Brattle street church, and heard Dr. Belknap's address and a poem, or rather an ode, in honor of the occasion; after

* Reference to a reactionary party then existing.

which, in the language of the day, "His Excellency the Governor, His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, and such of the honorable council as were in town, accompanied the members [of the society] to dine with the Hon. James Sullivan, the president, at his house, where the memory of Columbus was toasted in convivial enjoyment, and the warmest wishes were expressed that the blessings now distinguishing the United States might be extended to every part of the world he has discovered."

Such was the celebration of 1792 in Boston. Dr. Belknap, however, found that his address, which was subsequently published, was not an easy one to write; for he tells his friend, Ebenezer Hazard of New York, under date of the 27th of the preceding August, "My labour for October 3d is nearly accomplished. I find myself obliged to dip deeper into antiquity than I was first aware, but I think I can vindicate Columbus against those who would rob him of his fame, not excepting Mr. Otto." *

The change of date in this letter to "23d of October" was a mistake in adapting the old style to the new. In 1792 but nine days only were required to correct the difference of the calendars, which would have made the 21st the true day; instead of which, eleven days were stricken from the old calendar, an error later corrected. These facts have been stated somewhat at length to show that the action of Massachusetts in 1792 and its celebration were really due to the primary movement of New York through its earlier organization the *Tammany Society or Columbian Order*.

What that society did, and how it carried out its own idea in its own city, will now be stated.

On October 10, 1792, each member received the following "Notice: The members of the Tammany Society or Columbian Order, are hereby notified that an extra meeting will be held in the Wigwam [then in Broad street] the 12th inst., at seven o'clock, to celebrate the third century since the discovery of America by Columbus.

By order of the Grand Sachem,
BENJAMIN STRONG,
Secretary.

October 10, 1792.

The society accordingly met at the wigwam, and an address was delivered by Mr. John B. Johnston, which was followed by a dinner and the drinking of appropriate toasts. Previous to the meeting there was displayed at the wigwam an illuminated monument in honor of Columbus,

* This was Lewis William Otto, who had printed a paper in the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, to prove that Martin Behaim of Nuremberg had discovered South America before Columbus embarked on his first voyage.

erected by the society. The following is an account of it, and the celebration, written at the time, which is of more interest than any briefer statement of my own.

"NEW YORK, *October* 17, 1792.

The 12th inst., being the commencement of the IV. COLUMBIAN CENTURY, was observed as a Century Festival by the Tammany Society, and celebrated in that style of sentiment which distinguishes this social and patriotic institution. In the evening a monument was erected to the memory of Columbus, ornamented by transparency with a variety of suitable devices.

This beautiful exhibition was exposed for the gratification of the public curiosity, some time previous to the meeting of the society.

An elegant oration was delivered by Mr. John B. Johnston, in which several of the principal events in the life of this remarkable man were pathetically described, and the interesting consequences, to which his great achievements had already conducted, and must still conduct the affairs of mankind, were pointed out in a manner extremely satisfactory.

During the evening's entertainment, a variety of rational amusements were enjoyed.—The following are some of the toasts which were drank:

'The memory of Christopher Columbus, the discoverer of this new world.'

'May the new world never experience the vices and miseries of the old; and be a happy asylum for the oppressed of all nations and of all religions.'

'May peace and liberty ever pervade the United Columbian States.'

'May this be the last centenary festival of the Columbian Order that finds a slave on this globe.'

'May the fourth century be as remarkable for the improvement and knowledge of the rights of man, as the first was for discovery, and the improvement of nautic science.'

'May the deliverers of America never experience that ingratitude from their country, which Columbus experienced from his King.'

'May the genius of liberty, as she has conducted the sons of Columbia with glory to the commencement of the fourth century, guard their fame to the end of time.'

Several moral and patriotic songs, inculcating the Love of Country and of Freedom, were gratifying in the highest degree. Among others an ode was composed and sung on the occasion (some stanzas of which are here given):

TAMMANY HALL IN 1830.
THE BUILDING NOW OCCUPIED BY THE "NEW YORK SUN."

Ye sons of freedom, hail the day,
That brought a second world to view;
To great Columbus' mem'ry pay
The praise and honor justly due.
Chorus: Let the important theme inspire
Each breast with patriotic fire.

Long did oppression o'er the world,
Her sanguine banners wide display:
Dark bigotry her thunders hurl'd,
And freedom's domes in ruin lay.
Justice and liberty had flown,
And tyrants called the world their own.

Thus heaven our race with pity viewed;
Resolved bright freedom to restore:
And, heaven directed o'er the flood,
Columbus found her on this shore.
O'er the bless'd land with rays divine,
She shone, and shall forever shine.

Hark ! from above, the great decree
Floats in celestial notes along,
"Columbia ever shall be free,"
Exulting thousands swell the song.
Patriots revere the great decree,
Columbia ever shall be free.

Here shall enthusiastic love,
Which freemen to their country owe;
Enkindled, glorious from above,
In every patriot bosom glow,
Inspire the heart, the arm extend,
The rights of freedom to defend.

Secure forever, and entire,
The Rights of Man shall here remain :
. . . . . .

Here commerce shall her sails extend,
Science diffuse her kindest ray :
Religion's purest flames ascend,
And peace shall crown each happy day.
Then while we keep this jubilee,
While seated round this awful shrine,
Columbus' deeds our theme shall be,
And liberty that gift divine.'

The monument is upwards of fourteen feet in height, being well illuminated, and resembling black marble; it blended, in an agreeable manner, a grave and solemn with a brilliant appearance. At the base a globe appears, emerging out of the clouds and chaos, presenting a rude sketch of the once uncultivated coast of America. On its pyramidal part, History is seen drawing up the curtain of oblivion, which discovers the four following representations :

First, and on the right side of the obelisk, is presented a commercial port, and an expanding ocean; here Columbus, while musing over the insignia of geometry and navigation, the favorite studies of his youth, is instructed by Science to cross the great Atlantic. She appears in luminous clouds, hovering over its skirts; with one hand she presents Columbus with a compass, and with the other, she points to the setting sun. Under her feet is seen a sphere, the eastern half of which is made to represent the then known terraqueous globe; the western is left a blank. On the pedestal is the following inscription :

THIS MONUMENT
WAS ERECTED BY THE
TAMMANY SOCIETY, OR, COLUMBIAN ORDER
OCTOBER 12, MDCC, XCII,
TO COMMEMORATE
THE IVTH COLUMBIAN CENTURY:
AN INTERESTING AND ILLUSTRIOUS
ÆRA.

On the upper part of the obelisk is seen the arms of Genoa, supported by the beak of a prone eagle. The second side, or front, of the monument shows the first landing of Columbus. He is represented in a state of adoration; his followers prostrate as supplicants around him, and a group of American natives at a distance. Historical truth is attended to, and the inscription on the pedestal is as follows:

SACRED TO THE MEMORY
OF
CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS,
THE DISCOVERER OF A NEW WORLD,
OCTOBER 12, 1492.

Above, the arms of Europe and America are blended and supported as on the right side of the monument.

The third or left side exhibits the splendid reception of Columbus by the court of Spain, on his first return from America. He is seated at the right hand of Ferdinand, and his illustrious patroness, Isabella. A map of the newly discovered countries, and some of their peculiar productions, lying at his feet, distinguish the interesting scene. Above, the prone eagle supports the arms of Isabella, and on the pedestal is the following inscription:

COLUMBUS
WAS BORN AT GENOA,
1447,
WAS RECEIVED BY THE COURT OF SPAIN
IN TRIUMPH,
1493;
WAS PUT IN CHAINS BY ITS ORDER,
SEPTEMBER, 1500;
DIED AT VALLADOLID
MAY 20, 1506.

The last scene, exhibited on the rear, or fourth, side of the obelisk, strongly contrasts with the one just described; Columbus is seen in his chamber pensive and neglected. The chains with which he had been cruelly loaded hang against its bare walls, on which is seen written, "The ingratitude of Kings." To cheer his declining moments, the *Genius* of *Liberty* appears before him: the glory which surrounds him seems to illuminate his solitary habitation. The emblems of despotism and superstition are crushed beneath her feet; and, to intimate the gratitude and respect of posterity, she points to a monument, sacred to his memory, reared by the Columbian Order. On the pedestal, Nature is seen caressing her various progeny; her tawny offspring seem to mourn over the urn of Columbus. The upper part of the obelisk is embellished as on the other sides. But the eagle, as an emblem of civil government, is seen no longer proue, or loaded with the decorations of heraldry: she soars in an open sky, grasping in her talons a ferule, inscribed,

THE ROYAL EXCHANGE IN BROAD STREET.
THE HOME OF THE COLUMBUS MONUMENT IN THE TAMMANY SOCIETY'S MUSEUM.

THE RIGHTS OF MAN.

This monument at the close of the celebration was placed in that museum of the Tammany Society, which Mr. Pintard "engrafted" upon it, as he mentions in the letter which has been quoted. This "museum" occupied the large room in the "Exchange," a building upon arches which stood on the south line of Pearl street, across, and facing up Broad street, nearly opposite the old De Lancey house at south-east corner of Pearl and Broad streets, built by Etienne De Lancey in 1701; the same building which, after it had been sold by Colonel Oliver De Lancey, the youngest son of its builder, about 1750, was finally bought by the famous mulatto, Sam Fraunces, the Delmonico of his day, for a tavern, and was the house where Washington bade farewell to his officers in 1783. It still stands,

and is now the oldest building in New York. The monument remained in the Exchange, occasionally illuminated for exhibition, till the close of 1792. Shortly after that date, the museum was given up by the Tammany Society as its own, and transferred to Gardiner Baker who had been its curator and keeper. While he was in control he added new objects of interest to the public, and advertised its attractions in the papers of the day. One of these was "A collection of wax-work figures belonging to a Mr. Bowen," and another was "The excellent American patent steam jack," which was shown in operation during the evening. Mr. Bowen withdrew his wax figures in June, 1794, and afterward exhibited them at No. 75 Broad street, the house of Mrs. McEwen. How long after the Tammany Society gave up the idea of forming a museum it continued in existence is unknown, as well as the ultimate fate of the Columbus monument.

It is a striking fact, that this Tammany monument, and another afterward projected in Baltimore, antedated by over half a century any monument to Columbus in the city of Genoa itself.

This celebration of 1792 was not the only one at which the memory of Columbus was honored by the Tammany Society. In 1811, it did so at the laying of the corner-stone of its new building, Tammany hall, at the corner of Nassau and Frankfort streets, now the property of Mr. Charles A. Dana, and the publication office of his *Sun* newspaper, in which it remained until the erection of its present "hall" in East Fourteenth street. "The procession on that occasion," as described in the papers of the day, "was very picturesque and attractive. In the centre of the ninth division, between the files of the first six tribes, Tammany and Columbus appeared in character: Columbus bearing the cross of the ancient flag of Christendom and the civilized world; and Tammany, the thirteen American stars or constellations. Smoking the calumet of peace alternately with Columbus, they were seated on an elevated car or seat, on the rear part of an extensive stage (or float), in the centre of which appeared the Genius of America supporting the great standard of the United States, attended by her attributes; the flames of liberty burning on an altar dedicated to freedom, directly in front of Tammany and Columbus, the attributes continually feeding the flames. The stage represented an open field covered with grass and shrubbery, and an oak tree in the rear under which Tammany and Columbus sat; the whole drawn by six white horses conducted by postilions. A grand band of music preceded the car, playing native airs."

But to return to the tercentenary of October, 1792. The proposed celebration of it in New York and Boston, which was noticed in news-

papers all over the country during the whole of the preceding summer, drew to it general attention; and when the day came, there were minor celebrations in many places, in Baltimore, Windsborough, South Carolina, Providence, Rhode Island, Richmond, Virginia, and numerous towns, chiefly by military parades, dinners, and toasts.

In Baltimore, on August 3, 1792, was laid the corner-stone of an obelisk in a grove in the gardens of a villa called "Belmont," the country-seat of the Chevalier de Nemours; and on the 12th of the following October, suitable inscriptions on bronze were to be affixed to the completed work. This, however, seems to have been the result of private or semi-private action, and whether it was actually erected is not known.

Naturally enough the approach of the end of the eighteenth century had drawn to the great discovery the attention of educated and thoughtful men. In 1786 the first edition of the poems of Philip Freneau appeared in Philadelphia, and in it are three poems referring to Columbus. The first, written in 1770, is an appeal to Ferdinand for aid; the second, *The Rising Glory of America*, written in 1771, and the third, entitled *Sketches of American History*, also refer to Columbus by name. The next year, 1787, appeared, also, in Philadelphia, *The Miscellaneous Works of Mr. Philip Freneau*, a volume of poetry and prose which opens with "The Pictures of Columbus the Genoese," a series of eighteen brief poems, depicting his entire career, written in 1774. The first of these four poems, *Columbus to Ferdinand*, is very remarkable for a fine translation of those famous lines of Seneca in the Medea, containing his prophecy of America's discovery. Freneau, a graduate of Princeton and a fine classical scholar, thus renders it:

> "The time shall come when numerous years are past,
> The ocean shall dissolve the bands of things,
> And an extended region rise at last;
> And Typhis shall disclose the mighty land,
> Far, far away, where none have roved before;
> Nor shall the world's remotest region be
> Gibraltar's rock or Thule's savage shore."

Freneau and Pintard were warm personal and political friends, as well as members of the Tammany Society. Another Princeton graduate delivered at the commencement of 1792, on taking his degree, an oration on Columbus, which was of merit enough to be printed in a magazine of that day. This was Joseph Reed, a son of the President of Pennsylvania of the same name, and father of the late distinguished historical writer William B. Reed, and the late learned Professor Henry Reed of the University of Pennsylvania.

Another work which appeared in 1787 was *The Vision of Columbus*, by Joel Barlow, published by subscription, a pretentious poem of some merit, which the author recast and extended into a massive quarto volume in 1807, and which, being practically the whole of American history in verse, fell by its own weight, and, though having some fine passages, is now scarcely known.

In England, in 1792, two Columbian works saw the light: one by an

FRAUNCES' TAVERN, SOUTHEAST CORNER OF BROAD AND PEARL STREETS.

American, the Rev. Elhanan Winchester, the other by an English barrister of Lincoln's Inn, Thomas Morton by name.

Winchester was a New England Baptist clergyman, who became a Universalist, and finally went to England to reside. There he published, in London, an oration in honor of the discovery and Columbus. It is a résumé of Columbus's career, but is only noteworthy for a prophecy, since fulfilled, in these words:

"Behold the whole continent highly cultivated and fertilized, full of cities, towns, villages, beautiful and lovely beyond expression. I hear the praises of my Creator sung upon the banks of rivers unknown to song!

Behold the delightful prospect! See the silver and gold of America employed in the service of the Lord of the whole earth! See slavery with all its train of attendant evils abolished! See a communication opened through the whole continent, from north to south, and from east to west, through a most fruitful country! Behold the glory of God extending, and the Gospel spreading through the whole land!"

Morton's work was a drama (for he was a dramatist as well as a barrister) entitled "Columbus, or a World Discovered, an historical play as it is performed at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden." It opens with Columbus's landing and reception by an Indian king. But the story is drawn, near the beginning, from the Aztecs and their worship of the sun, and beyond a short speech or two from Columbus nothing is seen or heard of him. It possesses the material for a spectacle, however; had a moderate run in London, and later was produced in New York. The references show the preceding and contemporary interest in the discovery at the time of the tercentenary of 1792.

Another illustrative incident, but of a different kind, was the presentation to the senate of New York, through its president, Lieutenant-Governor Pierre van Cortlandt, in 1784, of an ancient portrait of Columbus of much interest. The donor was Mrs. Maria Farmer, by birth a Gouverneur, who wrote that the portrait was taken from an original painting, of 1592, which had been in her family for one hundred and fifty years. This picture, I am glad to say, unlike most early gifts, is still at Albany in possession of the state. It is a bust portrait, and represents Columbus as advanced in life. Another picture, of a little later date than 1792, was a painting by Edward Savage, the artist, whose portrait of Washington is one of the best ever painted. Savage established an exhibition of paintings in this city in 1802, at the "Pantheon," No. 30 Greenwich street, between the Battery and Morris street, which he called "The Columbian Picture Gallery." In it he showed a collection and his own painting of the "Landing of Christopher Columbus," which the catalogue, still extant, thus describes: "Columbus is the size of life, richly dressed, with a drawn sword in his hand, at the time he set his foot on the New World which he had discovered. The portrait of Columbus is copied from the original picture in the collection of the Grand Duke of Tuscany at Florence." What became of this painting, or what its later history is, I do not know.

Before closing this account of the Columbian celebration of a hundred years ago, mention should be made of the evidence adduced by a former very active member and officer of this society, now no more, on the contested question of the birth-place of Columbus. Mr. John R. Bartlett,

whom the older members of the New York Historical Society will remember with great pleasure, after he removed to Providence to take charge of the great American library of John Carter Brown, gave much attention to the study of Columbian history; and he produced well-nigh conclusive evidence of the discoverer's birth-place.

Very many of my hearers may have visited Genoa, and none who have done so, can ever forget her great beauty as she sits enthroned on her amphitheatre of mountains, their bases gently washed by the azure waves

JOHN RUSSELL BARTLETT.

of the Tyrrhene sea. A magnificent church, built somewhat after St. Peter's at Rome, stands out on the highest part of the promontory which forms the eastern bounds of her semicircular bay, some three hundred and seventy feet above the water. Ascend with me to the gallery surmounting its lofty dome. What a view, magnificent in its extent and splendor, meets our eyes! Far to the east, gleaming with beauty, stretches the glorious mountain coast-line of the famed Riviera di Levante—the eastern Riviera—stretching away toward Spezia and its romantic gulf, and beyond. At our feet lies the proud old Ligurian city, never more

"superb" than she is to-day, her gardens and terraces filled with orange trees, cypresses, and trellised vines, with her palaces,

> "Their floors of mosaic, walls of arabesque,
> And columns clustering in patrician splendor."

Her beautiful harbor is beneath us, filled with steamers and feluccas, the finest of all the harbors of Italy. Far to the west, bright with picturesque white villages, castles, and palaces, perched amid its purple mountains overlooking the sea, lies in beauty the magnificent Riviera di Ponente, the western Riviera. Before us is the wide blue expanse of the glorious Mediterranean, the high coast of Corsica rising above the southern horizon, and, over all, the azure sky and brilliant sun of Italy. In one of those picturesque white villages upon the sea, at the western end of the Riviera di Ponente, in the old republic of Genoa, was Columbus born, if we are to believe an ancient historian of Genoa, who there wrote and printed his work in 1551, less than half a century—forty-five years only—after Columbus died at Valladolid. This Genoese historian was Paolo Interiano, who, it is by no means impossible, may have actually seen and known the great discoverer himself. His work, entitled *A Brief History of Genoa*, one of the rarest works of its day, Mr. Bartlett obtained. It is written in Italian, and the account its author gives is thus translated by Mr. Bartlett: "The happiness of the city was disturbed, in 1491, by a terrible pestilence which spared hardly a fifth of the population, by the freezing of the harbor about the wharves and bridges, and also because the republic had fallen into some disputes with Ferdinand, King of Castile, and the Queen Isabella. Francesco Marchesio and Giovanni Antonio Grimaldi were sent as envoys to adjust them. On their return they established the certainty of the glorious discovery of the new land west of that kingdom, made by Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, whose name posterity will hold in eternal veneration. This man (for I do not think the matter should be overlooked), born of most obscure parentage, in a town distant twenty miles from our city, on the Riviera di Ponente, called Cogerio, adopted a sailor's life, rose to be a guide or pilot of vessels that traverse the ocean, and with the dexterity of unaided genius (although of little learning), and experience in taking the sun and the pole, acquired by him in those navigations, he came to have so much confidence in himself that he exposed himself to an enterprise which few others attempted till now. Not being able to believe that by sailing from the straits of Gibraltar he should fail to make new land, he applied to the Catholic sovereigns of Spain, and having, after many delays, received from them three

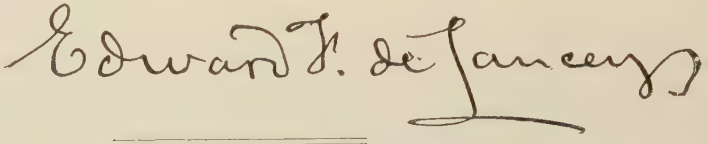
VIEW OF THE CITY OF GENOA, LOOKING EAST.

caravels and one hundred and twenty men, he took his way toward the Fortunate Islands [the Canaries] and, sailing thence, in the space of thirty-two days from the time of his departure, and after many debates and contests with his men, who wished to turn back, he discovered those islands which gave him indication of Hispaniola, and that with so much glory to the moderns, for the size of the land which has thus been conquered and brought to the faith of Christ, that he may be said to have given life to another world."

This statement and testimony Mr. Bartlett brought to the knowledge of American scholars. But, singularly enough, it does not seem to have been considered by our numerous writers of these latest Columbian days.

A great pageant, both military and naval, to celebrate the fourth centenary of the great discovery of Columbus, will, in a few days, pass before the eyes of many hundreds of thousands of people. From all quarters will these hundreds of thousands be gathered together in this city and on the

waters of its unrivalled bay. And while gazing upon its splendor and magnificence, let it not be forgotten that to the *Tammany Society or Columbian Order* of the city of New York was due the first Columbian celebration in 1792, the only one ever witnessed till now in the United States of North America. Honor to whom honor is due.



CHRISTMAS SENTIMENTS

"Christmas is the only holiday in the year that brings the whole human family into common communion; the only time in the long calendar of the year when men and women seem, by one consent, to open their shut-up hearts freely."—*Dickens.*

"Amid the echoes of that song which proclaimed peace on earth and good will to men, rises up a dormant sense of universal brotherhood in the heart. At no other season of the year is the predominant spirit of selfishness so effectually rebuked;—and never are the circles of love so largely widened."—*Hervey.*

"'Tis the season for kindling the fire of hospitality in the hall, . . . the genial flame of charity in the heart."—*Washington Irving.*

"Sound over all waters, reach out from all lands—
The chorus of voices, the clasping of hands:
Sing hymns that were sung by the stars of the morn,
Sing songs of the angels when Jesus was born."—*Whittier.*

THE HOLLY SONG

Blow, blow, thou winter wind!
Thou art not so unkind
As man's ingratitude;
Thy tooth is not so keen,
Because thou art not seen,
Although thy breath be rude.
Heigh, ho! sing heigh, ho!
Unto the green holly;
Most friendship is feigning,
Most loving mere folly.

Freeze, freeze, thou bitter sky!
Thou dost not bite so nigh
As benefits forgot;
Though thou the waters warp,
Thy sting is not so sharp
As friend remembered not.
Heigh, ho! sing heigh, ho!
Unto the green holly;
Most friendship is feigning,
Most loving mere folly.

—*Shakespeare.*

AN INCIDENT IN GENERAL JACKSON'S CAREER

In 1824 there was a social gathering in Paris of many distinguished Englishmen, among whom was an American, then representing his country abroad, who had served on the staff of General Jackson at the battle of New Orleans, and another American who related the following incident. The conversation turned on the pending Presidential election, and fears were expressed that, should General Jackson be elected, the amicable relations between the two countries might be endangered in consequence of his implacable hostility to England and his high-handed exercise of power as evinced during his command at New Orleans. The necessity on the part of the American diplomatist of replying to these observations was anticipated by the prompt and generous outbreak of one of the Englishmen—Colonel Thornton of the eighty-fifth regiment—an officer well known for his frank and gallant character, and whose regiment suffered severely in the attack on the 8th of January, 1815. It was probably the same Colonel Thornton mentioned as having been seriously wounded in the battle of Bladensburg, and who was with Commodore Barney in the hospital at Bladensburg, where both recovered from their wounds.* He testified in the handsomest terms to the conduct of General Jackson as an able and faithful commander on that occasion, and declared that, had Jackson not used the power confided to him in the "high-handed" way alluded to, New Orleans would inevitably have been captured. As to the charge of "implacable hostility," Colonel Thornton declared that, in all the intercourse, by flag and otherwise, between the hostile commanders, General Jackson was peculiarly courteous and humane, and, to support this assertion, begged leave to mention one circumstance. He said that on the day after the battle the British were permitted to bury such of their dead as were lying beyond a certain line, one or two hundred yards in advance of General Jackson's intrenchments—all within that line were buried by the Americans themselves. As soon as the melancholy duty was performed, the British general was surprised at receiving a flag, with the swords, epaulets and watches of

* "The Battle of Bladensburg and Burning of Washington in 1814." By Hon. Horatio King. *Magazine of American History* for November, 1885 [xiv. 438–457]. An account of the scene in Paris, when Colonel Thornton related the incident concerning General Jackson after the battle of New Orleans, may be found in the volume of the *Jeffersonian* for the year 1833, a newspaper published in Portland, Maine.

the officers who had fallen, and a note from General Jackson, couched in the most courteous language, saying that one pair of epaulets was still missing, but that a diligent search was being made, and, when found, it should be sent in. These articles—always considered fair objects of war plunder —were rescued by General Jackson, and thus handed over with a request that they might be transmitted to the relatives of the gallant officers to whom they had belonged.

This incident, and the frank and soldierly style in which it was told, turned the whole current of feeling in favor of the general and drew forth an enthusiastic expression of applause. The Americans were thrilled with pride, and in their hearts thanked the old general for proving by his chivalrous conduct that the defenders of America were above the sordid feelings of mercenary warfare.

This noble act of "Old Hickory," though not so broad in its beneficence as the generous consideration of General Grant at the Appomattox, was, if possible, more touchingly inspiring and eloquent. Either could have been performed only by brave and true soldiers.

Horatio King.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE STORY OF CASTINE, MAINE

The honor of being the first European to set foot on Castine's rocky heights is accorded to the great Champlain himself, about 1604. It appears probable, however, that a French settlement, either for fishing or for trading purposes, existed prior to Champlain's advent; its members leading the usual life of privation and activity proper to such an existence. The district was at this time included in the tract known on early charts as "Pentagöet." Its Indian inhabitants were the stalwart tribe of Echemins, or Tarratines. Succeeding to Champlain's visit—whatever that amounted to—in the year 1605 James Rozier explored the Penobscot river and bay, and his name is perpetuated in the beautiful headland known on our coast-survey charts as Cape Rozier. In 1614 Captain John Smith appeared in the neighborhood, and he makes a reference to finding French traders installed in it.

In that eager and jealous search for every item of whatever includes history, into which our American communities have entered of late years, it has often appeared that the rewards must be unjustly distributed. It hardly can be said that in comparison with scores upon scores of European localities any single town or neighborhood in the United States is lucky enough to possess too much local history. But if the absolute barrenness as to its historic past, of this or that spot in various parts of our country, be taken into account, and if we allow our remembrances to run over the names of the populous towns and imposing cities, the foundations of which have not yet grown green through more than the time of two generations, one well can wish that there existed, even latent in them, a little of that dignity of age which belongs to many of New England's mere villages. Had they only even a modest part of that honor that appertains not merely to a trade-centre and an aggregate of millionaires, but to places that have nurtured patriots who knit their brows in anxiety over the Declaration of Independence, who fought at Lexington, and camped in the snows of Valley Forge, and whose graves in our churchyards may be unsung, but are never in any danger of being unhonored! History in the instance of a town corresponds with established character in the individual. Quite as a pictured landscape often is doubly attractive if emphasized in details by a sombre background, so does either a hamlet or a metropolis please better the thoughtful mind if its individuality comes forth from a shadowy past of stress and storm and patriotic activity.

In what is here written of Castine—externally nothing more than a quaint and beautiful village on the Maine coast with a great, green, British-built fort still overlooking it—nothing new or notably original is practicable. To three or four industrious workers in the little field invaded, every new friend of the place must pay tribute.* But it is a new story to many, told so far south of the Penobscot; and one that includes almost an undue share of our national patriotic coloring, in proportion to the town's size and present importance in New England. Castine is able to spare several hundredweight of historic dignity to Cincinnati or Chicago, or to many of our smart Middle States towns. As one speaks of the place with its soft French name, the mind of the poetry reader reverts to Mr. Longfellow's verse, or to that of Mr. Whittier, and the Baron de St. Castine starts up from the gloom, like some mediæval myth. The form of the hollow-eyed French Jesuit, in his black robe, succeeds, eager to baptize a convert from the dirty Tarratines, or to be burned, a martyr at the stake, in one of their war-dances. The figure of Champlain is beheld, gravely surveying the township's forest heights for the first time. Sir John Moore rises up, a young and enthusiastic soldier, without a presage of the silent drum and voiceless burial that is his in the schoolboy's ballad. The Dutchman is seen walking about the town in his short breeches and ownership. We hear the revolutionary skirmishes with the British, and watch one fort after another erected in Castine's limits. We see one squadron of ships after another, American or British, in the lovely harbor, manœuvring and spouting fire. We have the worthy General Wadsworth scouting the invaders, and being routed by them, and finally making an escape from an imprisonment in the village, worthy of a romance. We have the revolutionary activity of the place subsiding as the young nation's liberty was achieved. And—lastly—to-day the eye of the visitor rests not on shapes from the land of shadows, the past, but on hay-fields and peaceful farms; and it is difficult, save for the green glacis of the forts, to believe that war ever rolled its thunders into so lovely a spot for peace to enjoy and to adorn.

In the year 1626 something approaching a permanent colony was founded in Castine's forests. Isaac Allerton, a member of the Plymouth society, erected a block-house, and conducted, with his companions, a successful trade in furs with the natives. This offshoot of the Plymouth colony continued to abide in Castine—it must be remembered that it was not yet called by that name, but merely "Pentagöet"—until 1635, nine

* Especial acknowledgments are due to Dr. George A. Wheeler of Castine, whose admirable local chronicle is a model of its sort of record.

STREET SCENE IN CASTINE, 1892.

years, when the French, who had pillaged the block-house once already, long having been aware of the advantages of the place, sent a small force from Acadia under one de Charnissy, an officer of that military post. De Charnissy drove southward the Plymouth colony emigrants. He occupied whatever buildings they had possessed. From this date, 1635, until 1654, nineteen years, Pentagöet was a French post. In the year last named, the English protectorate sent a handful of troops at Cromwell's own suggestion, and recovered the place. So it became again English. In 1667 it was ceded to the French, and formally occupied by them under the Chevalier de Grandfontaine in 1670. This last French official considerably developed the little settlement, and proceeded with the aid of his lieutenant, a certain de Marson, to put Pentagöet into a fortified condition. Of course, this could not be elaborate; but the value of the topographical situation of the colony was more and more recognized.

It was not, however, until 1667, that this little Maine hermitage was known as Castine, which name it has borne ever since the coming to it of the locally and otherwise celebrated Jean Vincent de St. Castin, a disaffected, adventurous nobleman, originally from Oleron, a town in the Pyrenees. About this time dismissed rather cavalierly from the Quebec garrison by its French commandant, as a superfluous officer, St. Castin was so embittered by the affair that he decided to turn his back on his own people, to make the Indian his brother, and to abjure civilization even more than its modest degree across the Canadian frontier. It is this man—not by any means a hero, not at all a saint, and, I fear, scarcely more than by courtesy a Christian, but a resolute, arbitrary, quick-tempered character, and with a very fair share of manly goodness in his blunt disposition—that the name of the village perpetuates to-day, Jean Vincent de St. Castin; the same adventurer that Mr. Longfellow's charming verses depict, and that Mr. Whittier's dramatic lines have portrayed, not to speak of other *belles lettres* references to him in prose and poetry.

As to St. Castin, or Castine, himself, I am not going to be an apologist for him—in fact, it is not a very clear task; but there are these things to be said of him: that he bought his land from the Indian king in power over the region at the time; that he lived in faithfulness to all his contracts with the natives, and among them as their friend, without anything but their highest esteem and even veneration; and that whether he had been aforetime a dissipated French wanderer, loose of tongue and morals and sword in the army of his own countrymen, St. Castin ripened now into a sort of friendly demi-god among the Tarratines before he and they parted company in 1701, through his ultimate return to France, a rich man, advanced in life. Long after the Indian parents who had known St. Castin were dead, their children in the wigwams spoke his name with affection and with honor; and there was no rupture between him and his red protégés. Mr. Longfellow alluded to him as

> "Abroad in the world, alone and free;
> . . . hunting the deer through forests vast
> In the royal grant of Pierre du Gast;"

and of the night in old Oleron, when one could see that

> . . . "The front of the old chateau
> Is a blaze of light above and below:
> There's a sound of wheels and hoofs in the street,
> A cracking of whips and a scamper of feet;
> Bells are ringing and horns are blown,
> And the Baron hath come again to his own. . . ."

And Mr. Whittier's picturesque passage in *Mogg Megone* gives us more correctly a view of

> . . . "One whose bearded cheek
> And white and wrinkled brow bespeak
> A wanderer from the shores of France. . . ."

As may be supposed, Baron de St. Castin very materially added to the fortification of Castine. Down on the street that runs to-day along the harbor's azure waters, you will find the site of the strong little fort he erected, with its chapel, well, orchard, and stanch block-house. Some years ago a considerable portion of its stone-works was uncovered, along with various relics of the baron's residence; and these are now in care of the Maine Historical Society and of some private individuals, but its site is distinctly marked, and the visitor can trace the outlines at his will to-day.

Abominated by the English as a distinctly inimical influence in politics and in religion, and looked at askance by his own people in Castine and Canada, the bluff French nobleman further strengthened his relationship to the Tarratines with an act that is, perhaps, the most romantic, and certainly the best-known, of any of St. Castin's doings. His marriage (first without legal formalities, but later, at home, in due form) with the daughter of the Tarratine chief Madockawando is one of those unions which, like that of Pocahontas with Mr. William Rolfe, has always interested the social historian. And it was, apparently, a perfectly happy experiment. The young Indian girl is said to have been of great loveliness of person and nature—allow, as we must, for romance's glamour—and certainly lived happily with her husband, a record not possessed by many more recent and fashionable French and American alliances. Her return with her husband to France completes a pleasing picture in the imagination, of her being transformed into a provincial *chatelaine*, and courtesying in a contra-dance, instead of cutting off the noses of French prisoners at a war-dance. One regrets to add that there *is* a record that St. Castin took to himself four other dusky, or, rather, copper-hued, partners, however much special affection he undeniably felt for this one; but we must make allowances for the notions of his day on such over-appreciation of the fair sex, and it is certain that they were all left behind as superfluities in Castine, when he sailed back to France and Oleron. Possibly this much marrying of his is but a slander, or a sort of quadruplication of excellence and beauty, by time's slow course; and it is, indeed, to be doubted if any husband would rashly espouse four wives, any single one being able to scalp him with neatness and despatch, at an instant's provocation, if he refused them new beads, feathers, hatchets, and the like, all around (in

lieu of new bonnets), or would not permit them to run the longest possible bills at a seventeenth century Castine store.

I have dwelt thus, at some length, on the Baron de St. Castin, because he is to-day its figure-head, in preference even to De Grandfontaine, the actual governor, romantically and practically. I pass rapidly now over the town between his date and the revolutionary outburst. The little town began to thrive, but it was handed back and forth, from one nation to another, like a plate of refreshments at a drawing-room rout. In 1674 a Flemish pirate, *The Flying Horse*, sailed up to it, from Curaçao, completely surprised the French habitants, and held the village to a heavy ransom. In 1671 the Dutch sent a very good-sized man-of-war and captured Castine out of hand. So it became a Dutch port until the French and their Indian aids expelled the invaders. In the year 1688 (it is to be remembered that St. Castin and his people were still living in the place—with or without those three extra wives—along with several missionary priests), after a previous notification, Sir Edmund Andros, the New England governor, suddenly arrived at Castine in a frigate, *The Rose*, and, though the guest of the baron, demanded the surrender of the place to the British. Some of us will remember the old story of the darkey to whom somebody propounded the question: "Pompey, if in the day of judgment the devil stands at one end of the road to catch you, and Gabriel, with his sword of fire, stands at the other, what will you do?" Pompey replies: "In dem cases, massa, dis yer' chile doan' do neider—he takes to de woods." The baron took to the woods with all his family, and left the place to Andros, who sailed away from it in a few days. The colony of Massachusetts denied all participation in this affair, and even offered a reparation. St. Castin, however, said that the English annexation of the settlement was not to be postponed. It was formally ceded to the English. A year later the matter was confirmed, and Governor William Phipps of Nova Scotia established its ownership to his queen. As has been said, St. Castin returned to France in 1701, his voluntary exile over, a rather elderly prodigal son. He had several direct descendants.

There is a considerable hiatus in any eventful history of the town between the year 1704 and the beginning of the Revolution. The period intervening included Queen Anne's war. The colony apparently fell off as to its numbers, particularly in its French element. After 1667 we find references to new settlers—Averill, Perkins, McCullam, and others. They increased gradually, and General Gage in 1775 found it convenient to destroy the block-house on the settlement's western side, lest disaffected

colonial inhabitants should make it useful against British misrule. And it is quite certain that, however limited the colonial population, patriotism was latent in it very early.

The war of liberty was declared. Although far from the hot centre, Castine was not to be separated from its stir. The geographical location forbade. In 1779, with the battles in progress, there came a fleet under General Francis McLean and a force of seven hundred British soldiery, and a strong fort was thrown up—the remarkably well-preserved and dignified old earth-structure visible to-day for miles about the town, and the pride of the place in its verdant decadence. Colonial attention was at once directed to this act. In June of the same year an American fleet of nineteen fully-armed vessels, the *Black Prince*, the *Warren*, the *Defiance*, the *General Putnam*, the *Vengeance*, and so on, a really noble little squadron, with a patriot force commanded by Generals Solomon Lovell and Peleg Wadsworth and Colonel Paul Revere, set out for Castine, and on the morning of July 28 landed their not very numerous hundreds at a point a little removed from the village. A sharp engagement ensued, in which the British were entirely victorious. In this affair Sir John Moore was a participant—not then a knight—and Captain James Henry Craig was another actual assistant. The month of July was an active one in Castine's revolutionary story. On the 31st, General Wadsworth set in order, upon the high hill back of the village, those rifle-pits and battery-coverts still there. On August 11 a general attack was made, by land and sea, on the fort, and our forces had the satisfaction of taking it, but with an unfortunate sequel. In view of the news of a squadron of the enemy standing up Penobscot bay, General Lovell retreated in good order, abandoning the place to the enemy as far as to the fleet. Its departure, however, was intercepted by the expected British ships. The American vessels, awkwardly handled, were all destroyed by their crews. The American ownership of Castine's position was thus ended in anything but a success or a credit to us.

After this engagement the British continued to hold Castine and to garrison the fort—still known as Fort George—throughout the remainder of the Revolution, until peace was declared; nor did they evacuate it till 1783. Sundry attempts were made upon it, but not with effect nor by the state. The fort, an admirably contrived and well constructed one, was kept in constant repair and use; and I know of no similar structure to-day that is in such satisfactory and, indeed, extraordinary preservation.* It is at

* Not a little, it may be said, through the public-spirited generosity of Mr. George Witherlee of Castine, who spares no care nor taste in the preservation of its relics.

once a beauty and a strength to the landscape. In its compass the tennis and the ball players flit about under the blue skies on fair days, instead of the tramping red figures of the British infantry; and on its green rampart the quiet eventide stroll of Castine's inhabitants to-day takes the place of the sentry's patrollings, and friendly greetings stir the echoes instead of "All's well!" But it is still soldierlike and stanch, still an intact fort, not a series of hillocks; and from its verdant bastions one looks always farther afield than to the opposite shores of the Penobscot or of the harbor, even back to the days when our fathers fought for their liberty and lives, sometimes with defeat, but with defeat swallowed up in victory, whereof we enjoy the peaceful fruits.

It is proper to say here, that during the succeeding British occupation of the place, the colonial population were well treated—so well treated as to imply a good-sized Tory element in the town, *à l'abri*, as has been intimated. This fact is recognized in a military order to General Lovell in 1779, in which he is ordered to keep a wary eye on the villagers. But during the British tenancy the townspeople generally were not permitted to meddle with fire-arms or visit the garrison; they were forced to contribute rations liberally. Strangers suspected of colonial sentiments, and not able to give a good account of themselves, not only were banished summarily, but *whipped*. On one occasion, when a colonial soldier, during a skirmish-attack on the English works, then in progress, attempted to procure some water from a spring at close range, a somewhat extraordinary circumstance happened; the man being fired upon by at least sixty soldiers, without receiving any wound from the whole broadside. Whether it was a matter of bad marksmanship or invulnerability I shall not attempt to say. His townsmen all believed it the latter, and proportionately reverenced him.

During the progress of the Revolution, Castine and Fort George often held persons of more or less importance. In this connection is to be chronicled the really notable escape effected from the place in February, 1780, by our revolutionary officer, General Peleg Wadsworth, mentioned as a participator in an early engagement at the town—an escape not unlike the famous one of the European adventurer Casanova from his durance—the general nocturnally making his way out to freedom, along with a companion (who was retaken unhappily), from a grated room, *via* the ceiling, between the sentries, over the stockade and *chevaux de frise*, down the glacis and over the ditch, and so across the Penobscot inlet, below the fort that still bears his name and is associated with his audacity!*

* The particulars of this incident are in a manuscript by Wm. D. Williamson, in the Maine Historical Society's care; fully quoted, however, by Dr. Wheeler in his scholarly Castine record.

The war was over at last. The piping times of peace had come. The fair, rolling country landscapes of Maine grew ripe with harvests, and populated by busy agriculturists. Castine's development was slow but sure. Shipping interests advanced it, and as the land grew wonted to its new conditions, prosperity settled upon the place, and only the scars of battles being left as their witnesses, substantial fortunes were made by the residents. Its trade and social life, its connection with other communities, were steady processes, and a handful of villages like itself sprang up on one or the other side of its harbor. It is difficult to name a more exquisite spot for an American home than its brilliantly green heights, and the deep indigo-colored sea washing the rocky shore. But the fundamental simplicity and sober-minded ways of the village were not materially affected by any fungus growths from the cities, nor by the license of too many new-fangled ideas. Castine grew old as a conservative, modest, retired community. Such it is to-day. There are quaint anecdotes of its post-revolutionary development, of its early events, and public and private doings and topics. We find its village hotel-keeper's wife, in one remote year, solemnly telling the minister, in her dying moments, that she wanted to go to heaven, but that "she wanted to go there by way of Boston"—an aspiration likely to stir a sympathetic nerve in the heart of many rural New England folk, even if it does not quite reach to touching the highest string, nor vie with Gabriel, in the mind of New Yorkers. We find the surprising record of a calf born that weighed at the time "only twenty-seven pounds," but that within less than a month increased its avoirdupois to one hundred and twenty-seven—oh prodigious growth! We hear of the village postman daily carrying the mails about tied up in a yellow pocket-handkerchief, that he directed to be borne on a rod, like a flag, or veritable signal of distress, at his funeral; and we also learn of a later mail-deliverer, who having lost one of his team of horses, regularly supplied the missing animal's place with a heifer yoked with the remaining horse—a system of letter-service that in respect of speed appears often to be imitated in our own metropolitan post-office.

There are stories of pirates and privateers, and that other naval anecdote, dear to local chroniclers, the account of how one Captain Whitney, in the ship *Hiram*, made a bold stand, and navigated his own vessel into one foe's keeping to save it from another enemy. We read of the community's early judicial executions; of one Seth Elliot who refused with strong oaths to pay a doctor's bill on the night before the gallows was to receive him, on the very fair ground that no man ought to die and be expected to pay a physician's bill, in which view we can concede, to some

degree, at least. There is also the fact of a similar end—rope's end—for one Ebenezer Ball, whose hanging in 1811 elicited a long mortuary poem by Parson Fisher of Blue Hill, which concludes solemnly:

"Take warning then, oh, my dear friends!
Let me advise you all:
Pray shun all vice, and do not die
Like Ebenezer Ball!"

In a certain ancient stone oven in the village, an Indian woman, a servant, was wont to put her pappoose to sleep while occupied or out. One day her mistress, in her absence, made a fine fire under the oven without happening to open the door. I leave the catastrophe to the imagination. There is a haunted house in the village, where a little ghost speaks or squeaks infantile Penobscot. In the elegy on the excellent Dr. Powers, written after that venerable clergyman's death from consumption, in 1807, the event is set forth with as much medical perspicuity as poetry:

"Seized with a cold, while laboring in the cause
Of great Immanuel and his holy laws,
Oppress with fever and consumption's force,
The worthy POWERS has fulfilled his course."

Pastoral vacations in those days seem to have been differently regarded from those of our time, inasmuch as we find this same excellent Mr. Powers allowed by explicit vote of his parish four Sabbaths in each year, in which he is understood—not to go to Europe, but—"to visit his friends and preach to the poor."

During the civil struggle, Castine sent a goodly group of her fathers and sons to the front. The conflict was watched on every step by those left at home, in an intense and nobly loyal spirit. On the village-green to-day a monument commemorates its regard for those who did not come back to Maine from the fields of The Wilderness, of Gettysburg, and of Shiloh.

From those days of America's third war to the present ones, Castine has settled into only a deeper tranquillity. Nothing marred its peacefulness, and those who must needs be busy in the world, or make a noise in it, have fallen into a way of leaving the village, for qualifying such ambitions or necessities. It is a corner of our country where it is "always afternoon": and to spend a month there is to eat daily the leaves of the lotus. It is a small centre of rural happiness and beauty, "away down east," not different in leading characteristics from many New England towns, yet with its own individuality of patriotism, prosperity, and simplicity. Up

and down its seven or eight green streets, the fine old colonial dwellings face each other in homely and home-like dignity and solidity.

The chances of commerce and its remoteness from the highways of travel have dwarfed its trade energies, and stifled its manufacturing interests. One gently, drowsily, humming ropewalk represents the last named. There is no railroad; only the stage-coach and steamboat serve it. If the village does not sleep, it dozes, and seems to brood over the past rather than to be awake to the unromantic, struggling present. It is this attitude, it is this air about it, that charms the metropolitan visitor. He looks at it, and walks up and down and around it, and remembers the Indian warriors of its aboriginal period, the sturdy Baron de St. Castin and his dusky bride, the British and American fights and manœuvres; and then, so looking and thinking, he says to himself, that after all, three or four hundred years is but a little time, a lightly-running matter, a tale that is told. And he also reflects that it is not so much to be considered whether a place that once knew such or such tenants now knows them no more, as it is a matter of how far those who are owners to-day have inherited and have preserved their best qualities as neighbors, as men and women, and as American citizens.

E. Ingraham Stevens

A GLANCE AT THE AGE OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

It goes without saying, every one has faults. A character would be incomplete, or at least not human, without them; and as we become experienced in the ways of the world, this general certainty is ever present with us, which makes us skeptical when we hear of superhuman excellence. If possible, or as far as possible, we should seek to understand historical characters as they really were, or, at any rate, we should study them with the preconceived conviction that they were endowed with virtues as well as faults, like the rest of mankind. It is incident to human nature, of course, to regard with more or less disfavor any charges that reflect darkly upon the characters of those whom on the whole we admire; and we as naturally are inclined to magnify and extol their virtues. Is it not true, as Shakespeare says:

> "The evil that men do lives after them,
> The good is oft interred with their bones"?

Intellectual differences are readily admitted, because they cannot easily be denied; but the recognition of true human nobleness is perhaps quite as guardedly acknowledged by some, as to brand one as utterly base is by others. It is certainly a trait in human nature, and among those, too, not morally vicious, always to try to paint in the brightest colors those characters which by common consent have been stamped as infamous, while they are chary of praise concerning those commonly accepted as good. It is a very trite saying, that straws show which way the wind blows; and so, oftentimes, a single career in a given age, or notable incidents in the life of a single person, will serve to a great degree in marking the character of a period and those prominent in it, as certainly as the quality of the water in a stream reveals the nature of the sources from which it flows. There is, perhaps, no more famous name in the annals of English history than that of Queen Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn, who ruled England for nearly fifty years, and during whose long reign some of the great problems of human destiny were solved, and the course of human progress was directed into the channels in which it has since moved onward. Early in her reign charges most derogatory to her character were circulated, not only in England, but on the continent of Europe. Many persons among the reading and non-reading classes to-day have heard of these charges, and without knowing or inquiring upon what ground or foundation they rest, have formed an

opinion and reached a conclusion concerning this most extraordinary woman. Of course, the subject is one, to say the very least, of large dimensions and great magnitude. But it is merely my purpose to show, by the consideration of a few incidents happening in her day and in close connection with her person—under her very eye, as it were—which reflect a glorious light upon an age of which it is not too much to say none has exerted a greater influence, and of which she was, perhaps, the most distinguished and prominent leader: these straws will show to some extent which way the wind blew. Let us remember that the age in which she lived was one which was just emerging from the darkness of the mediæval past into the bright light of knowledge and peace, which now shines so brightly and grandly throughout the world. But it is quite incredible that she could have lived and moved within the sphere which surrounded and encompassed her daily and on every side; that she could have been so conspicuous and potent a figure and factor in the midst of affairs such as then obtained, and occupied the minds of men—as she was by all around her confessed to be—guiding, influencing, controlling among men not only noble, high-minded, and truly great, but deeply religious men withal —as we have abundant evidence to prove; some of whom, none greater in all these respects have ever lived—without herself being a truly noble and virtuous woman.

I would call attention to the kind of letters men wrote in those days to their young sons. The following, by Sir Henry Sidney, most intimately associated with her for a long term of years in the administration of her government, is an extract from one addressed by him to his son, the courtly Sir Philip Sidney, when scarcely eleven years old: "Let your first action be the lifting up of your mind to Almighty God, by hearty prayer; and feelingly digest the words you speak in prayer, with continual meditation and thinking of Him to whom you pray, and of the matter for which you pray. And use this as an ordinary act, and at an ordinary hour; whereby the time itself shall put you in remembrance to do that you are accustomed to do in that time."

His father wrote concerning Philip after he had attained his twenty-fourth year, to his younger brother Robert, as follows: "In truth—I speak it without flattery of him or of myself—he hath the most rare virtues that ever I found in any man. Follow your discreet and virtuous brother's rule, who with great discretion, to his commendation, won love, and could variously ply ceremony with ceremony."

That England was in a very much better moral state than the rest of Europe at this time, we have the evidence of Robert Ascham, Philip's

tutor, who, halting but nine days in Venice, says that "in that time he saw more liberty to sin than he ever heard tell of in our noble London in nine years." As illustrative of the high moral tone and thoughtful and serious character of his mind, the following extract from one of Philip's letters is certainly remarkable, especially when we consider that it was written from Italy before he had attained the age of twenty, and while he was closely observing with intense interest the working out of some of the most momentous problems that have ever been played on the political chess-board of Europe. "Refreshing of the mind consists more than anything else in that seemly play of humor which is so natural and so engrafted, as it were, in the characters of some of the wisest men." This sentiment concerning humor is very beautifully expressed by Dr. Weir Mitchell in the January number of *The Century*. It is a very desirable habit, he says, "to ease the frictions of life with the precious ointment of mirth." One of Philip's most intimate and life-long friends wrote concerning him: "Soldiers honored him, and were so honored by him, as no man thought he marched under the true banner of Mars that had not obtained Sir Philip Sidney's approbation. Men of affairs in most parts of Christendom entertained correspondence with him. . . . His heart and capacity were so large that there was not a cunning painter, a skillful engineer, an excellent musician, or any other artificer of extraordinary fame, that made not himself known to this famous spirit, found him his true friend without hire, and the common rendezvous of worth in his time. Neither was this in Sir Philip a private but a public affection; his chief ends being not friends, wife, children, and himself, but above all things the honor of his Maker, and the service of his prince and country." It may be well for us to consider what one held in so high and universal esteem thought concerning Queen Elizabeth. After speaking of the scandalous stories that were sometimes floated concerning her, he said: "I durst with my blood answer it, that there never was a monarch held in more precious reckoning of her people; and before God how can it be otherwise? A singular honor God hath done you to be, indeed, the only protector of his church, the example of princes, the ornament of this age." Sir Philip Sidney was mortally wounded in a desperate charge at the battle of Zutphen, and died when he lacked but six weeks of being thirty-two. In his last moments the attending chaplain comforted him with texts of holy Scripture, and pious assurances. Sidney, lifting up his eyes and hands exclaimed: "I would not change my joy for the empire of the world." It is not too much to say:

> "He was the expectancy and rose of the fair state,
> The observed of all observers."

As is universally conceded, the fair and illustrious fame of Sir Philip Sidney has not been dimmed by the lapse of ages. His father, his highly gifted and most accomplished mother, his brothers and sister, who bore a striking resemblance to him, were all singularly exemplary in their lives and characters, not only when viewed in the light of the high circle and sphere in which they lived, but their virtues and the purity of their walk and conversation would have adorned the Christian character in the lowliest and humblest stations. Surely such noble examples could not but have exerted a most wholesome and elevating influence upon all who came within their sphere, especially when we are assured by many contemporaneous witnesses that their virtues were estimated and esteemed at their true value. It is not pretended that all in Elizabeth's court possessed such exalted merit, though the incidents cited were by no means isolated cases; but if

> "Vice be a monster of such hideous mien,
> That to be hated needs but to be seen,"

surely the presence of such distinguished worth and pre-eminent virtues, which were so highly extolled and appreciated by those living at the time, and in their constant company, ought to go very far and weigh greatly toward convincing us that there were many lofty and noble and pure souls in daily contact and intercourse with the great queen, of whom all were proud, and felt that they honored themselves in yielding her the homage of their profound regard. Surely a queen could not have been endowed with a low, base, much less degraded nature and soul, who could excite and draw forth from such lofty spirits as these the tributes which they ungrudgingly bestowed, not simply upon her intellectual endowments, but also upon her virtues and worth.

We have too, by a contemporary writer, a beautiful account of an English church service in the time of Queen Elizabeth, in St. George's, Windsor; the narrator being a foreigner—Frederick, Duke of Wurtemberg. "This castle," he says, "stands upon a knoll, or hill; in the outer or first court there is a very beautiful and immensely large church, with a flat, even roof covered with lead, as is common with all churches in this kingdom. In this church his highness listened for more than an hour to the beautiful music, the usual ceremonies, and the English sermon. The music, especially the organ, was exquisitely played, for at times you could hear the sound of cornets, flutes, then fifes, and other instruments; and there was likewise a little boy, who sang so sweetly amongst it all, and threw such a charm over the music with his little tongue, that it was really

wonderful to listen to him. After the music, which lasted a long time, had ended, a minister ascended the pulpit and preached in English."

This is not such a narrative—the incidents related are not such as we should expect from the pen of a foreigner who has visited a dissolute court, whose sovereign, although the ruling and controlling spirit thereof, was held to be not a good woman.

Beesley, in his recent *Life of Elizabeth*, admits that few rulers, male or female, have had to contend with such formidable and complicated difficulties as the English queen, and that few have surmounted them so triumphantly. This is the criterion which determines the judgment of practical men; and, although research may modify, it can never set aside the popular verdict. There are writers who have described Elizabeth as selfish and wayward, short-sighted, easily duped, faint-hearted, rash, miserly, wasteful, and swayed by the pettiest impulses of vanity, spite, and personal inclination. They have not explained how it could happen that a woman with all such disqualifications for government should have ruled England with such signal success for nearly forty-five years. Good luck will not explain so long and so unbroken a period of efficient rule. No one had a better opportunity or a higher capacity for estimating the greatness of Elizabeth than had Francis Bacon. He said of her: "It is not to closet penmen that we are to look for guidance in such a case; for men of that order, being keen in style, poor in judgment, and partial in feeling, are no faithful witnesses as to the real passages of business. It is for ministers and for great officers to judge of these things, and those who have handled the helm of government and been acquainted with the difficulties and mysteries of state business."

GEORGE G. HEPBURN

HOW TO STUDY UNITED STATES HISTORY

For some time educational thinkers have concerned themselves with the question of what our public schools should teach. To instructors, however, this question is subordinate to the one of how a subject determined upon should be taught. We thus see the questions *what* and *how* presenting themselves at every stage of school work; the one involving the philosophy of education, the other, its science and art; the one of interest to the general public, the other intimately associated with professional success.

A complete system of educational philosophy may be summed up in three words: quality, as applied to intellect; expression, as related to thought; and application, as associated with acquired knowledge. Judged by the canons of this philosophy we find an ideal study to be one whose mastery has a culture value, whose application bears directly upon the conduct and practical affairs of life, and whose methods give full scope to individual expression. Such a study is the history of one's country.

A special significance is attached to the study of United States history, which is better understood when it is conceived that the prime function of the American public-school is to train to intelligent and patriotic citizenship. Intelligence implies the possession of certain knowledge, the power to acquire additional knowledge, and the ability to apply acquired knowledge whenever practicable. Citizenship implies the possession of rights and privileges, which are more satisfactorily exercised when their origin and nature are known. The mental equipment of any intelligent citizen includes a knowledge of his country's past, an understanding of his relations to the various governmental organizations placed over him, and a proper apprehension of the duties pertaining to his sovereignty.

The intimate relation that history bears to other subjects of human interest gives it additional importance. Dealing with persons, it is closely associated with biography and literature. Dealing with places, it enters into inseparable companionship with geography. Dealing with motives, causes and effects, national and local life, community relations and institutions, it trenches upon the domains of psychology, philosophy, political economy, and sociology. Furnishing standards by which the student may gauge and pattern his own conduct, it bears upon the subject of ethics. Viewed from every standpoint and in every light, its position in the common school curriculum is unassailable.

When the question arises as to how a given subject may be successfully taught we are led naturally to consider the principles underlying successful teaching in general. An analysis of these principles enables us to make two groupings of elements which go to make up success. The first consists of qualities possessed or cultivated by the teacher, which may be briefly summarized as follows: (1) Thorough familiarity with the subject taught; (2) Ability to secure and retain attention; (3) Skill in devising and adapting the methods best suited to existing circumstances; (4) Will power; (5) Earnestness; (6) Enthusiasm. The second grouping comprises the four consecutive steps embraced in all successful methods of imparting full knowledge of a subject. Teachers will recognize these in the brief and technical terms of: (1) Instruction; (2) Drill; (3) Testing; (4) Review.

In particularizing the successful teaching of history, it may be added to what has been said, that the teacher should have at all times in mind a clear idea of the ground to be covered and the relation sustained by each lesson or topic to the whole subject. He must apprehend fully the sequences of historical cause and effect, and be able to group events that bear upon one another. In no other branch of instruction is the teacher's fund of general information so valuable; and it may be well said that a teacher who is full of his subject is a never-failing source of inspiration.

As it is much easier to generalize upon what not to do than upon what to do, the following, crystallized from a professional experience of some years, is appended for the benefit of young teachers.

THE TWELVE DON'TS.

(1) Don't require the text to be memorized. That is cultivating verbal memory, not teaching history.

(2) Don't follow a strictly chronological order. The idea of time is a poor one about which to group events that are otherwise unrelated.

(3) Don't burden the mind with unimportant dates. Beyond the memorizing of twelve important dates no special effort in this direction should be required. It is only necessary to know the relative and approximate time of most events mentioned in history.

(4) Don't assign lessons by pages. Let the lessons be upon subjects or topics.

(5) Don't assign long lessons. Short lessons well understood are of more value than long ones cursorily dealt with.

(6) Don't fail to make preliminary expositions of the lessons assigned. Pupils often need instruction as to what and how to study.

(7) Don't explain too much. Leave something for the pupil to do. Quality of intellect depends upon concentrative mental effort. Too much explanation frequently imbues the pupil with the idea that he knows the lesson without further study. This over-confidence results unsatisfactorily.

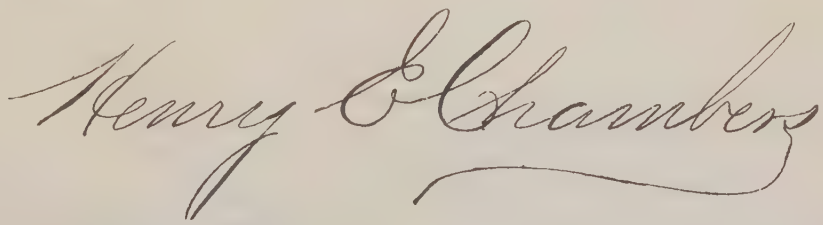
(8) Don't be afraid to make the recitation interesting. While there is no substitute for earnest study, and the teacher should never relieve the pupil of responsibility in the matter, yet the mental application once secured, every facility should be extended to the pupil to express himself fully and freely during recitation.

(9) Don't fail to review frequently. Thoroughness is indicated not in what is learned but in what is remembered.

(10) Don't neglect to keep posted upon current events. History is being made every day. Read the newspapers, call frequent attention to the connection between present and past events.

(11) Don't confine yourself to one text-book or authority. Encourage parallel readings, and interest the pupils in the investigation of some few selected subjects thoroughly.

(12) Don't imagine that everything *in a complete school history* is to be mastered. Advanced histories are works of reference as well as class-books. The thorough study of successive lessons may be insisted upon as means of culture. What is best to be remembered is covered by review questions of a broad and general nature, as given in most works of a standard character.



TULANE UNIVERSITY, NEW ORLEANS

BLACKHAWK'S FAREWELL SPEECH

On August 27, 1832, after the suppression of an Indian emeute near the Four Lakes, by the United States army, the great Indian chief, Blackhawk, losing all hope, surrendered himself at Prairie du Chien. On this occasion he delivered a remarkable speech, a full record of which is given in the second volume of Dr. Shaffner's *History of America*. The following is a metrical version of his eloquent remarks :

You've caged the Indian eagle, you've rent his lordly wings,
And he shall soar no longer o'er the mountains' belted rings ;
But while I'm pinioned by your gyves, my only grief will be
That I did not pay back to you the pains you dealt to me !
I fought you to the very last, and boldly face to face,
For we the children of the winds are still a valiant race ;
Your bullets flew, like angry birds, fast flutt'ring in our ears,
Or like the breezes, swift and keen, that sweep the barren meres ;
My warriors fell—yes, one by one, beneath your raking shot,
Yet while the last of them survived, Blackhawk surrendered not !

My evil day had come to hand. The sun that dawn rose dim,
And when the evening shadows fell, the skies looked red and grim ;
The sunset like a ball of fire, gleamed from its dying bed—
Oh, 'twas the last of all the suns to shine on Blackhawk's head !
For now his heart is bleak and cold, all lorn and lone is he—
The white men are his masters, and he's no longer free !
Oh, now their chains are on my limbs, their fangs are at my throat,
But the red Indian, who would fear, is scarcely worth a groat !
No coward I—I swear it here, by the great spirit-god,
For craven souls never took root within our forest sod !
The white man's thongs might lash my frame till death's last dirge shall toll—
He has no thongs to whip or maim my still unconquered soul !

Great spirit ! we did pray to thee—to thee we cried for years
To give us life with liberty, and wipe away our tears !
Thy council spoke, and urged us on, to fight for land and squaw,
And crush with all our might and main the white man's odious law ;
But we failed, O god of gods, for all our beavers fled—
Throughout the land there reigned, alas ! the silence of the dead ;

Our crystal streams grew dry as dust, our squaws starved everywhere—
'Twas then the spirit of our sires called us to do and dare!
Around the council fire we stood, and leaving fools to talk,
We raised the fierce war-whoop once more, and clutched the tomahawk!

Our knives shone proudly bright that day, and Blackhawk's heart swelled high,
And from his lips the vow went forth to conquer or to die!
Oh, if he died, he knew his soul would pass through cleansing fires,
And reach the spirit-land above, and greet his warrior sires!
Death would be glad if he had not a wife to leave behind—
He cared not for himself alone, but only for his kind!
And, oh, he fears his countrymen, whipped like ignoble slaves,
Will spend their days in servitude, and fill unholy graves,
For though the whites scalp not the head, yet with a devil's art,
They do far worse—they pour the death of poison on the heart!

Quite soon the reds will be as whites—you cannot trust the race,
For guile will stain each Indian soul, and varnish every face!
The heart and mind will be divorced, and lips no more will shrink
From utt'ring words and phrases sleek they do not really think.
Farewell, my land, your Blackhawk tried to rend your galling chain,
And right your sad and bloody wrongs, but, oh, he tried in vain!
He drank the blood of many a white—oh, would he could once more!
But fate has willed it otherwise, his chequered race is o'er,
His end is near, his sun has set—oh, nevermore to rise—
And Blackhawk goes with heavy heart to scale the starry skies!

Eugene Davis.

THE SUCCESSFUL NOVEL OF FIFTY-SIX YEARS AGO

"HORSE SHOE ROBINSON"

[*Concluding chapter, continued from page* 468]

This village was full of whig troops, and the retreat of Butler's captors toward King's mountain, whither he was being followed by Williams and his army, led the Virginia volunteers to march rapidly in the same direction. Horse Shoe and young Lindsay joined the military party, anxious to participate in the great battle which now appeared imminent, leaving Mildred under the care of Allen Musgrove and his daughter, with a small guard of soldiers. But Mildred was restless, and persuaded Allen Musgrove to accompany her to some point near the probable battle-field. They reached the neighborhood of King's mountain, an elongated ridge rising out of the bosom of an uneven country to the height of five hundred feet, like an insulated promontory, just as the two hostile armies were about to engage in deadly conflict. The attack was made by the continentals, the chief leaders with their forces having arranged to scale the heights and make the onset in several places as nearly as possible at the same instant.

Mildred, with Mary Musgrove by her side, watched from a high knoll the movements of the armies. The advancing continentals, in close ranks, with a serried thicket of rifles above their heads, nòw and then deploying into files to pass some narrow path, their bodies bent, and moving with the speed of hunters for wild game, was a strangely fascinating sight. The scarlet enemy were to be seen on the crest of the mountain, actively preparing for the assault. Henry Lindsay stood beside Mildred for a moment ere he rode on with his company, to say to her that he was to serve as aid-de-camp, and that Horse Shoe was to help him. Horse Shoe had given some valuable hints to Campbell, who had divided his army into three equal parts, telling him that the British had no cannon on the mountain, and "that the advancing columns should not deploy until near the crest."

The description of this battle is one of the best portions of the famous novel, but it is no part of our present purpose to reproduce it here. The incidents were innumerable and of thrilling interest. When the conti-

nentals came within musket-shot of the British regulars, the sharp and prolonged volleys rattled along the mountain side, and volumes of smoke, silvered by the light of the afternoon sun, rolled over and enveloped the combatants. Horse Shoe was in the thick of the fight with no other weapon but his customary rifle, galloping over an adversary, or round him, as the emergency rendered most advisable.

At a moment when one of the refluxes of battle brought him almost to the summit of the mountain, he descried a small party of British dragoons stationed some distance in the rear of the British line, whose detached position seemed to infer some duty unconnected with the general combat, and he thought he recognized the figure and dress of Arthur Butler, who stood near them, bare-headed, upon a projecting mass of rock, apparently watching the exciting scene. Without an instant's hesitation he rode swiftly toward the Virginia rangers, and called upon Stephen Foster to select half-dozen of his best men, and follow him. This was done, and by a circuit along the right side of the mountain, Horse Shoe soon conducted the party to the summit at a point between the British line and the dragoons, which effectually cut off the latter from their friends in front. The dragoons charged with the custody of Butler were taken by surprise, with no alternative but to defend themselves or fly. "Huzza for Major Butler," cried Horse Shoe. "What, ho, James Curry! stand your ground, if you are a man!" he shouted in the next breath, riding furiously after his foe, who was scurrying into the woods for safety.

The two soldiers met in fierce encounter, and Curry was killed. The dragoons fled panic-stricken at the loss of their leader, and Butler was left in the midst of his friends. "God bless you, major; spring across the pommel," cried Horse Shoe, and seizing Butler by the arm, assisted him to mount, and the faithful horse dashed away at full speed toward the base of the mountain with his double burden, followed by Stephen Foster and the whole party.

Mildred, pale with emotion and intensely agitated, was clinging to Mary Musgrove's arm, speaking her terrors unconsciously from time to time. "In God is our trust; His arm is abroad over the dangerous paths, for a shield and a buckler to them that put their trust in Him," said the miller, reverently. "Ha! there is Ferguson's white horse, rushing with a dangling rein and an empty saddle down the mountain, through Campbell's ranks. The rider has fallen. And there, look! is the white flag waving in the hands of a British officer. The fight is over. Hark! hark! our friends are cheering, the battle is won!" In the busy movement that

followed, a party of horsemen was seen through the occasional intervals of the low wood that skirted the valley on the right, sweeping along the base of the mountain toward the knoll where Mildred was standing. These horsemen were lost to view among the trees and angles of the hills for a brief time, but when they emerged and once more attracted Mildred's eyes, they were so near that she recognized them all—Horse Shoe in the lead with Butler seated on the same horse, and Stephen Foster and his Virginians following, who had been joined by Henry Lindsay on his way to announce the tidings of victory to his sister. "There, take him!" shouted Horse Shoe, with an effort to laugh, which was husky, as springing to the ground, he swung Butler from the horse. "Take him, ma'am; I promised myself that I'd give him to you. God bless us—but I'm happy to-day."

"My husband! my dear husband!" were the only articulate words that escaped Mildred's lips, as she fell senseless into the arms of Arthur Butler.

In this celebrated battle many brave men fell on both sides. The fight was relentless, vindictive, and bloody. The men of the mountains remembered the cruelties of the enemy during the brief tory dominion, and pursued their foes with the unquenchable rage of revenge. It was with a yell of triumph that they saw the symbol of submission raised aloft on the mountain crest, and for a time the forest rang with their loud and reiterated huzzas. They sustained a severe loss in the death of Colonel James Williams, who was struck down in the moment of victory. He was young, ardent, and fearless, and a great favorite among his military associates. The sun was yet an hour high when the conflict ended, and the conquerors forming in two lines on the ridge of the mountain, guarded the prisoners as they were brought forward in detached columns and laid down their arms on the intervening ground. Many sullen and angry glances were exchanged between the victors and the vanquished, the former noticing among the columns of prisoners some of their bitterest persecutors.

Preparations were made for night quarters, and the whole host (the prisoners more numerous than their captors) were ordered to march to the valley. The surgeons remained to care for such of the wounded as could not be moved, and shelters were constructed from the boughs of trees, and fires kindled to guard the sufferers from the early frost of the season. While Campbell was attending to these details, a messenger came running to summon him to a scene of unexpected interest. A gentleman, not attached to the army, had been dangerously wounded in the fight, and

now lay at the farther extremity of the mountain ridge, attended only by a private soldier of the British army. He earnestly begged for an interview with the commanding officer, and Campbell hurried to the spot. The gentleman was evidently breathing out his life, and to Campbell's gentle inquiry, said he was Philip Lindsay, of Virginia, in pursuit of his children. "My daughter Mildred, I have been told, is near me—I would see her, and quickly." Campbell was much shocked, but he lost no time in sending for a surgeon, with other necessary assistance. Lindsay's wounds were dressed, and a litter was constructed on which he was borne by four men to a place of shelter in a cottage at the foot of the mountain. Meantime Campbell rode with all possible speed to communicate the discovery of their father to Mildred and her brother.

Mr. Lindsay's movements may be briefly chronicled. He had journeyed with Tyrrel into the low country of Virginia to meet officers of the royal government, who sought his financial aid in their expeditions, and was absent three weeks. Nothing decisive had occurred, however, when they both returned to the Dove Cote, where Mr. Lindsay first learned that his son and daughter had started for the seat of war. Mildred's letter (which she left behind her) nearly struck him dumb, for in it she related the story of Arthur Butler's misfortunes, and announced to her father that she had been for about a year past the wedded wife of the captive officer. The marriage had been solemnized the preceding year in a hasty moment, as Butler traveled south to join the army, and the witnesses were Mrs. Dimock, under whose roof it occurred, Henry Lindsay, and the clergyman. The reason for the secret marriage was explained, both Mildred and Arthur hoping by this irremediable step to reconcile Mr. Lindsay, and turn his mind from his unhappy broodings. As Arthur Butler's wife, Mildred declared in her letter that she felt it her duty to go to his rescue.

Tyrrel artfully proposed to Lindsay to pursue his children, hoping to lure him into the camp of Cornwallis, and connect him with the fortunes of war. The chances of life, Tyrrel said, were against Butler; he evidently had reason to believe that the snares he had laid for him had been successful. Lindsay was finally persuaded, and went on the long journey, reaching the headquarters of Cornwallis within a week after Mildred's interview with that officer. While remaining there he heard that Mildred had turned aside from her homeward journey in quest of Butler, and, accompanied by Tyrrel, he continued the pursuit, arriving at King's mountain at the moment of the attack.

The scene in the cottage when Mildred, Henry, and Butler arrived must be left to the reader's imagination. Mr. Lindsay was composed and

tranquil. He could talk very little, but he took Mildred's hand, and placed it within that of her husband, and said, "God bless you, my children; I forgive you." During the night he was in a high fever and delirious, occasionally sleeping, and, with the surgeon, Mildred and Mary Musgrove kept watch in the apartment, while Butler, with Horse Shoe and Allen Musgrove, remained anxiously awake in the adjoining room. Henry Lindsay was stretched in a deep sleep on the floor.

The cottage was about half a mile from the encampment of the army, and a little before sunrise singular noises were heard in that direction. Horse Shoe stole quietly away to discover the cause. He had not walked far when he saw a confused crowd of soldiers in the valley, at some distance from the camp, and hastened to the spot. The recent executions which had been permitted in Cornwallis' camp, after the battle of Camden, and atrocities practised by some of the tories among the captured, had suggested signal retribution. Therefore, several obnoxious men were being dragged forth from their ranks at early dawn for summary punishment by the excited soldiery, in spite of all remonstrance or command. Eight or ten had already been hung on the limbs of a large tree, and preparations were being made to lift a trembling wretch of gaunt form to the same fate. Horse Shoe recognized in the victim Wat Adair, who, frantic with terror, sprang with a tiger's leap toward him, crying, "Oh, save me! save me! Horse Shoe Robinson!" "I am no friend of yours," replied Horse Shoe; but he turned to the crowd, shouting, "Hold! One word, friends; I have somewhat to say in this matter." One of the executioners exclaimed, "He gave Butler into Hugh Habershaw's hands;" and another yelled, "He took the price of blood, and sold Butler's life for money—he shall die." A chorus of voices cried, "Up with him; we want no words."

"Friends," said Horse Shoe calmly to the multitude, "there is better game to hunt than this mountain-cat; let me have my say." The crowd fell back, and formed a circle round Horse Shoe and Adair. "I give you your choice, Wat Adair," said Horse Shoe, "to tell us who put you on to ambush Major Butler's life at Grindall's ford, and answer all other questions we may ax you, and have your life, taking one hundred lashes to the back of it—or be strung up to yonder tree." "I will confess all," cried Adair, with eagerness. "James Curry told me of your coming, and gave the money to help Habershaw." "The name of James Curry's master?" said Horse Shoe, sternly. Adair hesitated for an instant, then stammered out, "Captain St. Jermyn." "Was he at your house?" "He was there," said Adair. "Curry acted by his directions, and was well paid for it; he told

me he would have got more if a quarrel among Habershaw's people hadn't stopped them from taking Butler's life. When the major wasn't killed at the ford, it was thought best to have a trial, wherein James Curry and Habershaw agreed to swear against the major's life." "And were paid for it?" "It was upon a consideration, of course," replied Adair. "And Captain St. Jermyn contrived this?" "They said he left it all to Curry, and rather seemed to take Butler's side at the trial. He did not want to be known in the business." "Where is this Captain St. Jermyn?" demanded many voices, and there was an immediate rush toward the quarter where the prisoners were assembled; and, in a shorter space of time than it takes to tell the story, that officer met his death by hanging.

By this time Butler and Henry Lindsay had arrived in the valley, attracted by the singular uproar, and Butler, seeing the body of an officer swinging from the tree, exclaimed with astonishment: "Is not that St. Jermyn?" "No; it is Tyrrel," replied Henry. "What!" said Butler; "Tyrrel and St. Jermyn the same person? This is indeed a mystery. St. Jermyn was not with Ferguson. How came he here to-day?" Horse Shoe appeared at this moment, saying: "These schemers and contrivers against other's lives are sure to come to account first or last. The devil put it into St. Jermyn's head to make Ferguson a visit, and he came only yesterday with Mr. Lindsay, and got the poor gentleman his hurt. You mought remember James Curry, and the man he sarved when we saw him at the Blue Ball, him they call Tyrrel? This is that same Tyrrel—master and man travel one road."

When Butler returned to the cottage he found Mr. Lindsay in a dying condition, and Mildred and Henry by his couch in mute anguish. In the midst of their sorrow the retiring army passed by with military music and the professional indifference of soldiers to the calamities of war, while the chief officers paused at the door of the cottage for a sad farewell.

In a lonely thicket near the margin of a little brook on the eastern side of King's mountain, the traveler of the present day may be shown an almost obliterated mound, marked with the fragment of a rude tombstone on which are carved the letters P. L. Here the remains of Philip Lindsay were buried, and after the restoration of peace were transported to the Dove Cote.

When Mr. John Pendleton Kennedy, under the *nom de plume* of Mark Littleton, wrote the captivating story of *Horse Shoe Robinson*, of which we have given a brief summary in these pages, he was about forty years of

age, and was already known as a clever writer, having issued *The Red Book*, a fortnightly satirical publication, and *Swallow Barn*, a story of rural life in Virginia. He was a native of Maryland, a graduate in 1812 of the college that is now the University of Maryland; studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1816; became a lecturer and writer on many important topics, notably *A Discourse on the Life and Character of William Wirt*, and a review, in 1830, of Churchill C. Cambreleng's report on commerce and navigation, combating its anti-protective arguments; and he was furthermore a close student of American history. He served in the war of 1812, fighting at Bladensburg and North Point; and he was a conspicuous member of the house of delegates in Maryland from 1820 to 1823. All people of intelligence are aware that he was, in 1846, the speaker of the Maryland house of delegates, and in 1852 secretary of the navy, and that it was mainly through his efforts the expedition of Commodore Perry to Japan, and Dr. Kane's second Arctic voyage, were successful; and that while in Paris, on one occasion, his friend William M. Thackeray, becoming weary of his work on *The Virginians*, asked Kennedy to write a chapter for him, which he agreed to do if he could catch "the run of the story." Kennedy actually produced the fourth chapter of the second volume of *The Virginians*, which accounts for the accuracy of the descriptions of the local scenery about Cumberland, with which he was familiar and which Thackeray had never seen. It was his knowledge of the country and of the character and temper of the people from central Virginia to South Carolina, together with his historical studies of events in those regions during the dark days of the Revolution, which has given such life, vivacity, and interest to the novel before us. It is no matter of wonder that three editions of the work were quickly exhausted on its issue by a Philadelphia publisher in 1836. *Noms de plume* were the fashion in those days, and many a delighted reader never lived to know the real name of the author, although as the years rolled on there was no secret about it. We have chosen to present our brief summary of the work from a rare copy of the original first edition, of which it is believed there are not more than three in existence.

Mr. Kennedy closes the unique volume with a few pages devoted to his own personal experiences in the winter of 1819. He tells us that his business called him to Carolina, whither he journeyed alone, on horseback, with his baggage strapped behind his saddle. He passed through the district known as Ninety-six, and observed that the few inhabitants of the region were principally the tenants of the bounty lands which the state of South Carolina had conferred upon the soldiers of the Revolu-

tion, and their settlements were separated from each other by extensive forests. The sun was setting one afternoon as he was traversing one of these oceans of wood, and having seen no living being for three or four hours, he was gratified when a lad not more than ten years of age, mounted bareback on a fine horse, suddenly came into the road a few paces ahead, and galloped along in the same direction he was going. Quickening his speed to overtake the boy, he soon discovered the horse was running away with him, and presently found the little fellow lying senseless beside the road. Dismounting to render assistance, he met the father of the lad, who came from a dwelling near by, and in trying to carry the lad to the house, they found his collar-bone broken. There was no physician within thirty miles, and the gentleman called an older son, and dispatched him for Horse Shoe Robinson!

The author was in comfortable quarters for the night, and was much interested when, an hour later, Horse Shoe Robinson arrived. He says: "Never before have I seen such a figure of a man! He was then some years beyond seventy, and time seemed to have broken its billows over his front only as an ocean dashes against a rock. He administered to the boy with ready skill, prepared a warm embrocation, worked at the dislocated joint, and soon set all to rights. So much so that when the physician, who had also been sent for, arrived, he had nothing to do. Horse Shoe and myself sat by the fire until near daylight. He was a man of truth—every expression of his face showed it. He was modest besides, and attached no value to his exploits. I wormed the story out of him, and made a night of it, in which not even my previous fatigue inclined me to sleep. The reader will thus see how I came into possession of much of this narrative."

Mr. Kennedy has taken us into his confidence in the most felicitous manner. And he tells how, some years afterwards, during his rambles in Virginia, he learned that Arthur Butler and Mildred returned to the Dove Cote subsequently to the victory at King's mountain, and lived long enough after the war to see grow up around them a prosperous and estimable family. Mary Musgrove went home with Mildred to the Dove Cote, and lived there to the end of her days.

"Another item of intelligence," says Mr. Kennedy, "to be found in the history of the war may have some reference to our tale. In the summer of 1781 Colonel Butler was engaged in the pursuit of Cornwallis on his retreat from Albemarle towards Williamsburg. My inquiries do not enable me to say with certainty, but it was probably our friend Arthur Butler who had met this promotion."

EMANUEL SPENCER

WHITTIER'S BIRTHPLACE

In the northeast corner of Massachusetts, where the Merrimac widens in its flow to the ocean, a group of interesting incidents are associated with pioneer experiences.

It was the scene of a tragedy perpetrated by the Indians in 1697. The home of Hannah Dustin still stands, from which she was carried away by a band of native savages, who first rifled the house before burning it, and afterwards, on the journey, murdered the baby only a week old. It was a cruel moment for Thomas Dustin, who was left to guard his family of eight motherless children, and to make choice of which he should leave behind or which take to the harborage of a fort a mile away. Fatherly tenderness forbade that he should forsake the sickly one, and fatherly pride claimed the stout and healthy, while the youngest appealed to his mercy, so all were encouraged by the father's stout heart until the garrison was reached. Afterwards the group was rejoined by the wife and mother, who, with heroic frenzy, had killed all but one of the family of twelve persons, men, women, and children, to whom she had been assigned as captive, and thus escaped their cruel intentions. The heroism of Hannah Dustin recalls the often-quoted lines:

> "On dead men's bones, as stepping stones,
> Men rise to what they are."

Leaving the hills, and coming to the shores of the Merrimac, a drive-road becomes suddenly visible. It leads through a grove of time-honored willows, at the end of which is a heavy piece of engineering. Here is the hardest working river in the United States, or in the world. Lowell, Lawrence, and, indeed, all the manufacturing towns along its course, are sustained by it, and it carries more spindles than any other body of water.

Not far distant is the town of Haverhill, which abounds in historic memories. One large building was once the headquarters of Washington, and it was a pretentious structure for those times, the principal tavern of the town. Up the hill there stands a noble, capacious school-building, where once lived the parents of Harriet Newell, the young woman who became the first American missionary, because her heart yearned to impart to those less favored the privileges she possessed and the education she had acquired. In company with her youthful husband, and Mr. and Mrs.

Judson, she went to India to devote her life to the enthusiasm of duty, and in one short year she died, a victim of the climate.

Following along the same highway as mentioned in "Snowbound," to the outskirts of the town, the sweet-scented air, the skirmishing of the joyous meadow-larks, and the exceeding peacefulness which broods everywhere, make us aware of the fact that we are not far distant from the region where the peace-loving spirit of the poet was cradled and nurtured. On a bright summer day, Kenoza lake, which Whittier himself named, shines like an opal in emerald setting, as it reflects back the glory of a summer sky. The poet thus speaks of it:

"Kenoza, o'er no sweeter lake
Shall morning break, or noon cloud sail,
No fairer face than thine shall take
The sunset's golden veil.

Thy peace rebukes our feverish stir,
Thy beauty, our deforming strife;
Thy woods and waters minister
The healing of their life."

The hills surrounding the lake present a most beautiful outlook, through which the "bare-footed boy" sent his longing vision for an intimacy with the world that lay behind the mountain-encircled horizon. The Merrimac, which has its source in Lake Winnipiseogee, "the smile of the great spirit," flows dispassionately to the ocean. The ocean itself, a blue haze in the landscape, the high mountain peak of Monadnock in New Hampshire, and the old Agamenticus in Maine, point to regions far and far away.

From Kenoza to the humble homestead of Whittier, the road winds through woods of maple and birch, and over streams where the pond-lily serenely floats, until a fork in the road brings to view the quiet nestling place of the old brown house. The roads and the foaming brook are unchanged, but the wooden bridge and the homestead are going to a sure decay. But the poet's secret, that the infancy, youth, and old age of a poet are one in quality, and immortal in kind, is strongly borne in upon one when standing upon this sacred spot.

J. G. Tyler

The tendency to trade, involving of necessity the production of something to trade with, is the national characteristic most important to the development of sea power. It is not likely that the dangers of the sea, or any aversion to it, will deter a people from seeking wealth by the paths of ocean commerce. Where wealth is sought by other means, it may be found; but it will not necessarily lead to sea power. France has a fine country, an industrious people, an admirable position. The French navy has known periods of great glory, and in its lowest estate has never dishonored the military reputation so dear to the nation. Yet, as a maritime state, securely resting upon a broad basis of sea commerce, France, as compared with other historical sea-peoples, has never held more than a respectable position. The chief reason for this, so far as national character goes, is the way in which wealth is sought. As Spain and Portugal sought it by digging gold out of the ground, the temper of the French people leads them to seek it by thrift, economy, hoarding. It is said to be harder to keep than to make a fortune. But the adventurous temper, which risks what it has, to gain more, has much in common with the adventurous spirit that conquers worlds for commerce. The tendency to save and put aside, to venture timidly, and on a small scale, may lead to a general diffusion of wealth on a like small scale, but not to the risks and development of external trade and shipping interests. As regards the stability of a man's personal fortune, this kind of prudence is doubtless wise; but when excessive prudence, or financial timidity, becomes a national trait, it must tend to hamper the expansion of commerce and of the nation's shipping.

The noble classes of Europe inherited from the middle ages a supercilious contempt for peaceful trade, which has exercised a modifying influence upon its growth, according to the national character of different countries. The pride of the Spaniards fell easily in with this spirit of contempt, and co-operated with that disastrous unwillingness to work and wait for wealth which turned them away from commerce. In France, the vanity which is conceded, even by Frenchmen, to be a national trait, led in the same direction. The numbers and brilliancy of the nobility, and the consideration enjoyed by them, set a seal of inferiority upon an occupation which they despised. Rich merchants and manufacturers sighed for the honors of nobility, and upon obtaining them, abandoned their

lucrative professions. Therefore, while the industry of the people and the fruitfulness of the soil saved commerce from total decay, it was pursued under a sense of humiliation, which caused its best representatives to escape from it as soon as they could.

In Holland there was a nobility; but the state was republican by name, allowed large scope to personal freedom and enterprise, and the centres of power were in the great cities. The foundation of the national greatness was money—or rather wealth. Wealth, as a source of civic distinction, carried with it also power in the state; and with power there went social position and consideration. In England the same result obtained. The nobility were proud; but in a representative government the power of wealth could be neither put down nor overshadowed. It was patent to the eyes of all, it was honored by all, and in England as well as Holland, the occupations which were the source of wealth shared in the honor given to wealth itself. Thus, in all the countries named, social sentiment, the outcome of national characteristics, had a marked influence upon the national attitude toward trade.

In yet another way does the national genius affect the growth of sea power in its broadest sense, and that is in so far as it possesses the capacity for planting healthy colonies. Of colonization, as of all other growths, it is most healthy when it is most natural. Colonies that spring from the felt wants and natural impulses of the whole people, will have the most solid foundations; and their subsequent growth will be surest when they are least trammelled from home, if the people have the genius for independent action. The fact of England s unique and wonderful success as a colonizing nation is too evident to be dwelt upon, and the reason for it appears to lie chiefly in two traits of the national character. The English colonist naturally and readily settles down in his new country, identifies his interest with it, and, though keeping an affectionate remembrance of the home from which he came, has no restless eagerness to return. In the second place, the Englishman at once and instinctively seeks to develop the resources of the new country in the broadest sense. In the former particular he differs from the French, who are ever longingly looking back to the delights of their pleasant land; in the latter, from the Spaniards, whose range of interest and ambition was too narrow for the full evolution of the possibilities of a new country.

The character and the necessities of the Dutch led them naturally to plant colonies, and by the year 1650 they had in the East Indies, in Africa, and in America a large number. They were then far ahead of England in this matter.—CAPTAIN MAHAN'S *Influence of Sea Power upon History.*

GOUVERNEUR MORRIS IN EUROPE

HIS DINNER WITH THE POETS

Henry Cabot Lodge in his essay on Gouverneur Morris, included in his recently published volume of *Historical and Political Essays*, furnishes many interesting anecdotes of this American statesman of the Revolutionary period, who was also a wit, a philosopher, a financier, and a man of the world and of society—a many-sided and picturesque character. It should be remembered that Morris was a member of the provincial congress of New York, that he took a leading part in framing the state constitution and even then, in the time of war, strove to insert a clause abolishing slavery, that he served faithfully on the council of safety, was active and efficient in sustaining the continental army and its officers, was elected in 1778 to the continental congress although only twenty-six years of age, was made the assistant of Robert Morris in managing the disordered finances of the new republic, and was conspicuous among the framers of the national Constitution. During his subsequent mission to France, where he arrived in the winter of 1789, he recorded daily his observations on public and private affairs, and in the language of Mr. Lodge, "there is no other journal, diary, or correspondence of that period, left by any of our public men, which at all compares with this in its amusing, light, and humorous touch." The following extract was written by Morris while in Paris, and is among the few selections of Mr. Sparks quoted by Mr. Lodge:—

"March 3 (1789) Monsieur le Comte de Neuni does me the honor of a visit, and detains me until three o'clock. I then set off in great haste to dine with the Comtesse de B. on an invitation of a week's standing. Arrive at about a quarter past three and find in the drawing-room some dirty linen and no fire. While a waiting-woman takes away one, a valet lights the other. Three small sticks in a deep bed of ashes give no great expectation of heat. By the smoke, however, all doubts are removed respecting the existence of fire. To expel the smoke a window is opened, and the day being cold I have the benefit of as fresh air as can reasonably be expected in so large a city.

Toward four o'clock the guests begin to assemble, and I begin to expect that, as madame is a poetess, I shall have the honor to dine with

that exalted part of the species who devote themselves to the Muses. In effect, the gentlemen begin to compliment their respective works, and as regular hours cannot be expected in a house where the mistress is occupied more with the intellectual than the material world, I have a delightful prospect of a continuance of the scene. Toward five (o'clock) madame steps in to announce dinner, and the hungry poets advance to the charge. As they bring good appetites they have certainly reason to praise the feast, and I console myself in the persuasion that for this day, at least, I shall escape an indigestion. A very narrow escape, too, for some rancid butter of which the cook has been liberal puts me in bodily fear. If the repast is not abundant, we have at least the consolation that there is no lack of conversation. Not being perfectly master of the language, most of the jests escape me. As for the rest of the company, each being employed either in saying a good thing or in studying one to say, it is no wonder if he cannot find time to applaud that of his neighbor. They all agree that we live in an age alike deficient in justice and in taste. Each finds in the fate of his own works numerous instances to justify this assertion. They tell me, to my great surprise, that the public now condemn theatrical compositions before they have heard the first recital. And to remove my doubts the countess is so kind as to assure me that this rash decision has been made on one of her own pieces. In pitying modern degeneracy we rise from the table."

Mr. Lodge remarks: "In the words *to my great surprise* we catch the peculiar vein of American humor which delights in a solemn appearance of ignorant and innocent belief in some preposterous assertion. It is close kin to the broader form exemplified by Mark Twain weeping at the grave of Adam, which the *Saturday Review* declared was a ridiculous affectation of sentiment."

Of Gouverneur Morris in London Mr. Lodge says: "He was requested to go to England as a secret agent of our government, and endeavor to reopen diplomatic relations and settle various outstanding and threatening differences with that country. To London he accordingly went in February, 1790, and there he spent seven or eight months in fruitless conversations with the Duke of Leeds and Mr. Pitt about western ports, the fulfillment of treaties, the compensation for negroes, British debts, and imprisonment. On the last subject he said, with a concise wit which ought to have made the saying more famous than it is: 'I believe, my lord, that this is the only instance in which we are treated as aliens.'

Whether this keen-edged remark penetrated the heavy mind of the noble duke to whom it was addressed does not appear; at all events, the

mission was a failure. English ministers, with that sagacity which has characterized them in dealing with the United States, were determined to injure us so far as they could, and to make us enemies instead of friends, if it were possible to do so; a policy which has borne lasting fruit, and which England does not now delight in quite so much as of yore.

It is pretty obvious that Mr. Morris was not to their taste, despite his wit and good manners. He was a man of perfect courage and patriotism, and could be neither bullied nor cajoled. His brother, Staats Long Morris, was a general in the British army and the husband of the Duchess of Gordon, a fact which implied respectability to the English mind, and made it difficult for them to snub a person who, according to their notions, was so well connected. Worst of all, he was a man of great ability and wide information, intellectually superior to any minister he met, except Mr. Pitt, and therefore he was an awkward person to trample on. Stories were set afloat to injure him, and were so far successful that they gave him much trouble at home. He was charged with consorting with Fox and the opposition, which was not true, and with revealing his purpose to Luzerne, the French minister, which was true, and sprang from Mr. Morris's sentiment of gratitude to France, ill-rewarded, and in great measure cured by Luzerne's betrayal of his confidence.

Morris found time, however, in the midst of his vain efforts, to observe his English friends, and note the ludicrous side of the characters of the various distinguished personages he met. He wrote to Washington, September 18, 1790, about Pitt, as follows: 'Observe that he is rather the queen's man than the king's, and that since his majesty's illness she has been of great consequence. This depends in part on a medical reason. To prevent the relapse of persons who have been mad, they must be kept in constant awe of somebody, and it is said that the physician of the king gave the matter in charge to his royal consort, who performs that, like every other part of conjugal duty, with singular zeal and perseverance.'"

Mr. Lodge says that fruitless wranglings and disobliging treatment in England tired Morris sadly, although they could not disturb his good humor, and that he welcomed the hour when he was at liberty to return to France. He made a brief tour through Germany, and in November reached Paris again, where he soon saw that things were going to pieces rapidly. He told Lafayette that "an American constitution would not do for that country; that every country must have a constitution suited to its circumstances, and the state of France required a higher-toned government than that of England." Mr. Lodge says: "All this was very true but very unpalatable, especially to Lafayette, and the result was that he

became rather cool to his frank adviser. Yet the old friendship really remained as warm as ever, and when Lafayette became a prisoner no one worked harder for his liberation than Mr. Morris.

Although the tremendous events in the midst of which he was plunged absorbed his thoughts, we still get here and there glimpses of the gay society in which he found himself, and which was soon to be extinguished in the dark torrent of the revolution.

January 19, 1791, Morris wrote: 'Visit Madame de Chastellux, and go with her to dine with the Duchess of Orleans. Her royal highness is ruined; that is, she is reduced from four hundred and fifty to two hundred thousand livres per annum. She tells me that she cannot give any good dinners; but if I will come and fast with her she will be glad to see me.'

January 25. Morris dined with Madame de Staël, and heard the Abbé Sieyès 'descant with much self-sufficiency on government.' Four days later he went out to Choisy with Madame de Chastellux, and dined with Marmontel, who seemed to his guest 'to think soundly,' a compliment paid by Mr. Morris to but few of his French friends. There is something very striking and most interesting in these little pictures of daily existence, which went on much as usual, although the roar of revolution was sounding in men's ears. Philosophers speculated and fine ladies jested, even if the world was in convulsion; and so they continued to do until it was all drowned in the Terror, from which arose, after brief interval, another society, as light-hearted and brilliant, if not as well born, as its predecessor.

We can mark, however, the tremendous changes in progress around him in the extracts from the diary. The social pictures grow fewer, the tone is graver, there are more interviews with statesmen and fewer chats with ladies of rank, while the reflections concern the welfare of state and nation rather than the foibles or graces of men and women. April 4th came the funeral of Mirabeau, with some observations in the diary which are eloquent and striking; and there were other and still weightier matters then pressing upon his mind. August 26 he noted in his diary: 'Dine with Madame de Staël, who requests me to show her the *mémoire* I have prepared for the king.' The next day he wrote: 'Dine with M. de Montmorin. After dinner retire into his closet and read to him the plan I have prepared of a discourse for the king. He is startled at it; says it is too forcible; that the temper of the people will not bear it.' Mr. Morris's talents and the force of his arguments on the state of public affairs had attracted general attention, and in their agony of doubt court and ministry turned to him for aid. The result was the draft for a royal speech, which the king liked, but was prevented by his ministers from using; a *mémoire*

on the state of France, notes for a constitution, and some other similar papers which are given by Mr. Sparks. These documents are very able and bold. Whether Mr. Morris's policy, if pursued, would have had any effect may well be doubted, but there can be no question that it was the sanest, most vigorous, and best defined of the multitude offered to poor, hesitating Louis, and its adoption could certainly have done no harm. In the midst of these disinterested and somewhat perilous pursuits, we find him writing to Robert Morris (October 10, 1791), and describing a scene at the theatre when the people cheered the king and the queen.

'Now, my dear friend,' he adds, 'this is the very same people who, when the king was brought back from his excursion, whipped a democratical duchess of my acquaintance because they heard only the last part of what she said, which was, *Il ne faut pas dire, vive le Roi.* She had the good sense to desire the gentleman who was with her to leave her. Whipping is, you know, an operation which a lady would rather undergo among strangers than before her acquaintances.'

Mr. Morris's sympathy for the king and queen led him further than he anticipated. Indeed, his attitude as an adviser of the ministry caused outbreaks against him on the part of the opposition. De Warville said in his newspaper that Morris, on one of his periodical visits to England upon business, was sent to thwart Talleyrand, an accusation which Mr. Morris met with a public denial. His doings, however, were not fortunate, in view of the responsibility about to be placed upon him; for while he was away on this very visit to England, in the early months of 1792, he received the news of his appointment as minister to France.

Morris was not without enemies. At home, his contempt and dislike for the methods of the French revolution were only too well known, and his confirmation was strongly opposed in the senate. His good friend, the president, with much delicacy explained to him the ground of the opposition, and in this way pointed out to Morris the failings which threatened his success. 'The idea of your political adversaries,' Washington said, 'is that the promptitude with which your lively and brilliant imagination displays itself allows too little time for deliberation and correction, and is the primary cause of those sallies which too often offend, and of that ridicule of character which begets enmity not easy to be forgotten, but which might easily be avoided if it were under the control of more caution and prudence.' If it had been known in America just how deeply Mr. Morris had plunged into French politics, it may be doubted whether Washington even would have nominated him as a minister. As it turned out, no better choice could have been made, yet at the moment Mr. Morris was involved

in affairs which no foreign minister ought even to have known. He probably felt that his efforts to save order and government by means of the monarchy were hopeless, but they had drawn him on into the much more dangerous path of personal sympathy for the king and queen, and thence into attempts to at least preserve their lives. The king was unable to adopt Mr. Morris's views in his public utterances, but on his advice confided in M. de Monciel, one of his ministers, and this gentleman and Mr. Morris arranged an elaborate yet practicable scheme for the escape of the royal family. After a short time, the king sent Mr. Morris five hundred and forty-seven thousand livres to carry out the plan, and wished also to make him the depositary of his papers. Mr. Morris accepted the first trust and declined the latter. The large sum of money seems to indicate the king's preference for the plan of Morris, in whom he had great confidence, yet there were half a dozen other schemes on foot at the same time. De Molleville had one; Mr. Crawford, sent over by the British government, had another; Marie Antoinette's Swedish friend, Count Fersen, had a third; and there were probably many more. One plan interfered with another. That of Morris and Monciel was ripe for execution, and still the king doubted and delayed. While he was hesitating, the 10th of August came, the Swiss Guard was massacred, and all was over."

COUNT JULES DIODATI

Editor Magazine of American History:

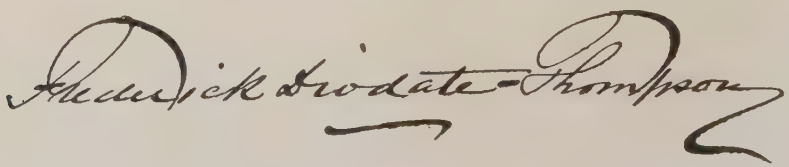
Count Jules Diodati, whose engraved portrait appears on the opposite page of this issue of the *Magazine of American History*, was a distinguished member of the Diodati family of Italy, descendants of Cornelio of that name, who removed from Coreglia to Lucca in 1300, where they held high position among the nobility of the latter city. During the middle ages they occupied many important offices, both military and civil, not only in Italy but in Spain, Austria, France, and Switzerland. Count Jules Diodati figured conspicuously in the Thirty Years' war in the service of the Emperor Ferdinand II., under the famous Wallenstein. His brother Giovanni also attained distinction as Grand Prior of the Templars in Venice.

The family of Diodati has become extinct in several branches, and is now represented only in Geneva by Count Gabriel Diodati and his brother Count Aloys, and in America in the female line.

The title of count has been confirmed to all descendants by patents in Italy, France, and the Holy Roman Empire.

I have the honor to remain,

Very respectfully yours,



COMTE JULES DIODATI GENERAL.

THE UNITED STATES IN PARAGRAPHS

[*Continued from page* 486]

California

August. The *George Washington*, the first river steamer in California, begins regular trips on the Sacramento, followed before the end of the year by several other boats.

August 1. Election in San Francisco; board of twelve councilmen created, with John W. Geary as president, the Spanish forms being retained.

September. A popular convention resolves to exclude negro slavery from the territory, and adopts a constitution.

December 31. Estimated gold product for the year, $40,000,000.

William McKendree Gwin and John Charles Frémont elected United States senators.

1850. Population by seventh census, 92,597. The great year of land speculation at San Francisco, and of mining claims in the gold fields.

May 1. The American form of government established in San Francisco, with Mr. Geary as mayor. Spanish alcaldes everywhere superseded by justices of the peace, after the American custom.

September 9. California admitted as a State by act of congress.

A ruinous commercial panic results from an over supply of goods from the east.

Beginning of the Chinese immigration. Gold product for the year, $50,000,000.

1850, October. Cholera epidemic in Sacramento and elsewhere.

1851–1852. John McDougall, governor.

1851. Santa Clara college opened (Roman Catholic).

1851, June 9. First vigilance committee organized.

1852–1856. John Bigler, governor.

1852. Mare island purchased for a navy yard for $50,000.

July 3. A United States mint established in San Francisco by act of congress.

1853, March 3. Public lands admitted to settlement under United States law, a commission having adjudicated Spanish grants in a generally satisfactory manner.

California Academy of Sciences founded by James Lick.

Gold product for the year, $65,000,000 (the greatest yield for any single year).

1854. University of the Pacific (Methodist Episcopal) opened at College park.

1855. College of St. Ignatius (Roman Catholic) opened at San Francisco.

1856–1858. J. Neely Johnson, governor.

1856. Beginning of the Sacramento valley railroad.

May 19. Execution of Casey and Cora, two desperadoes, in San Francisco, by the vigilance committee.

August 21. Vigilance committee disbands after having executed four notorious criminals, and banished some eight hundred malefactors.

1858–1860. John B. Weller, governor.

1858. The overland mail begins its trips across the continent.

1858–1862. Beginning of the wine-growing industry.

1860–1862. John G. Downey, governor.

1860. Population by United States census, 379,994.

Milton S. Latham, governor.

The "pony express" begins its trips.

Southern sympathizers, led by Senator Gwin, endeavor, without much success, to create a disunion sentiment.

Hesperian college opened at Woodland.

1861. California declares in favor of the Union in spite of well-laid plans to enlist her on the southern side.

Pacific Methodist college opened at Santa Rosa.

February 22. Great Union meeting in San Francisco.

May 17. The legislature formally pledges the support of the state to the national government.

June 28. Central Pacific Railroad Company organized; Leland Stanford, president.

October. Completion of the transcontinental telegraph line, and discontinuance of the pony express.

1862–1863. Leland Stanford, governor. Arrest and imprisonment of Senator Gwin for disloyalty.

1863–1867. Frederick F. Low, governor.

1864, February. Northern California railway opened.

April 15. News received of Lincoln's assassination. Several secession newspaper offices sacked in San Francisco.

1861–1865. Men furnished for military service of the United States in the civil war, 15,725. They were mainly employed as home guards to repress Indian outbreaks.

1867–1871. Henry H. Haight, governor.

1867. St. Vincent's college (Roman Catholic) founded at Los Angeles, and the college of St. Augustine (Protestant Episcopal) at Benicia.

1868. Foundation of the University of California, endowment $7,000,000.

1869, April 28. Completion of the first transcontinental railway—the Central Pacific.

1870. Population by United States census, 560,247.

Napa college founded at Napa City.

January 1. San Francisco and North Pacific railroad opened.

October 12. Southern Pacific Railroad Company formed by consolidation of existing lines, aggregating in 1892 nearly five thousand miles.

1871–1875. Newton Booth, governor.

1874. California college (Baptist) opened at Oakland.

1875–1880. William Irwin, governor.

1875. Romnaldo Pacheco, governor.

Mongolians excluded from naturalization rights.

1876. Pacific Coast railway opened.

September 21. First "sand lot" meeting, organized by Dennis Kearney, of a communistic labor party; threatening labor agitations followed.

October 1. Death of James Lick, millionaire, leaving large bequests for public works, including the astronomical observatory at Mt. Hamilton.

1877, May 15. Northern Pacific Coast railway opened.

1878, September 28. State constitutional convention meets (session lasted one hundred and fifty-six working days).

1879. San Joaquin valley college opened at Woodbridge.

1880–1883. George C. Perkins governor.

1880. Population by United States census, 864,694.

Foundation of the University of Southern California (Methodist Episcopal) at San Fernandino.

May 30. First observation of Memorial day.

August 23. Sonoma valley railway opened.

Opening of the Hotel del Monte at Monterey.

1881, April 18. Carson and Colorado railroad opened.

November 15. Bodie and Benton railway opened.

1882, January 2. California southern railway opened (finished 1885).

1883–1887. George Stoneman, governor.

1885. Belmont school founded.

1887–1891. R. W. Waterman, governor.

1887. Washington Bartlett, governor. San Pedro, Los Angeles and Utah railway begun.

1888. Cogswell Polytechnic college opens at San Francisco.

1890. Population by United States census, 1,208,130.

1891–1895. H. H. Markham, governor.

1891. Gold product for the year, $33,175,000; silver, $75,416,565.

"Leland Stanford, Junior," university founded at Palo Alto, by Leland Stanford, as a memorial to his son; endowment of several million dollars.

Passage of a secret ballot law by the legislature, also an act to prohibit Chinese immigration.

1892. Restoration of "Sutter's Fort" at Sacramento, under the "Native Sons" Societies, almost exactly as it was in 1848.

Chas. Ledyard Norton.

(*To be continued*)

MINOR TOPICS

THE OLDEST BELL IN CANADA

The Montreal *Herald* records an interesting antiquarian find on the part of Mr. Henry J. Morgan of this city, in the shape of an old church bell belonging to the Anglican congregation at St. Andrews in the Ottawa valley. The bell in question, as the figures on its face denote, was cast in the year 1759, which was also, as may be remembered, the year of the conquest of Canada. It was brought to this country by Sir John Johnson, who formerly owned the seigniory of Argenteuil and resided, during a portion of each year, at the old manor house at St. Andrews, the ruins of which may still be seen near the confluence of the Ottawa and North rivers. Sir John, like his distinguished father, General Sir William Johnson, who gained the battle of Crown Point and Niagara, for which services he was created a baronet and received a grant of money, held the office of superintendent-general of Indian affairs for North America. He died in 1830. His eldest son, a colonel in the army and an "Ottawa boy" by birth, married a sister of Sir William de Lancey, Wellington's favorite general, who fell at Waterloo. Upon his death the widow married Sir Hudson Lowe, who held Napoleon in captivity at St. Helena. The old bell found by Mr. Morgan turns out to be the oldest Protestant church bell in existence within the Dominion, the next oldest being the one formerly belonging to the private chapel of another old seignior, Hon. James Cuthbert, at Berthier, which was cast in 1774. The congregation of Christ church, St. Andrews, whom the old bell with all its historical associations clinging to it summons regularly to their religious duties every Sabbath, may well be proud of so interesting a relic.—*Ottawa Evening Journal.*

GENERAL SUMTER OF SOUTH CAROLINA

Thomas Sumter was born in Virginia in 1734, but he removed early to South Carolina, and lived there until his death in 1832, when he was ninety-eight years of age, and the last surviving general of the Revolution. A volunteer soldier in the French and Indian war, he was present at the memorable defeat of Braddock. In March, 1776, we find him lieutenant-colonel of the second regiment of South Carolina riflemen. After the capture of Charleston by the British, in 1780, he takes refuge in the swamps of the Santee. Rising to the rank of brigadier-general, he becomes foremost among the active and influential leaders of the South. Follow him in his gallant career. This same year he defeats a British detachment on the

Catawba; and although surprised and routed at Fishing creek, August 18, he collects another corps, and November 12 defeats the bold Colonel Wemyss, who had attacked his camp near Broad river. After a few days General Tarleton, a British officer, attempts to surprise him while encamped on the Tiger river, but is driven back with a severe loss of men. We find Sumter, though wounded in the attack, soon again in the field. In March of the next year, 1781, he raises three new regiments, and, coöperating with the brave Marion, Pickens, and others, he harasses the enemy along their posts scattered amid valleys and swamps. For his heroic services congress, in January, 1781, passed a vote of thanks to him and his men. When the American government was established, General Sumter, from 1789 to 1793, was a representative in congress; from 1801 to 1809 a United States senator; and in 1809 he was appointed minister to Brazil, where he continued for two years. In 1811, at the advanced age of seventy-seven years, he closed his long term of honorable and eventful services.—Dr. Muzzey's *Prime Movers of the Revolution.*

INDIAN MEDALS

Many years ago a silver medal was found in the town of Manlius, New York, of which a slightly incorrect account will be found in the second volume of Clark's *Onondaga.* It is about the size of a dollar, and has a loop at the top for suspension. The name of Montreal, in capitals, appears above the representation of a fortified town, over which flies the British flag, and the initials "D. C. F." are in a cartouche at the bottom. The other side was made plain, but Clark said that on it "are engraved the words CANECYA, Onondagoes." His error is in this. The word *Caneiya* appears in script, and the word Onondagos is in capitals below this. The medal now belongs to L. W. Ledyard, of Cazenovia, New York, who kindly allowed me to draw it.

In the *Medaillier du Canada,* published in Montreal in 1888, is a figure and description of another of these medals. In the description it reads, "Rev.: Plain, in order to write the name of the Indian chief to whom the medal was awarded." Mr. McLachlan, of Montreal, has described several of these. One belonging to him has the word Onondagos across the centre, with the word Tekahonwaghse, in script, at the top. The nearest approach to this name which I find among the Onondagas is Takanaghkwaghsen, one of the signers of the treaty of 1788, and he may have been Tagonaghquaghse, appointed chief warrior in 1770. This would make it a medal of the Revolution, but Mr. McLachlan thinks it commemorated the taking of Montreal by the English. I prefer the later date; and, in doing so, would identify Caneiya with Kaneyaagh, another prominent Onondaga of 1788.

Of another medal of the same design, Mr. McLachlan says: "The inscription on the reverse is 'Mohicrans' in the field, and 'Tankalker' at the top; metal,

pewter." He sent me accounts of some others. One had Mohawks in the field, surmounted by *Aruntes*, in script. He knew of another in New York, and thought it was of silver, bearing the name of Onondagos.

The Albany *Argus*, September 27, 1875, described another of these silver medals, found at Ballston. It had the same design on the obverse, with Mohicans, in capitals, on the reverse, and "Son Gose," in script.

I have seen one larger silver medal of the reign of George II., but without inscription. The style is bold, and it has on one side the British coat of arms; on the other, the king's head. This seems the one of 1753.

The smaller bronze medals of the first two Georges are of less interest, from having no personal character. The king's head is on one side, and an Indian aiming at a deer on the other.

Mr. McLachlan's idea is that these medals were issued at the taking of Montreal in 1759, or rather in commemoration of it. I need not go over his argument, though not convinced by it. His own medal has, scratched across the lower part, these three lines: "Taken from an Indian | chief in the AMERICAN | WAR, 1761." There was no American war in that year, and I feel sure that the date should be 1781, which includes the period of the Revolutionary, then known as the American War. The fact that two of these medals bear the names of two prominent Onondagas of that time strengthens this belief, originally founded on the fact that Colonel Daniel Claus was then Indian agent at Montreal. W. M. BEAUCHAMP

THE FIRST IRON INDUSTRY IN AMERICA

The city of Lynn has recently been the recipient of a specimen of the first casting made in America, in 1642, an iron kettle of good form and weight, of the type used in colonial days. Mr. C. J. H. Woodbury, of Lynn, who secured the relic so closely associated with the early history of the town, gave in his presentation address an interesting account of the development of iron smelting in this country. Mr. John E. Hudson, a descendant of the original owner of the pioneer iron works at Lynn, where the kettle was made, formally presented it to the mayor of that city, who accepted it in a very graceful and appropriate speech. The addresses have been printed in a little monograph, which is well worth permanent preservation.

WASHINGTON'S DESCRIPTION OF HIS OWN PERSON AND HEIGHT

IN 1763, WHEN THIRTY-ONE YEARS OF AGE

Editor Magazine of American History:

I met with the enclosed article while traveling last summer, credited to the *Washington Post*. It will interest all your readers.

"The gentleman who brought forward the following communication had not only the original letter in his possession, but was also the owner of the 'measure,'

composed of stiff paper carefully sewed together and with the marks written upon it in the general's handwriting. It was sent to the tailor through Washington's agents, presumably 'Cary & Co., merchants.' It is noticeable for the same exactitude and precision as the more important matters which the general had connection with, and gives the absolute condition of his physique in that year.

'VIRGINIA, 26th April, 1763.—Mr. Lawrence: Be pleased to send me a genteele sute of cloaths, made of superfine broad cloth, handsomely chosen;—I should have enclosed you my measure, but, in a general way, they are so badly taken here, that I am convinced it would be of little service; I would have you, therefore, take measure of a gentleman who wears well-made cloaths of the following size, to wit: Six feet high and proportionably made; if anything, rather slender than thick for a person of that heighth, with pretty long arms and thighs. You will take care to make the breeches longer than those you sent me last, and I would have you keep the measure of the cloaths you now make by you, and if any alteration is required in my next, it shall be pointed out. Mr. Cary will pay your bill. I am, sir, your very obedient humble servant. GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Note—For your further government and knowledge of my size, I have sent the inclosed, and you must observe, yt from ye coat end to No. 1, and No. 3, is ye size over ye breast and hips, No. 2 over ye belly and No. 4 round ye arm, and from ye breeches: To No. a is for waistband; b, thick of the thigh; c, upper buttonhole; d, kneeband; e, for length of breeches.

Therefore, if you take measure of a person about 6 feet high of this bigness, I think you can't go amiss; you must take notice that the inclosed is the exact size, without allowing for seams, etc. GEORGE WASHINGTON.

To Mr. Chas. Lawrence, London.'

As Washington was thirty-one in 1763, his height, as he states it—viz., six feet—is apparently at variance with the popular belief that he was six feet two inches, but it may be that some peculiarity, either of his length of limb or of his body, caused him to tell his tailor to measure a gentleman of only six feet, assured that by some slight difference on his part from other men, he may have exactly the corrected difference. He was so correct in all his directions that this seems the only elucidation of the discrepancy."

This shows conclusively by Washington's own testimony that he was only six feet high, not six feet two inches, as the historians would have us believe. The editorial comment in the last clause of the article is a good illustration of how an editor, or writer, will try to make facts bend to theory or prejudice, when they disprove the view he entertains. The idea that a sensible man like Washington would deliberately order from his tailor a suit of clothes two inches shorter than his own height is too ridiculous to believe.

The original of this letter should be framed and presented to the ladies of the Mount Vernon Association for preservation in Washington's own house.

December 14, 1892 WESTCHESTER

NOTES

New year's day in the mohawk valley—In the *Starin Genealogy*, just issued, Mr. W. L. Stone says "the Dutch of the Mohawk Valley were distinguished for their good nature, love of home, and cordial hospitality. Fast young men, late hours, and fashionable dissipation were, in the olden time, unknown. There was, nevertheless, plenty of opportunity for healthful recreation. Holidays were abundant, each family having some of its own, such as birthdays, christenings, and marriage anniversaries. New Year's day was devoted to the universal interchange of visits. Every door in the Mohawk Valley was thrown wide open, and a warm welcome extended to the stranger as well as the friend. It was considered a breach of established etiquette to omit any acquaintance in these annual calls, by which old friendships were renewed, family differences settled, and broken or neglected intimacies restored. This is one of the excellent customs of 'ye olden tyme' that has its origin, like many others, traced exclusively to the earliest Holland settlers of New York."

King hendrick — If I rightly remember, in speaking of the name of Hendrick, the Mohawk chief, some time since, I did not mention the condolence of "Tiyanoga, alias Hendrick," and others who fell at the battle of Lake George, the condolence being held February 18, 1756. Each one was replaced by a French prisoner.

W. M. Beauchamp.

Broadway in 1892—Broadway, for so great a thoroughfare, gets its people to bed at night at a very proper season. It allows them a scant hour in which to eat their late suppers after the theatre, and then it grows rapidly and decorously quiet. The night watchmen turn out the lights in the big shops, and leave only as many burning as will serve to show the cases covered with linen, and the safe, defiantly conspicuous, in the rear; the cars begin to jog along more easily and at less frequent intervals; prowling night-hawks take the place of the smarter hansoms of the day, and the street-cleaners make drowsy attacks on the dirt and mud. There are no all-night restaurants to disturb the unbroken row of business fronts, and the footsteps of the patrolman, and the rattle of the locks as he tries the outer fastenings of the shops, echo sharply, and the voices of belated citizens bidding each other good-night as they separate at the street corners, have a strangely loud and hollow sound. By midnight the street is as quiet and desolate-looking as a summer resort in mid-winter, when the hotel and cottage windows are barred up, and the band-stand is covered an inch deep with snow. It is almost as deserted as Broadway is on any Sunday morning, when the boys who sell the morning papers are, apparently, the only New Yorkers awake.—Richard Harding Davis in *Great Streets of the World.*

Memorial to mrs. harrison—The *American Monthly* for November contains an interesting memorial of Mrs.

Harrison, the first president of the Daughters of the American Revolution. It announces the names of the national committee, who are to collect a fund for a portrait of Mrs. Harrison, to be hung in the White House. Otherwise the November might be called a "Dolly Madison number." There are several papers relating to her and the destruction of the public buildings in Washington in 1812, and two original engravings of Mrs. Madison. The first passage at arms in the Revolution, and other historical matters, receive attention.

QUERIES

TOM THUMB AND HAYDON—Will some reader of the *Magazine of American History* please explain to a dweller in the far west how Tom Thumb killed Haydon, the historical painter?

ABNER LINWOOD.

WABUSKA, NEVADA.

DID WASHINGTON AND FRANKLIN SMOKE?—*Editor of Magazine:* Can you or some of your readers inform me what were the views and practice of Washington and Franklin in regard to the smoking habit? I cannot find anything on the subject in any of the standard biographies, and I have a particular interest in being informed on that point.

HIRAM M. CHITTENDEN.

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA.

REPLIES

THE CURTAIN IS THE PICTURE [xxviii. 394]—*Editor Magazine of American History:* The expression "The curtain is the picture," about which "Teacher" queries in the current number, doubtless refers to the alleged contest in skill between two celebrated Greek painters in the fifth century before Christ, thus described in Lempriere's dictionary: "When they had produced their respective pieces, the birds came to pick with the greatest avidity the grapes which Zeuxis had painted. Immediately Parrhasius exhibited his piece, and Zeuxis said: 'Remove your curtain, that we may see the painting.' The curtain was the painting, and Zeuxis acknowledged himself conquered, by exclaiming, 'Zeuxis has deceived the birds; but Parrhasius has deceived Zeuxis himself!'"

WILLIAM GILBERT DAVIES.

NEW YORK CITY.

BISHOP WILLIAM R. WHITTINGHAM [xxviii. 473]—Let your English correspondent, E. P. C., of Liverpool, address Miss M. H. Whittingham, No. 1108 Madison avenue, Baltimore, Maryland. Miss Whittingham is the librarian of the valuable Maryland Episcopal Library, which her father, the dear bishop, left to the Diocese of Maryland.

EDMUND M. BARTON.

WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS.

THE MOUND BUILDERS OF OHIO [xviii. 394, 473]—In the November issue of your magazine Mr. Amasa Oakley asks for some definite information from some antiquarian concerning the people who built the mounds of Ohio. While I am not an "antiquarian," and only claim to be interested in the study of the history and traditions of our American Indians, still I may be able to give Mr. Oakley the present judgment of leading students of ethnology. Mound building has been carried on by different tribes within the historic period, and the opinion is gaining ground with the best authorities of the day, that all the mounds in the United States were the work of tribes known to us, or their ancestors.

The Cherokees claim that the Grave Creek mounds of Ohio were built by their ancestors during their occupancy of that region. How long that may have been is not known, but, evidently, they had enjoyed peaceful possession of the country for a long period before the advent of the Lenni Lenape (Delawares). Mr. Hale thinks that the contest for the possession of that region between the Lenape and the Tsalake (Cherokees) must have lasted for a hundred years before the Cherokees were driven southward, which event he places in the ninth century. Professor Cyrus Thomas, judging from traditions and other data, places it in the eleventh or twelfth century. The evidence of the mounds and their contents would indicate that they were erected at different periods and by different people.

Mr. Walter K. Moorehead in his interesting account of his survey of Fort Ancient, judging from the "Wigwam circles," and identity of pottery found in that locality with the pottery of the Mandans, together with their tradition of having at a remote period occupied the Ohio valley, suggests the possibility that the Mandans were the builders of that great fortification. While Professor Putnam of Peabody Institute in his careful study of the Great Serpent mound of Adams county finds evidence that it was a religious structure, and believes that the region has been occupied by various types of men from the glacial period down, he offers no opinion as to who or what particular tribe built the mound. As the plumed and crested rattlesnake entered largely into the mythology of nearly all the North American tribes, the serpent form can hardly be a reason for ascribing it to any special tribe.

In the skulls found in the mounds of the lower Mississippi valley are many resemblances to the Mexican, and it is claimed that there can be no doubt of the unity of the truncated pyramid of the same locality, with the Mexican teocalli. Professor Jones thinks the Natchez were the connecting link with the Nahuas. The late Mr. L. H. Morgan stated that the balance of evidence was in favor of a common origin of the different tribes of North America, which would account for similarity of ideas in many respects. I know of no evidence that would warrant the theory advanced by C. H. Gardiner in the December issue, that the Aztecs were the builders of the Ohio mounds. Mr. Holmes of the bureau of ethnography classifies the pottery of the mounds into three great

groups: the Upper, Middle, and Lower Mississippi. The pottery of the Upper Mississippi region belongs to a distinct family, and evidently the tribes who manufactured it have at different times occupied Manitoba, Iowa, Wisconsin, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio. This ware is closely allied to that of the eastern and New England states. Mr. L. H. Morgan was of the opinion that the Mound-builders lived in communal houses, in some cases built upon mounds enclosing a court for games and other purposes, and that in most respects their life was very similar to that of the Indian tribes whom the white people first met here. The opinion of to-day among the leading ethnologists, is that they were in no way superior in art or modes of life to the historic tribes.

It is to be hoped that the efficient and able director of the bureau of ethnography, Major Powell, will with his capable staff of assistants prosecute their studies of the aborigines of America, and that they may find other clues which, in their skilled hands, will lead to a more thorough and accurate knowledge of these ancient people.

HARRIET PHILLIPS EATON
JERSEY CITY, NEW JERSEY.

THE MOUND-BUILDERS [xxviii. 394, 473]—Numerous articles have been published in this magazine from time to time on *The Mound-builders*, which will be of special interest to students and writers on the subject. Dr. Cyrus Thomas contributed an article of eleven pages to the May number, 1884, entitled *The Cherokees probably Mound-builders*. He also described *Houses of the Mound-builders* in the preceding February number. General Thurston discussed *The Mound-builders in Tennessee* in the May number, 1888, and Dr. Thomas responded in July, 1888, under the title of, *The Mound-builders were Indians*, in which he brought many interesting facts to bear upon the mounds in Ohio. Still another valuable article from the same pen on the same theme, under the title of *Indian Tribes in Prehistoric Times*, appeared in the September number, 1888. We might point to many more learned treatises on the subject in this magazine, if space permitted. But if the student will run his eye over the index to each volume, he will find material worthy of his attention concerning the Mound-builders.

EDITOR

ERROR CORRECTED [xxviii. 389]—Under the California seal, second line, "dimensions, 770 miles northeast and southwest," should read *northwest and southeast.*

C. H. R.
TARRYTOWN, NEW YORK.

ERROR CORRECTED [xxviii. 87]—In speaking of one of the ladies of the revolutionary tea party, in Edenton, North Carolina, as Mrs. Mary Hoskins, the author should have said Mrs. Winifred Hoskins. The lady was the wife of Richard Hoskins, and was my great-grandmother. My grandmother was only seven years old at that time.

W. M. E. BOND
EDENTON, NORTH CAROLINA.

SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The stated meeting for December was held on the evening of the 6th instant, the Hon. John A. King presiding. The final paper of the Columbus series was read by Mr. Eugene Lawrence; his subject was "Columbus in Poetry." It was an exceptionally interesting study in a field hitherto unexplored in connection with the Columbian celebration, and a large and cultured audience listened with close attention to the orator in his admirable presentation of his theme.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF TRINITY COLLEGE, NORTH CAROLINA, has had three regular meetings during the present term. The meeting for October was a Columbus symposium. Dr. Stephen B. Weeks read a paper on "Columbus and the spirit of his age"; Prof. J. L. Armstrong read selections from Sidney Lanier's "Psalm to the West"; Mr. J. A. Baldwin presented a paper on the "Naming of America," and Mr. J. F. Shinn one on "The Fortunes and Fate of Columbus."

At the December meeting Mr. Shinn read an interesting paper on the "First discovery of gold in North Carolina in 1799." Dr. Weeks called attention to, and asked subscriptions for, the new confederate monument which is now to be erected in Raleigh to the memory of the North Carolina soldiers in the confederate army. He also made some remarks on the extent and character of the work of the confederate press, for a history of which he is collecting materials.

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—A meeting of the executive committee of this society was held November 1, at the Westmoreland club-house, Richmond, President William Wirt Henry in the chair. Gifts of a large number of books, manuscripts, etc., were reported. The following may be specially mentioned: A large mass of papers, bills, and documents relating to the Carter family of Virginia, covering the period from 1700 to 1800, of the highest interest in the information they afford of life in Virginia; a most valuable bequest from the late Cassius F. Lee of Alexandria, Virginia, consisting of books relating to the history of Virginia, the family Bible of Richard Henry Lee, letter books of William Lee and of Arthur Lee, many papers of the Ludwell and Lee families, and highly interesting autograph letters of the distinguished brothers, Richard Henry, Francis Lightfoot, William and Arthur Lee.

Mr. Levin Joynes, Richmond, Virginia, was elected a regular member of the society.

Messrs. Tyler and Brock were appointed a committee to make arrangements for an annual meeting, and to secure historical papers to be read before the society.

THE ROCHESTER (NEW YORK) HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its December meeting in the chamber of commerce, and was largely attended.

Mrs. J. M. Parker read an interesting and carefully prepared paper on "The Jesuit Relations;" and Mrs. Theodore

E. Hopkins read some "Reminiscences of the Rochester Female Seminary."

The Minnesota historical society held a meeting on November 14. Valuable gifts were reported. The committee on Columbian celebration reported that the same had taken place, and was highly successful and gratifying. Mr. Upham, from the committee to obtain the papers of the late General Sibley, reported that his heirs promised them to the society, and that they stated "that there were seven barrels" of them. Mr. Wm. H. Grant addressed the society with much earnestness, declaring that the society must begin steps to secure a fireproof building for its use. Other members seconded the proposition, and it was voted that the president appoint a committee to report a plan whereby such a building could be secured.

Rhode island historical society—At the meeting of this society on the evening of November 29, at the cabinet, in Providence, the Rev. William C. Langdon, D.D., lectured on the "Old Catholics of the Italian Revolution." He said, before directly treating of the "Old Catholics": "I wish to make clear the exact position which the Church held to the Italian government. The papacy was the complex of four factors —the bishopric of Rome, the temporal power of the pope, the spiritual supremacy, and fourthly, the Curia Romana, the complex machinery by which the papacy carried on its administration. We who are outside of Italy think more of the third of these factors, the spiritual supremacy, and starting our thinking here, we are apt to think of Rome as the location where that power is exercised. Yet we speak of moving the papacy; an error, for the papacy, strictly speaking, cannot be moved. The primary thing is the bishopric of Rome. There is attributed to it a feeling of primacy over the nation in which the bishopric is located. We are next led to the step that when the Roman empire was broken up the bishopric of Rome should not become so attached to one of the fragments as to lose authority in the other parts. The Italians, as a rule, were not alienated from the bishopric of Rome. They were indifferent to the claim of spiritual supremacy outside of Italy, except as it was to them a matter of pride and national sentiment. While the Italians adhere to the bishopric of Rome, they are hostile to the temporal power. Italy cannot be a nation while the temporal power remains. All attempts to unify Italy came through aiming blows at the temporal power of the Church. The average Italian patriot is determined to blot out forever the temporal power, but is practically indifferent to the spiritual supremacy. The patriot party, including almost the entire mass of the people, take this position of loyalty to the bishopric, but are hostile to the temporal power. Practically the papacy is arrayed against the national movement. The patriot class is threefold. One class rejects the Church bodily; another element, who do not give up their religion, are evolving a philosophical basis for religion outside of the Church. There is a third element, who adhere strictly to the Church but who are at the same time Nationalists."

THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF AMERICA held its first regular meeting of the winter season on the evening of December 15, at the residence of Mr. and Mrs. James M. Lawton, 37 Fifth avenue. This meeting was to have taken the form of a reception to the president of the society, Hon. John Jay, but, owing to a severe illness, he was unable to be present. He sent a very interesting letter, however, which was read by the secretary, Mr. William Bayard Blackwell, to the assembled guests. The reception was from eight until nine o'clock, in the handsome drawing-rooms of Mrs. Lawton, when the party, numbering some seventy-five, adjourned to a spacious hall, where seats were provided for all, and the meeting was called to order by Vice-President Edward F. DeLancey, who introduced the speaker of the evening, Professor J. K. Rees, the celebrated astronomer, who is of Huguenot descent and a member of the society. His subject was "The Moon and Planets," illustrated with stereopticon views embracing the latest observations, and the appreciative audience applauded with genuine enthusiasm.

A pleasant feature of the reception was the exhibition by Mrs. Lawton of the portrait of her father, General Robert H. Anderson, of Fort Sumter fame, which she has presented to the alumni that General Anderson founded at West Point academy. Mrs. Anderson, who was unable to be present at the meeting of the society, of which she is a member, presented a dainty little badge, consisting of a marigold with the Huguenot knot, to every lady and gentleman who graced the occasion. The membership of the Huguenot society represents the intellect as well as the best families of the metropolis and of the land, and its chief object at present is to collect data for an extensive biographical volume, that will show how largely the Huguenot element has contributed to the progress of this country in every line that is uplifting, good, and noble. The society has twelve vice-presidents, among whom are Hon. Chauncey M. Depew, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, Hon. Thomas F. Bayard, and Richard L. Maury of Virginia; and the executive committee for 1892 includes R. Fulton Cutting, Frederic J. DePeyster, Rev. W. W. Atterbury, D.D., and William Cary Sanger. The meetings are held on the third Thursday of every month during the winter season.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA (Los Angeles) held its annual meeting for the election of officers on the first Monday of December. The following-named members were elected a board of directors for the ensuing year: E. W. Jones, Rt. Rev. José Adam, J. M. Guinn, C. P. Dorland, Edwin Baxter, Miss Tessa L. Kelso, H. D. Barrows. At a meeting of the board of directors, held after the adjournment of the society, the following were elected officers of the society: Major E. W. Jones, president; Edwin Baxter, first vice-president; H. D. Barrows, second vice-president; J. M. Guinn, secretary and curator; C. P. Dorland, treasurer. The society holds regular meetings the first Monday evening of each month.

BOOK NOTICES

THE INFLUENCE OF SEA POWER UPON HISTORY. 1660–1783. By CAPTAIN A. T. MAHAN, U.S.N. Second edition. 8vo, pp. 557. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1892.

The purpose of this well-written work is made very clear to the reader. It illustrates the effect of sea power upon the general history of Europe and America during a period of great importance. The determining influence of maritime strength upon great issues has apparently been overlooked heretofore, historical writers not generally being familiar with the sea, and possessing as little special interest as knowledge; while naval historians have confined themselves to their own field, as simple chroniclers, without investigating the mutual relation of events. Captain Mahan has therefore covered unoccupied ground in giving us a unique and informing volume; and writing as a naval officer in full sympathy with his profession, he has discussed questions of naval policy, strategy, and tactics, with great force. He has wisely avoided technical language as far as possible, thus unprofessional readers cannot fail to be interested. The work opens with a chapter on the elements of sea power, in which the development of colonies and colonial posts, the influence of colonies on sea power, the character and polity of the governments of England, France, and Holland, the weakness of the United States in sea power, and the dependence of commerce upon secure seaports, are among the themes most graphically discussed. The second chapter is chiefly historical, showing the state of Europe in 1660, describing the second Anglo-Dutch war, 1665–1667, and the sea-battles of Lowestoft and of the Four Days. This war was wholly maritime, and had the general characteristic of all such wars. The description of the justly celebrated Four Days' battle, in June, 1666, is one of the best we have ever seen. Accompanying maps add greatly to a proper understanding of the conflict.

The wars between 1672 and 1678 are also treated with discriminating fulness. The English Revolution and the war of the League of Augsburg form the fourth chapter, and the fifth is devoted to the war of the Spanish succession, 1702–1713. The author says in this connection, "Great as were the effects of the maritime supremacy of the two sea powers upon the general result of the war, and especially upon that undisputed empire of the seas which England held for a century after, the contest is marked by no one naval action of military interest. Once only did the great fleets meet, and then with results that were undecisive; after which the French gave up the struggle at sea, confining themselves wholly to a commerce-destroying warfare. This feature of the war of the Spanish succession characterized nearly the whole of the eighteenth century, with the exception of the American revolutionary struggle. The overwhelming sea power of England was the determining factor in European history during the period mentioned, maintaining war abroad while keeping its own people in prosperity at home, and building up the great empire which is now seen; but from its very greatness its action, by escaping opposition, escapes attention." We turn with interest to the agitation in North America at the time of the French war, 1756–1763, when Dr. Franklin wrote: "There is no repose for our thirteen colonies so long as the French are masters of Canada." The long reach of England's sea power was also felt in the West Indies, in Portugal, and in the far east. Then came the American Revolution and the maritime wars consequent upon it, this volume closing with the signing of the definitive treaties of peace at Versailles, September 3, 1783. It is an instructive work of the highest value and interest to students and to the reading public, and should find its way into all the libraries and homes of the land.

ADMIRAL FARRAGUT. By CAPTAIN A. T. MAHAN, U.S.N. 12mo, pp. 435. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1892.

No better name could have been selected to head the list of great commanders than that of David Glasgow Farragut, and probably no one could have been found better qualified to write his life than the accomplished naval officer now president of the United States Naval War college, already known to letters through the publication of several valuable works, which have secured him a permanent place among the authors of our time, notably "The Influence of Sea Power upon History," which it has been our pleasure to commend with enthusiasm in the preceding notice.

Farragut must ever occupy a unique position among great naval commanders. His sea service began early in the century, when babies were sent to sea as midshipmen. (What a pity it is, by the way, that some uneasy innovator has managed to have the historic grade of "middy" stricken from the rolls!) He learned his knots and splices behind the guns of the old sailing frigates, and before the end of his active life had commanded and encountered iron-clads in action. His professional career, therefore, bridged over the transition period from canvas to steam. And it is not easy to conceive how equally

romantic conditions can ever arise in the naval history of the future. That he was a military genius was abundantly proven by the readiness with which he met and solved the problems that were presented during the adventurous years of the civil war. How he successfully fought river and harbor forts with sea-going ships, and captured formidable ironclads largely with wooden ships, are tales that will long be told to successive generations of American patriots.

This volume introduces a series of biographical sketches under the editorship of General James Grant Wilson, which promises to be a valuable addition to the trustworthy romance of military history. The forthcoming volumes are not yet announced, but judging from this foretaste, they will worthily sustain the reputation alike of authors and publishers.

THE STORY OF MARY WASHINGTON. By MARION HARLAND. 16mo, pp. 171. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Company. 1892.

Mrs. Terhune has made a book which is not only a reverent tribute to the memory of a remarkable woman of strong and beautiful character, one who as the mother of our first president is entitled to our intimate acquaintance and lasting esteem and affection, but she has given within its dainty covers an interesting picture of life in Virginia in the early part of the eighteenth century. Epping Forest, where Mary Washington was born in 1706, was the homestead of the family of Ball, which was one of dignified respectability in that region of country. Mrs. Terhune's descriptions of country-house life and pursuits in old Virginia are exceedingly realistic, and read like chronicles of English country life. We learn in these pages how Colonel Joseph Ball, Mary's father, constructed a gallery in the church known as White Chapel, when it was in process of erection in 1740, for his family pew. Stipulation was made that the pew should "be completed at the same time with the church, and finished in the same style with the west gallery." We read that "the Ball house was a square frame structure, plain in architecture, with a porch in front, and upper and lower porticos recessed by the half wings, in the rear. A grove of native trees surrounded it on all sides. We get our first mention of the baby-girl in a will executed by her father when she was between five and six years old."

Mrs. Terhune gives many welcome particulars in relation to Mary Washington's origin and breeding, with the purpose of correcting false impressions among superficial readers of American history. She has gathered extracts from some of Mary's early letters, but few of which, however, are known to exist, and has dilligently sought for information about her in innumerable directions. In her reference to the Washingtons, Mrs. Terhune does not allude to the recent researches of Henry F. Waters, A.M., which practically settle all doubts in relation to the exact line of ancestry of George Washington. The John and Lawrence Washington who came to America were sons of the royalist clergyman Lawrence Washington, who died before 1655. The wife of this clergyman died about the same time as her husband, and their children were thus left orphans. The eldest son, John, was about twenty-four in 1657, and Lawrence was twenty-two. Mr. Waters says: "Supposing them to have been young men of only ordinary enterprise and ambition, with the desire to get on in the world, what chance had they in England at that time, known as belonging to a royalist family, with all or most of their friends royalists like themselves, and Cromwell firmly seated in his protectorate?" Mrs. Terhune adds to her valuable narrative an account of the various attempts and failures to erect a suitable memorial to Mary Washington, and gives the history of a portrait which by some is believed to be that of the subject of the volume, although proofs are wanting. The book is one that will be cherished, and it may be added that no one who reads it can fail to have a much more vivid idea of the environment which gave to Washington some of his most characteristic traits; and it shows with clearness the highly organized state of society from which came the men who founded our republican government.

ALONG THE FLORIDA REEF. By CHARLES F. HOLDER. 12mo, pp. 350. New York: D. Appleton and Co. 1892.

A great many voyagers have gazed from passing steamers upon that low-lying line of islands that borders the swiftest part of the Gulf Stream from Cape Florida to the Tortugas, but very few comparatively have ever experienced the delight of exploring those wonderful channels in small boats, camping on the snow-white coral beaches, and studying the myriad forms of life that throng the air and water. Professor Holder was for several years engaged in scientific exploration of the Keys, and he has brought together his notes and reminiscences in a volume that should prove most attractive and instructive to young naturalists. Numerous illustrations, evidently drawn from the life, add interest to the pages and afford a taste of the pleasures and dangers that await explorers along this remarkable coast. Here alone within the territory of the United States "live" coral is found growing under the tentacles of that industrious little creature that the world persists in misnaming an "insect." Here may be seen angel fish, groupers, pelicans, sharks, curlew, frigate birds, and ten thousand other creatures

whose names alone would fill a volume. Perhaps the next best thing to a visit in person is a reading of Professor Holder's book.

LONDON. By WALTER BESANT. With illustrations. Crown 8vo, pp. 509. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1892.

This volume possesses so many and varied attractions that it is difficult to give our readers an adequate idea of its well-rounded character in the brief space in these columns at our command. London is a vast city, and views of its streets, buildings, and citizens at work and at play do not come to our library tables in such charming form every day. "The history of London," says Mr. Besant, "has been undertaken by many writers; the presentment of the city and the people from age to age has never yet, I believe, been attempted." The first chapter is on Roman London, and brings to light many interesting relics of that far-away period. Roman London, says the author, was not modern Liverpool. Its bulk of trade was perfectly insignificant compared with that of the present. Still it was, up to the coming of the Saxons, a vigorous and flourishing place, and the chief port of the country. Before the city was built, the River Thames between Mortlake on the west and Blackwall on the east pursued a serpentine way, in the midst of marshes stretching north and south. There were marshes all the way. At spring tides, and all tides a little above the common, these marshes were under water; they were always swampy and covered with ponds; half a dozen tributary brooks flowed into them and were lost in them. The Romans built their forum and basilica with the offices and official houses and quarters on a little hill or cliff on the eastern side of the Thames. Later, the merchants were obliged to spread themselves along the bank, and built little quays and river-walls to keep out the water. An old map enabled Mr. Besant to recover the years which followed the retreat of the Romans. The chapter entitled "Saxon and Norman" will delight every intelligent reader. Mr. Besant says: "London was converted in A.D. 604. This was a hasty and incomplete conversion, executed to order, for the citizens speedily relapsed. Then they were again converted, and in sober earnest put away their old gods, keeping only a few of the more favorite superstitions. They were so thoroughly converted that the city of London became a veritable mother of saints." It is in this chapter that we acquire enlightenment about the building of the ancient churches, when the people knelt on the stones in prayer; and of the famous bridge, with a fortified gate, which in 1091 was swept away in a terrible storm. The bridge was rebuilt, and in 1135 was destroyed by fire. The next bridge was more substantially built, and there was no bridge in Europe that could compare with it in strength or size. In manner of living the Saxons were fond of vegetables, especially of leek, onion, and garlic. They cultivated gardens in which were fruits and flowers. Their houses are illustrated, and their manners and customs. Three chapters are devoted to the Plantagenet period, and are full of life and reality. In the Tudor period, occupying the seventh and eighth chapters, the wealth of illustration is astonishing. One might as well be writing of the city life of this day, so copious seem the materials. The reign of Charles II. brings with it the pictures of the palace of Whitehall, Hungerford market, Cheapside, Fleet street, Belon bridge, Sion college, John Bunyan's meeting-house, building of the Bank of England, and old St. Paul. The closing chapter is entitled "George the Second." In it the picture of London is confined chiefly to the life of the bourgeois. In 1750 London was spreading, but not yet rapidly. The gates still stood and were closed at sunset until the year 1760. Then they were all pulled down, and the materials sold, as they were doubtless an obstruction to traffic. The roads were paved with squares of Scotch granite laid on gravel. In the streets of private houses there passed a never-ending procession of those who bawled things for sale. The common practice of bakers and milkmen was to keep tally on the doorpost with chalk. "One advantage of this method was that a mark might be added when the maid was not looking." The taxes of a house amounted to about half the rent. Servants found their own tea and coffee if they wanted any. Mail coaches started every night at eight o'clock with a guard. There were nine morning and eight evening newspapers. And there were gibbets stuck up everywhere, and remained until after the beginning of this century. The reader will enjoy this volume, as there is not a dull or uninforming page between its two covers, and the subject is one that interests the entire world.

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN EASTERN CANADA AND NEWFOUNDLAND. By REV. J. LANGTRY, M.A., D.C.L. [Colonial Church Histories.] With map. 16mo, pp. 256. London and New York: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. 1892.

The author has made admirable use of his wealth of material in producing a history of the ten eastern dioceses of Canada in a volume of the limited size of the one before us. All freedom of treatment and fluency of style have necessarily been excluded—even the attractive feature of biographical illustration. Yet even in this

brief form the work was worth the doing, for much valuable information has been rescued from apparent oblivion and here permanently preserved. At the treaty of Paris in 1763 the whole of North America north of the Alleghany mountains was ceded by France to England. The territory, however, was regarded as an impenetrable wilderness, of no use except as a covert for fur-bearing animals. What is it now? No English settlements of any importance were effected in Canada until after the Revolution; and no class fared so badly in the war for independence as the clergy of the English Church. In Nova Scotia, which was ceded to the British crown by France in 1713, there was a mission of the Church of England about 1749. The first colonial diocese of the English Church was founded in Nova Scotia in 1789. The diocese of Montreal was formed out of that of Quebec in the year 1850. The diocese of Niagara was formed in 1874. The little volume is crowded with facts of the first moment; it is concisely written, giving evidence of the highest scholarship and consummate skill in the management of data, and cannot fail to prove a valuable addition to church history in America.

ALONG NEW ENGLAND ROADS. By W. C. PRIME, LL.D. 16mo, pp. 200. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1892.

Some very clever letters, written for "the purpose of a day," for the New York *Journal of Commerce*, during a period of more than forty years, form this charming little volume. Dr. W. C. Prime's writings are well known, and although he states distinctly in his preface that he did not want to make this book, and only revised and edited it because he feared another person might, and thus perpetuate errors of type that creep into rapid newspaper work, he may be congratulated on its production. The sketches are all true to life, and bring much of real interest into the foreground. It is, in its best sense, a book of New England travels. In driving in his own carriage through the valleys of New Hampshire and Vermont, he on one occasion notices a crowd about a farm-house, and pauses to attend an auction. The house had been for a long time the home of an honest, respected farmer who had recently died: an old man whose work was ended. This auction sale was the extinguishment of a fire that had been burning on a hearth a great many years, and Dr. Prime's description of it, and of the old kitchen, is a masterpiece of English composition. He was there only a few moments, and then drove on. At another time he has paused at a village store and become interested in a discussion among half a dozen men sitting about a stove, on the subject of miracles, and of the laws of gravitation, which was concluded by the query of one of the philosophers: "Which is best wuth believin', my old mother when she told me the miracles was true because there's a God over the airth, or these consarned edicated fools that go around saying there never could a-been no miracles because they don't know how to work 'em"? The title of one bright chapter is "Uphill in a Fog"; others are: "An Angler's August Day," "Views from a Hill Top," "The Triumphant Chariot," "Epitaphs and Names," and "Finding a New Country." Every page of the little volume is captivating, even to the "Boys with Stand-up Collars," a chapter which every father and mother should not fail to read.

THE STARIN FAMILY IN AMERICA. Descendants of Nicholas Ster (Starin), one of the early settlers of Fort Orange, Albany, New York. By WILLIAM L. STONE. Square octavo, pp. 233. Albany, New York: Joel Munsell's Sons. 1892.

This handsomely printed genealogical work is something more than a mere record of the several generations of the Starin family. It is of special historical value, through its sketches of the varied fortunes of the first settlers in the Mohawk valley, and the stirring events of the French and Revolutionary wars in that quarter of our state. The founder of the family, Nicholas Ster, came to New York in 1696 from Holland, and settled in Albany. He brought property with him, and was soon engaged in an extensive and lucrative trade with the Indians. In 1705 he removed to the German flats, the soil of that region having become well known for its remarkable fertility. He changed his Dutch surname soon after his arrival in this country to *Stern*, a word meaning the same as *Ster* in the Dutch language, and a few years later to Starring or Starin, and these two names have continued to be used interchangeably by the family down to the present generation.

The son of Nicholas, Adam Starin, from early youth participated in all the perils of frontier life, and lived to be over ninety years of age. His brother Nicholas was an Indian trader, and a personal friend of Sir William Johnson, with whom he made many journeys through the wilderness. On one occasion, as they were returning from Schenectady on horseback, at the edge of a swamp the baronet pulled up his horse to ask of Starin, *What animals are those making such a strange noise?* Starin replied, with a grin, that they were bull-frogs. Whereupon the baronet spurred up his horse, not a little mortified to think he had but just learned, as his countrymen would say, "what a toad or a frog was!"

Judge Heinrich Staring, of another generation, was the author of the celebrated *Yankee Post*, the amusing story of which is given in the volume. There were numerous Starins who did

good service in the Revolution, and were identified with the patriots of the time. Two of the name were present at the battle of Oriskany, taking prominent part in the action. The author describes the social customs of the Dutch of the Mohawk valley, and their favorite holidays. A picture of the old Caughnawaga church, erected in 1763, is pertinently introduced, as John Starin, an Indian interpreter and confidential friend of Washington, led the choir in it. Many allied families are introduced in these pages, with an immense amount of important and welcome information. Among the numerous biographical sketches, that of John Henry Starin is of special interest. He was born in 1825, and his life has been identified with the progress of affairs since then in manifold ways. This genealogical work is one of exceptional excellence, and will be prized by all genealogical students, irrespective of any connection with the Starins or the many allied families mentioned. A good index will be found at the close of the volume.

THE STATESMANSHIP OF WILLIAM H. SEWARD. As seen in his public career prior to 1861. By ANDREW ESTREM. 8vo, pp. 83, pamphlet. Privately printed, 1892.

In this clever monograph the author has made a study which he calls neither a biography nor a history, but which is, in a measure, a combination of both. He has made himself familiar with the politics of New York near the close of the first quarter of this century, at the time when they presented the spectacle of nominally one party with three or four more or less antagonistic subdivisions. He does not attempt to explain this, but says: "New York politics have always had in them something that baffles ordinary explanation." He then traces the career of Mr. Seward, through his early and notable experiences in politics, to the councils of the nation at Washington, until the Union had become the leading idea in the statesman's mind—a career that, from first to last, is interesting to Americans in the superlative degree. Mr. Seward, as we all remember, was styled the "great arch-agitator" in the Southern journals, while he was energetically fighting the secession movement at every step, disputing every inch of ground. Mr. Seward was a statesman of sharply defined opinions, and was perfectly fearless in the expression of them.

THE QUEEN OF EGYPTOLOGY. Amelia B. Edwards, Ph.D., L.H.D., LL.D. By WILLIAM C. WINSLOW, Ph.D., D.D., LL.D. With portrait. 8vo, pp. 15, pamphlet. Privately printed, 1892.

The vice-president of the Egyptian Exploration Fund, Dr. Winslow, has written a very just and appreciative sketch of Miss Edwards, whom we all know to have been wonderfully versatile in various lines of intellectual labor. He found her many-sided as an Egyptologist, and "the best delineator old Egypt has ever had. Hers was preëminently the rôle of interpreter." Even the *Saturday Review* claims that no other writer did so much to render Egypt popular. Dr. Winslow says: "Intellectual culture, education, may everywhere regard Miss Edwards as a generous creditor in the great exchange of knowledge—for out of Egypt has chiefly come our knowledge of the evolution of man during a period of five thousand years, B.C., and among the delightful surprises of our day is the enthusiasm, intelligence, skill, magnetism, and poetry with which Miss Edwards's pen and voice have invested the old, old subject, now regenerated to notice—public notice—by discovery, and by portrayal like hers."

EARLY MEDICINE AND EARLY MEDICAL MEN IN CONNECTICUT. By GURDON W. RUSSELL, M.D., of Hartford. 8vo, pp. 158, pamphlet. 1892.

An interesting subject is admirably treated in this monograph, a part of which formed an address delivered before the centennial meeting of the Connecticut Medical Society, at New Haven, on the 25th of May, 1892. Very few physicians emigrated to this country in the earliest times; thus the colonists were dependent on the clergy who knew a little about medicine, and upon themselves. Thomas Lord was the first practitioner who was licensed by the general court of Connecticut. He was the son of Thomas Lord, who came over in 1635, with his wife and seven children, and was among the landholders of Hartford in 1639. Thomas Pell was a surgeon at the Saybrook fort, and in the list which follows may be observed scores of well-known family names. The early physicians, we are sorry to say, were not always successful in collecting their dues, but the general court tried to comfort them, and voted that "it was a wrong to the public that a physician should be thus discouraged." It seems that in 1654 John Winthrop was especially desired to remove to and live at New Haven as a physician. Dr. Lemuel Hopkins, having studied medicine with Dr. Jared Potter and Dr. Seth Bird, commenced practice in Litchfield about 1776, afterwards removing to Hartford; he was one of the famous wits and poets of the day.

THE LETTER OF COLUMBUS ON THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA. A facsimile of the pictorial edition, with a new and literal translation, and a complete reprint of the

oldest four editions in Latin. 16mo, pp. 61. New York: Printed by order of the trustees of the Lenox library.

This facsimile reproduction of the unique pictorial edition in Latin printed in 1493, illustrated with eight curious woodcuts, will be greatly prized; it is followed by a new and literal English translation, and an appendix containing a parallel reprint, in ordinary type, of the oldest four editions in Latin, with an historical and bibliographical introduction, describing all the editions of this letter known to have been printed in Spanish, Latin, Italian, and German, before the year 1500. It is printed on fine paper and issued in handsome cloth binding.

A TOUR AROUND NEW YORK AND MY SUMMER ACRE: Being the recreations of Mr. Felix Oldboy. By JOHN FLAVEL MINES, LL.D. Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 518. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1893.

The sketches gathered in this volume have appeared from time to time in the New York *Evening Post* and the *Commercial Advertiser*, under the quaint pseudonym of "Felix Oldboy." The author was familiar with all the scenes and places of which he wrote, and had a microscopic eye for details of topography and life. He was blessed also with a capacious and unfailing memory, and possessed a rare judgment and taste for distinguishing between what was purely gossip and what, though minute, was vital to his theme. He had the indescribable gift of the *raconteur*, who is personal without being egotistical, gossipy without being garrulous, and circumstantial without ever being tiresome.

His reminiscences, or about two-thirds of them, relate to the New York of half a century ago, and the other third to rural life as enjoyed at the same period in an old mansion fronting Hell Gate on the East river. So far as the title would lead the reader to expect to find in its pages an account of the living New York of to-day—the great, busy, noisy, overgrown New York which we know—it is a misleading title; it is a past New York which is charmingly sketched in these pages.

Mr. Mines writes of the days when Trinity church was new, and Varick and Laight streets in their glory; when Columbia college was down town, and the voyage to Albany was still made by sloop; when May meetings filled the Broadway Tabernacle, and Christy's minstrels and the Ravels attracted and delighted nightly throngs; when Bowery life was at the full, and Harlem was a village and St. John's park in the glory of its loveliness. Then were the times of Hamiltons, Schuylers and Mortons, of Drakes, Lydigs and Delafields. Actual New York a hundred years ago was only a nail on the end of the long finger of Manhattan Island, and Mr. Mines knew it when it was barely more than that. He remembers the state prison that stood on what is now West Tenth street; the great boarding-houses that flanked the City Hall park when he was a boy; the "Astor boys" walking daily to and from their Prince street office; the long since vanished precincts of Greenwich and Chelsea; the old churches and halls and theaters and mansions that have disappeared before the march of business; and the notabilities who, like them, are only memories and names to-day.

Mr. Mines writes in a style admirably adapted to the subject, and the subject is fascinating. Interesting pictures, not less than one hundred and fifty, add greatly to the interest of the text; the precision of the historiographer is softened by the grace of the lover and the sentiment of the poet; and the charm of all these lively recollections of interesting scenes, personages, and events can be felt throughout the entire volume. The work sparkles with anecdotes and pen-portraits, and will be treasured by all New Yorkers.

Martha J. Lamb

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. XXIX FEBRUARY, 1893 No. 2

SOCIETY IN THE EARLY DAYS OF THE REPUBLIC

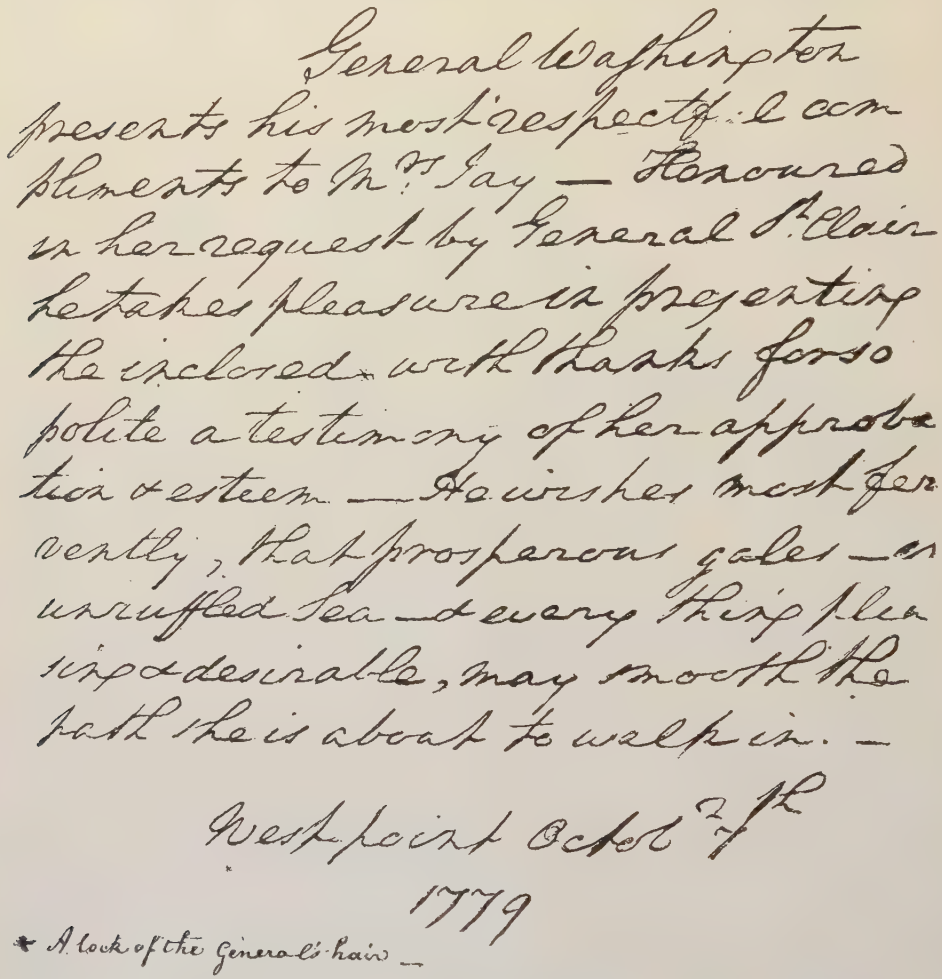
BY JAMES GRANT WILSON

THE choice of New York for the sittings of congress gave to that old home of the Dutch and Huguenots, hardly recovered from the war, a new dignity, and enlarged opportunities for social intercourse with senators, members, and high officials coming from the various states of the American Union, whose differing colonial antecedents were associated with the best blood and the eventful history of Europe.

There is available an opportunity of gaining an exact and minute acquaintance with social events, and the personages who made them what they were, in the early days of our republic. By a happy chance there has been preserved Mrs. John Jay's *Dinner and Supper List for* 1787 *and* '8—a period when her husband was secretary for foreign affairs for the continental congress. The names which the list furnishes, together with the memoranda afforded by occasional private correspondence, and the published notes of European travelers touching that interesting period, contribute to give a picture, that already possesses an historic interest, of the social circles of New York during its brief existence as the national capital under the articles of confederation, and for two sessions of the first congress under the Constitution. Armed with this list, and some concomitant documentary or printed aids, we can look in upon the banquet-halls of the substantial, spacious mansions of that day,—owned or occupied by magnates of the republic, of the state, of the city, of the diplomatic circles, and of society itself,—and people them again with those who were accustomed to gather there. We can glance along the festive boards, and observe who of note at home or abroad met in those days around them.

The society of New York at that time, despite the comparative insignificance of the city in extent and population, and all that it had suffered during the war, presented more strikingly than in after years, when domestic and foreign immigration had made it a common centre, those distinguished characteristics, derived from its blended ancestry and colonial history, that are still discernible in the circles of the Knickerbockers, and which recall alike to Americans and to Europeans the earlier traditions of

the national metropolis. While here and there might be found members of a family which, misled by mistaken convictions, had during the war sided with the mother-country, or had timidly endeavored to preserve an inglorious neutrality, the tone of society was eminently patriotic, and worthy of



General Washington presents his most respectfl. Compliments to Mrs. Jay — Honoured with her request by General St. Clair he takes pleasure in presenting the inclosed with Thanks for so polite a testimony of her approbation & esteem — He wishes most fervently, that prosperous gales — an unruffled Sea — & every thing pleasing & desirable, may smooth the path she is about to walk in. —

West point Octor 7th 1779

* A lock of the General's hair —

WASHINGTON'S NOTE TO MRS. JAY ON HER DEPARTURE FOR SPAIN.

the antecedents of an ancestry representing, in the words of an English historian, "the best stock of Europe who had sought homes in the western world, and in whose forms of government, charter, provincial, and even proprietary, may be discerned the germs of a national liberty." With the culture and refinement of a class thus happily descended and fortu-

nately situated was blended that love of country which lends dignity to wealth, and respectability to fashion.

As host and hostess at the dinners and suppers for which the list before mentioned was composed, Mr. and Mrs. John Jay would deserve to be singled out for notice before we devote attention to the other social luminaries. But there was another reason why they figured so centrally in the social events of that day. John Jay was now secretary for foreign affairs. To relate his previous services as patriot, chief justice of the state, minister to Spain, and commissioner for peace, would be superfluous in this paper. But it is worth while to emphasize the significance of his position as foreign secretary. In the inchoate condition of continental government, when congress was at the head, but was itself without very clearly defined powers; when there was not any one person endowed with the chief executive functions—the secretary for foreign affairs was really the only concrete expression of the government by, of, and for the people, which had just been wrested from Great Britain, to which other nations could at all clearly address themselves. He, too, was the person to whom the several states must look as the link for communication between themselves and that delusive thing—the general government. Hence, John Jay's position made him in effect the chief of state. His was not very unlike that of John of Barneveld or John De Witt in the days of the Dutch republic, whose various members would not resign their sovereignty to a chief or president, whose stadt-holder mainly led the national armies, but whose land's advocate or grand pensionary—*i. e.*, the principal civil functionary—was the man who received the ambassadors of foreign princes and instructed the republic's ministers at foreign courts, and thus to all the world abroad was conspicuously first among all her citizens. Being thus similarly placed, it became John Jay's duty to do the honors for his country, and his wife was eminently fitted to assist him in the performance of that duty. It will be proper to give an account of her here.

Sa. Jay

Her maiden name was Sarah Van Brugh Livingston, her father being William Livingston, governor of New Jersey, and he the grandson of Robert Livingston, the founder of the family in America. Her mother

was Susanna French, the granddaughter of Philip French, mayor of New York in 1702, and who joined Colonel Nicholas Bayard in that address which caused the latter's conviction of high treason. Sarah was the fourth daughter, born in August, 1757. She inherited some of her father's finest traits, intellectual and moral, which were developed by a very careful education. But with the father's stern patriotism and resolution she blended features of gentleness, grace, and beauty peculiarly her own. The delicate sensibility occasionally exhibited in her letters seems to have come from her mother. Her marriage to John Jay took place on April 28, 1774, in the midst of the agitations that foreboded the shock of the Revolution, and almost exactly one year before the battle of Lexington. She was then not quite eighteen years old, while Mr. Jay was twenty-eight. Up to this time he had held no public office, excepting that of secretary to the royal commission for settling the boundary between New York and New Jersey. But now, before the honeymoon was complete, in May, 1774, Jay was called to take part in the first movements of the Revolution. His public duties as member of the New York provincial congress, of the New York committee of safety, and of the continental congress, kept him

Margaret Bayard [1]

[1] Mrs. Bayard, the wife of Colonel John Bayard, was with her husband a frequent guest at the dinners and other entertainments given by General and Mrs. Washington in New York and Philadelphia. The Bible seen in her portrait painted by Peale, is now in the possession of her great-grand-daughter Mrs. Jas. Grant Wilson of New York.

constantly separated from his young wife. But finally a post of honor, yet of difficulty and danger, was given him, which enabled the youthful pair to be more constantly together, although far distant from friends and country, and which at the same time was to furnish Mrs. Jay with excellent opportunities for training to successfully occupy the position of first lady in the land during the decade following the declaration of peace.

On October 10, 1779, Mr. Jay, having been appointed minister to Spain, sailed in the congressional frigate, the *Confederacy*, accompanied by Mrs. Jay; by her brother, Colonel Brockholst Livingston, afterward a judge of the supreme court of the United States, as his private secretary; and by Mr. William Carmichael, a member of congress, as his public secretary. After a rather quiet life in Spain came a residence of several years at or in the vicinity of Paris, while her husband was engaged with Franklin and Adams in negotiating the peace which confirmed American independence. Did space or scope here permit, we should be tempted to blend with this sketch something more than a mere glance at the historic memories of the period connected with the peace negotiations, in which Mrs. Jay was almost a participant, from her intimate association with the negotiators, who frequently met at her apartments. There is no page certainly in our foreign diplomacy to which the intelligent American reader will ever recur with more national pride and interest than that which records the progress and result of these negotiations. Meanwhile, the scenes and the society amid which Mrs. Jay lived for nearly two years presented a brilliant contrast to the trials and hardships to which she had been subjected by the war at home, as well as to her more retired life during their residence at Madrid. As Mr. Jay declined to accept the courtesies of the Spanish court except as the minister of an independent nation, and as Spain would not recognize him as such, it is probable that Mrs. Jay never appeared at the royal assemblies. At Paris everything was different. History has made us familiar with the Paris of that period, so interesting as presenting the last pictures of the pride and splendor that were still unconscious of the impending and fierce French revolution.

Marie Antoinette, now in her twenty-ninth year, but four years the senior of Mrs. Jay, still justified by her grace and beauty the enthusiastic encomiums of her contemporaries. Mrs. Jay wrote of her: "She is so handsome, and her manners are so engaging, that almost forgetful of republican principles, I was ready, while in her presence, to declare her born to be a queen." The fantasies of fashion, says a court historian, revealed the spirit of France as capricious and changeable. The queen and her intimate friends, especially the Comtesse Diane de Polignac and

the Marquise de Vaudrienne, changed the mode day by day. The women wore the hair most fantastically raised in a pyramid, and this high edifice was crowned with flowers, as if it were a garden. It is both apt and important, in this connection, to get a view of the Parisian mode from Mrs. Jay's own hand: "At present the prevailing fashions are very decent and very plain; the gowns most worn are the robes à l'Anglaise, which are exactly like the Italian habits that were in fashion in America when I left it; the sultana is also à la mode, but it is not expected that it will long remain so. Every lady makes them of slight silk. There is so great a variety of hats, caps, cuffs, that it is impossible to describe them. I forgot the robe à l'Anglaise if trimmed either with the same or gauze is dress; but if untrimmed must be worn with an apron and is undress."

I remain very truly yours
M. King[1]

The two circles of society where Mrs. Jay was entirely at home in Paris were those which were to be found in the hotels of La Fayette and Franklin. Among the first to congratulate her on her arrival there were the marquis and the marquise. If the circle she met at the Hotel de Noailles was marked by its aristocracy of rank, that which surrounded the venerable philosopher at Passy was no less celebrated for happily blending the choicest and the most opposite elements of the world of learning, wit, and fashion. Among the more intimate friends of Franklin were Turgot, the Abbé Raynal, Rochefoucauld, Cabanis, Le Roy, Mably, Mirabeau, D'Holbach, Marmontel, Neckar, Malesherbes, Watelet, and Mesdames de Genlis, Denis, Helvetius, Brillon, and La Reillard. Thus among men

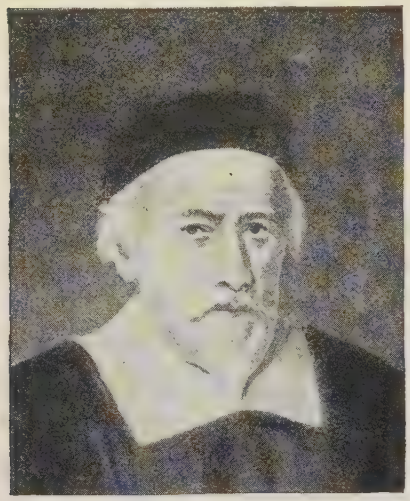
[1] Mrs. King was the only daughter of John Alsop, a prominent New York merchant. She was remarkable for her beauty, gentleness, and the grace of her manners; her mind, too, was highly cultivated, and she was among those who adorned American society.

and women of wit, wisdom, and beauty, amid the smiles of royalty and the ceremonious conventionalities of the court and courtly circles, Mrs. Jay was being prepared at the capital of the world of fashion for her prominent part in the capital of the nascent republic. On July 24, 1784, after an absence of more than four years and a half, she arrived in New York with her husband and children. Before the arrival Jay had already been appointed secretary for foreign affairs. There being then no president of the United States, and the secretary having charge of the whole foreign correspondence, as well as of that between the general and the state governments, his position has been well described by some one as "unquestionably the most prominent and responsible civil office under the confederation." The entertaining of the foreign ministers, officers of government, members of congress, and persons of distinction, was an important incident, and Mrs. Jay's domestic duties assumed something of an official character. But her long residence near European courts, and her recent association with the brilliant circles of the French capital, assisted her to fill with ease the place she was now to occupy, and to perform its graceful duties in a manner becoming the dignity of the republic, to whose fortunes she had been so devoted.

LIBERTY HALL, BIRTHPLACE OF MRS. JAY.

The house which was thus made the centre of the social world in New York deserves a moment's attention. The home of the Jays for one or two generations had been in Westchester county. At the age of forty the father of John Jay, having already acquired a competency in mercantile pursuits, retired from business and from New York to settle in comfort at a country house and farm at Rye. Jay's mother was a Van Cortlandt, through whom the estate at Bedford fell into his possession. At Rye he was born and brought up. On his marriage the occupations and duties to which the troubled times called him, as has been noted, prevented the youthful pair from establishing a home of their own. Mrs. Jay, during the almost continuous separation from her husband, passed the greater part of the time at the residence of her father, the governor, at Liberty Hall, Elizabethtown, New Jersey. But occasional visits were made also to her husband's parents at Rye, in Westchester county, New

York. There was no opportunity for setting up a permanent establishment until the return from Europe in 1784, when Jay's official duties required his presence in New York city. He then built or rented a house in Broadway, which in the directory for 1789 is marked No. 133; but it is somewhat difficult to identify the exact location, since there was then no regularity about the numbers of houses. "Thus No. 33 was at one of the corners of Cortlandt street; No. 29 was near Maiden lane; and No. 58 was nearly opposite to it; No. 62 was at the corner of Liberty street; No. 76 was nearly opposite the City Tavern, which was between the present numbers 113 and 119; and No. 85 was nearly opposite to Trinity church. Odd and even numbers were given to houses without regard to the side of the street upon which they stood, and in some cases two houses bore the same number." [1] The present location of No. 133 Broadway, if there were such a number,[2] should be between Cedar and Liberty streets, then respectively known as Little Queen and Crown streets. The only Jay house in Broadway which I know of was of granite—I think a double house with plain exterior, on the east side of Broadway, below Wall street, which by Jay's will (he died in 1829) was left to his son Peter Augustus Jay, who sold it. The purchaser erected upon the premises several stores, which were used for the storage of government supplies.



John Livingston [3]

The names that are preserved in so interesting a manner upon Mrs. Jay's lists fall naturally into groups, and are to be studied to the best advantage as thus arranged. The bar of New York shall be noticed first. It gave to the salons of the day an array of names never since surpassed

[1] Thomas E. V. Smith, *New York City in* 1789, p. 24.

[2] The number next to 119 in Broadway is 135.

[3] John Livingston, a Scottish Presbyterian divine, was a member of the General Assemblies, and in 1650, one of the commissioners from the Church of Scotland to Charles II., then at Breda. Banished in 1663 for non-conformity, he died at Rotterdam. He was the father of Robert Livingston, founder of the American family, and the ancestor of Mrs. Jay. The vignette is from a painting in the possession of Mrs. Robert Ralston Crosby of New York, a daughter of Colonel Henry Livingston of Poughkeepsie.

in our juridical history: James Duane, Richard Harrison, Aaron Burr, Alexander Hamilton, Morgan Lewis, Robert Troup, Robert R. Livingston, Egbert Benson, John Watts, Gouverneur Morris, Richard Varick, John Lansing, Josiah Ogden Hoffman, and James Kent. At various times they appeared under the hospitable roof of the Jays, and in turn met at the tables of other dignitaries of their own or other professions; and it will be proper to take a more particular glance at each of those named in the group above. James Duane was at this time fifty-six years old, and in the full vigor of his powers. He had been mayor of the city since 1784, a position which he yielded in the year 1789 to his colleague in the profession, Richard Varick, now city recorder. His wife was a daughter of Colonel Robert Livingston. He had been diligent in the cause of the republic, but withal conservative in his temperament, of exactly the position in all the Revolutionary movements that John Jay, his frequent host, occupied throughout. He was a delegate to the continental congress when it first met, and remained a member of it all through its existence. He was elected a member of the senate of the State for the terms 1782 to 1785, and again in 1789 to 1790. He was appointed United States judge for the district of New York in 1789, serving till 1794, and in 1797 he died. His residence was at No. 17 Nassau street, and therefore within a short distance of Mr. Jay's. His presence lent dignity to every gathering of celebrity of that day, either as mayor, United States judge, or state senator, which honors were all upon him in the year 1789, and some of them in 1788, the period to which the list has reference. Richard Harrison was not quite forty years of age when he was wont to meet his friends at Secretary Jay's table, and he remained a prominent figure in the government, which was then yet to be initiated, until far into the present century. He was made auditor of the treasury by Washington in 1791, held that position until 1836, and died in Washington in July, 1841, at the age of ninety-one. He owned an estate in New York which was then far from the heart of the city, but which can be roughly described as corresponding to-day to the block between Eighth and Ninth avenues and Thirtieth and Thirty-first streets. His residence in 1789 was at 11 Queen (or Pearl) street, above Hanover square. In the profession of the law he greatly distinguished himself, and on the strength of that distinction he was invited to prominent houses in 1788 and 1789, as his official life had not then begun.

The two names that next claim attention naturally produce a mingled sensation of pleased and painful surprise—pleased to observe that these two brilliant minds could meet together in friendship and brighten

a gay company with their undoubted talents; painful because of that future fatal day, which was mercifully veiled from their view, but which posterity can never forget when their names are mentioned. They were the leading lawyers of their day, often opposed, sometimes united, on cases; but with a generous rivalry between them, we may be sure. It was not on professional grounds that antagonism arose. It was the baneful influence of politics, and the lines that finally divided them had not yet begun to be drawn, or not very distinctly at least, when they met in Jay's drawing-rooms, for the federal government had then not yet started upon its career. We are concerned, therefore, with their social qualities just here. Burr's were eminent: his engaging manners made him a power when his legitimate political life had suffered a hopeless shipwreck. And M. Brissot de Warville, who met him frequently in the salons of the day, records with enthusiasm his favorable impressions. The wife of Burr, ten years his senior, whom he called "the best woman and the finest lady I have ever known," does not appear upon the dinner-list. It is not likely either that she received at her own house, as the dread disease (cancer) that caused her death some six years later may have been already at work. The more celebrated daughter, Theodosia, whose brilliant gifts made her a "queen of American society" later, was then but a child.

Of Hamilton little need here be said. The vivacity of his French blood would make him a welcome guest at every social gathering, and the wit and wisdom of his conversation would flow with equal readiness there, as on the more serious occasions of the public debate before popular assemblies or in senatorial halls. As a bit of gossip, no doubt picked up in just such drawing-room circles, M. de Rochefoucauld Liancourt (afterward the Duc de Rochefoucauld) mentions the following concerning Hamilton: "Disinterestedness in regard to money, rare everywhere, very rare in America, is one of the most generally recognized traits of Mr. Hamilton; and although his actual practice might be very lucrative, I learn from his clients that their sole complaint against him is the smallness of the fees which he asks of them."[1] It is also well known that Mrs. Hamilton was a daughter of General Philip Schuyler, of Albany, and thus in her veins flowed the blood of one of the noblest colonial families, distinguished

[1] *Voyage dans les Etats Unis d'Amérique, 1795, 1796, 1797* (8 vols., Paris), vii. 150.

in the history of the province for more than a century, From a letter of one lady to another—from Miss Kitty Livingston to her sister, Mrs. Jay, while the latter was in Madrid—we obtain a pleasant glance into the incipiency of this happy union. It is dated at Trenton, May 23, 1780, and contains this passage: "General and Mrs. Schuyler are at Morristown. The general is one of three that compose a committee from congress. They expect to be with the army all summer. Mrs. Schuyler returns to Albany when the campaign opens. Apropos, Betsey Schuyler is engaged to our friend Colonel Hamilton. She has been at Morristown, at Dr. Cochrane's, since last February." A contemporary account of Mrs. Hamilton, at the very time when her name was put down on the dinner-list, occurs in the pages of M. Brissot de Warville: "A charming woman, who joins to the graces all the candor and simplicity of an American wife." Her own hospitalities were dispensed at her house, situated on the corner of Broad and Wall streets. Burr's residence at this time was scarce a stone's throw distant, at 10 Nassau street. Richmond Hill had either not as yet come into his possession, or was used only in summer as a country-seat. In 1789 it was occupied by Vice-President John Adams.

E. Hamilton

Continuing to cast the eye along the list of legal celebrities given above, we are reminded that then the city of New York, besides being the federal capital, was also the capital of the state. Here, therefore, resided the chancellor, Robert R. Livingston, of the Clermont branch of that numerous family. His residence was No. 3 Broadway. It fell to his share to administer the oath of office to President Washington; and after he had represented our nation at the court of the great Napoleon, winning the latter's admiration, and doing signal service to his native land in negotiating the purchase of Louisiana, he immortalized his name above all these other causes by actively pushing to success Fulton's invention for navigating vessels by steam, the *Clermont* bearing the name of his estate on the Hudson. Egbert Benson, another member of the group of

lawyers, was the first attorney-general of the state, holding the office from 1777 to 1789. After that he was a judge of the Supreme Court of New York, and, living to a good old age, became the first President of the New York Historical Society. Another name high in the annals of the state government is that of Morgan Lewis. After an honorable career as soldier, no sooner were actual hostilities over than he resigned from the army and began his civil career. "He was so impatient," observes his granddaughter, Mrs. Delafield, "to resume the study of the law, that he returned to New York before the British troops had vacated the town." There was some risk in this proceeding, for on the eve of the departure of the British there appeared good reason to expect a conflagration. But the danger passed, and Lewis, as well as Hamilton and other young lawyers, soon had his hands full of business. Morgan Lewis was married to a sister of Chancellor Livingston. He became attorney-general of the state in 1791, then chief-justice, and in 1804 defeated Burr as candidate for governor. Though Lewis was no longer of Hamilton's party, it was through Hamilton's efforts that no part of the broken federalist ranks went over to Burr; and out of this gubernatorial contest grew the quarrel that terminated so disastrously to both those gifted men.

An honored place in the circles of New York society was due also to John Lansing, who had been mayor of Albany, and was still a resident of that town, but who was in New York as speaker of the State assembly. He succeeded Livingston as chancellor, and was in turn succeeded by James Kent. Gouverneur Morris, too, a lawyer, but preëminently a financier, the co-laborer in the difficult and desperate days of republican finances with his namesake (but not kinsman) Robert Morris, would ride into town from Morrisania, which he had just purchased, and be welcomed for his patriotic services, as well as for his descent from some of the oldest colonial families—from Gouverneur, the son-in-law of Jacob Leisler, and from the chief justice of the province when it was still a royal possession. In December, 1788, however, he went to England; and while there was appointed minister to France, serving in that post at the beginning of the Reign of Terror. It was also something deeper than the amenities of social life which brought Gouverneur Morris under the roof of Secretary Jay. Once, while the latter was in Europe, Morris hastily dispatched this note, speaking volumes for the affection which prompted it: "Dear Sir,—It is now within a few minutes of the time when the mail is made up and sent off. I can not, therefore, do more than just to assure you of the continuance of my love. Adieu." Of the remaining names we need only note that Robert Troup was a lifelong friend, from college days, of Ham-

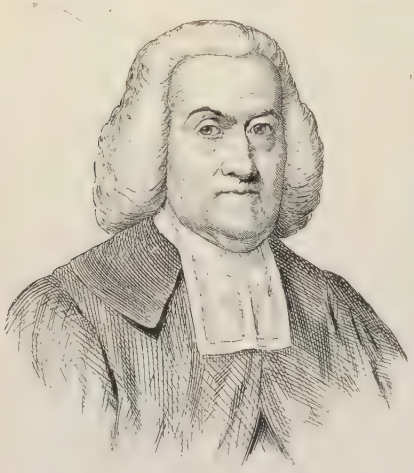
ilton, and born in the same year; that John Watts had received back the estate which his father's "loyalty" had forfeited; and that Richard Varick, at first recorder, succeeded James Duane as mayor of the city. Josiah Ogden Hoffman and James Kent were both in their youthful vigor; the latter admitted to the bar in 1785, and thus just commencing the career that gave him, while yet living, a world-wide reputation as advocate and jurist, author of his celebrated law commentaries.

Pursuing our review of the contributions from professional life to dinner-tables and social circles, a glance may be taken at the ministers and physicians eminent in those days. Of the Reformed (Dutch) Church the pastors were Dr. John Henry Livingston and Dr. William Linn; these preached exclusively in English, and were themselves not even of Dutch extraction. But in the old Garden Street church there worshiped a remnant who still loved to hear the mother-tongue, and Dr. Gerardus Kuypers ministered to them; but he made no practice of mingling with high society. Dr. Livingston, however, was intimately connected, as his name indicates, with the most prominent official and social circles, Mrs. Jay herself being a Livingston. He had also married a Livingston, the daughter of Philip, the "signer" of the Declaration, who had a house on Brooklyn Heights at the beginning of the war. The doctor's tall and dignified figure and high breeding would make him a notable addition to any company; his colleague, Dr. Linn, too, was a man of note, having the reputation of being by far the most eloquent preacher in New York and even in the United States. In 1789 he was elected chaplain to the House of Representatives, the first to occupy that office.

THE OLD BRICK CHURCH.

Both the Presbyterian ministers, Drs. John Rodgers and John Mason, appear on the dinner-list. Dr. Rodgers was pastor of the Wall street and

"Brick Meeting" churches, which were united under one government. The latter church stood on the site of the *New York Times* and the Potter buildings, or the triangular block bounded by Beekman and Nassau streets and Park Row. Dr. Rodgers was a native of Boston, an ardent patriot during the war, and having served as brigade chaplain, he must have been on terms of familiar acquaintance with most of the officers of the Revolutionary army who were now prominent in civil life. He would be welcomed in society, therefore, and also for the reason that he felt entirely at home in such surroundings. Mrs. Rodgers was a Bayard of the Delaware branch of the family. "He was elegant in manners but formal to such a degree that there is a tradition that the last thing which he and his wife always did before retiring for the night was to salute each other with a bow and a courtesy." As to his personal appearance, "he is described as a stout man of medium height who wore a white wig, was extremely careful in his dress, and walked with the most majestic dignity."



John Rodgers

Dr. Mason was pastor of the Scotch or Covenanter Presbyterian church, located on the south side of Cedar street, between Nassau street and Broadway, now represented by the church on Fourteenth street, near Sixth avenue. He, too, had been a zealous patriot, and served for some years as chaplain at West Point. He was a near neighbor of Dr. Linn's, living at 63 Cortlandt street, while the latter's number was 66. He was of medium stature, earnest and solid in his pulpit efforts rather than eloquent, born and educated in Scotland, and a stout opponent there of state interference with the choice of ministers by congregations. His manners were polished, as of a man who had mingled much with people of birth and distinction on both sides of the ocean.

Of the Episcopal clergy we find on the list the name of Dr. Benjamin Moore, who was now rector of Trinity, but had at one time been removed from the position because Tory votes had put him into it. He lived not far from the church, at 46 Broadway. But chief among them as a social figure, by reason of his office as well as because of his social qualities and undoubted patriotic sympathies, was the "easy, good-tempered, gentle-

manly, and scholarly Dr. Provoost, Bishop of New York—a chaplain of Congress, and a welcome guest at the dinner table of his friends." The doctor had been devoted to the American cause, was a native of the city, and of Dutch or combined Dutch and Huguenot descent. For even then the city presented the curious "contradiction in circumstances," so often repeated since and seen to-day, that in the Dutch pulpits stood men without a particle of Dutch blood in their veins, while in the Episcopal churches the purest Knickerbockers led the devotions of the people. The bishop was in every respect a most estimable and agreeable person; and, in addition to his Hebrew, classic, and ecclesiastical lore, he is said to have been familiar with French, German, and Italian. It is even affirmed that as a literary recreation—and the circumstance seems more significant in view alike of his Episcopal duties and the times—he had made a new poetical translation of Tasso. He was in a position, therefore, to flavor his conversation at social gatherings with the elegancies of modern literature, as well as to edify men with "the weightier matters of the law." He was a neighbor of the Rev. Dr. Rodgers, who lived at 7 Nassau street, while the bishop resided at No. 2. In person it is recorded of him that he had a round, full face, was rather above the medium in stature, of portly figure, and very dignified in demeanor.[1] He was a public-spirited man, hospitable, and so liberal to the poor as to infringe rather too deeply upon his moderate salary of seven hundred pounds per annum, with house rent-free; the pound in America then being of but half its value.

The medical profession was represented at that day by Dr. John Charlton, Drs. John and Samuel Bard (father and son, who operated at the lancing of a carbuncle from which Washington suffered during his residence in the Franklin house), Dr. Wright Post, Dr. Richard Bailey, Dr. Benjamin Kissam, Dr. Johnson, Dr. Jones, Dr. Nicholas Romaine, Dr. Charles McKnight, Dr. James Tillery, and several others. The whole membership of the Medical Society in 1789 amounted to twenty-eight.

[1] Wilson's *Centennial History of the Diocese of New York*, p. 127.

On the dinner-list appear only the names of Drs. Charlton, Kissam, and Johnson. Dr. Charlton lived at 100 Broadway, and thus within easy call of Jay's house, and he may have been the family physician.[1] Under one date on the list, the only guests for dinner are Dr. and Mrs. Charlton, and this little repast, almost *en famille*, would lend support to the theory. But the name most frequently occurring is that of Dr. Johnson. Dr. Benjamin Kissam may have been the father of the more celebrated Dr. Richard Sharpe Kissam, who graduated at Edinburgh in 1789 and began practice in New York in 1791. The former resided at 156 Queen (now Pearl) street; to judge from the number — counting above Hanover Square—the doctor's house must have been a few blocks above Franklin square. It is surprising that some of the greater lights of the profession—so eminent a surgeon as Dr. Wright Post, for one—were not found more frequently at the social gatherings of the day. It would be singular if they appeared elsewhere, and were not among the honored guests at Secretary Jay's.

Cornelia Van Rensselaer

Prominent upon Mrs. Jay's list are, of course, the names of the old New York families—the Bayards, the Beekmans, the Crugers, the De Peysters, the Livingstons, the Morrises, the Schuylers, the Van Hornes, the Van Cortlandts, the Van Rensselaers, the Verplancks, the Wattses. While some of these furnished men for high positions in the service of the nation, the state, or the city, their position in society was assured, independently of that, by the descent from those who bore these names with honor from the earliest colonial times, as well as by the possession of ample wealth and the refinement which several generations of affluence will naturally bestow. Hence the majority of the names just mentioned

[1] His portrait in crayon, of life-size, representing a handsome, portly gentleman, hangs in the spacious Jay mansion at Bedford.

owed their prominence solely to social distinction. But now that New York was the capital of the confederacy, the social sphere comprised names of honor and fame from other parts of the country. By the presence of the congress in the city, some of the most eminent of the statesmen and generals of "the old thirteen" who had helped to vindicate the independence and lay deep the foundation of the republic, mingled with her sons and daughters. Among the names of Mrs. Jay's list, therefore, may be found those of John Langdon and Paine Wingate, from New Hampshire; the former to be the first president of the United States Senate in 1789, biding the arrival of John Adams; the latter destined to reach the extraordinary age of ninety-nine years, having been born in 1739 and dying in 1838; Roger Sherman and Benjamin Huntington of Connecticut; Elias Boudinot and John Cadwallader of New Jersey; Robert Morris and George Read of Pennsylvania; Charles Carroll of Maryland; William Grayson, Theodoric Bland, and James Madison of Virginia; Pierce Butler, Ralph Izard, Daniel Huger, and Thomas Tudor Tucker of South Carolina; and William Few of Georgia. Truly a brilliant galaxy of names, well known, just fresh from the political and military fields of contest, and adding now, or soon to add, new laurels to their fame in the more subtle conflicts which were to construct and perpetuate a strong federal republic out of the feeble and incoherent materials of the confederation of thirteen states.[1]

These gentlemen were, in many cases, accompanied by their families, representing in part the higher circles of New England, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and the South. The letters of the day which have been preserved,

[1] Among the prominent members of the Continental Congress of this period who were well known in New York society were John Hancock, Theodore Sedgwick, and Rufus King, of Massachusetts; John L. Lawrence, Melancthon Smith, and Peter W. Yates, of New York; Lambert Cadwallader, John Cleve Symmes, and Josiah Hornblower, of New Jersey; Colonel John Bayard, William Henry, General Arthur St. Clair, and James Wilson, of Pennsylvania; James Monroe and Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia; and Charles Pinckney, of South Carolina.

both of Americans and Frenchmen, allude frequently to the grace, beauty, and attractiveness of many women then in society. Among them were Lady Mary Watts and Lady Kitty Duer—in reality, and according to a more republican nomenclature, Mrs. John Watts and Mrs. William Duer. They were the daughters of William Alexander, real, or at least titular, Earl of Stirling; and there was enough of old-time courtliness left in the States to defer to English usage and apply to them the title of "lady," as above. So there was also Lady Christiana Griffin, the wife of Cyrus Griffin of Virginia, the president of the Continental Congress; she belonged to a noble Scottish family. Mrs. Ralph Izard, though from South Carolina, was at home in New York society, where she had many relatives, for her maiden name was Alice De Lancey, and she was the niece of the whilom chief-justice and lieutenant-governor. Soon after her marriage her husband took her to Europe, where he was engaged to some extent in the diplomatic service of the confederation. Mrs. Alexander Hamilton has already been referred to. We may mention briefly Mrs. James Beekman, who was Miss Janet Keteltas; Mrs. Theodore Sedgwick, formerly Miss Pamela Dwight; and Miss Wolcott of Connecticut, who afterward became Mrs. Chauncey Goodrich.

Jn° Bayard[1]

To the groups already presented there must be added one that formed a very essential element of social life in that day, namely, the small circle of diplomats accredited to the United States, among whom may be logically counted also the occasional European travelers who were attracted by the rising greatness of the young republic, and from whose memoirs may be gathered so vivid a picture of the social events at which they assisted and the "society people" whom they met. We are enabled to

[1] Colonel John Bayard was born in 1738, and died in 1807. He distinguished himself during the Revolution, and in 1785 was elected a member of the Continental Congress. He was descended from Stuyvesant's sister, and was the representative of the oldest branch of the Bayard family.

look in upon one of these events by means of the dinner-list and of a letter written by a lady who was a participant. Mrs. William S. Smith, the daughter of John Adams, writes to her mother and tells her that Mrs. Jay gives a dinner to the diplomatic corps on Tuesday evening of every week. On May 20, 1788, this lady attended one of these dinners, and on the next day discourses of it in the following style: "Yesterday we dined at Mrs. Jay's in company with the whole *corps diplomatique*. Mr. Jay is a most pleasing man, plain in his manners, but kind, affectionate, and attentive; benevolence is stamped in every feature. Mrs. Jay dresses showily, but is very pleasing on a first acquaintance. The dinner was *à la Française*, and exhibited more of European taste than I expected to find."

MRS. JAMES BEEKMAN.

Now let us observe who were actually present at this dinner. Attention is due first of all to the president of congress, Cyrus Griffin. On the list he is often merely referred to as president, or Mr. President, so that, if dates are not watched closely, we are apt to think of the great Washington. Griffin's position in the country and in society deserves a moment's consideration. He was undoubtedly the first citizen. Brissot de Warville, the stanch French republican, happy to be in a country where his fond ideals were in actual operation, says of the office: "A president of congress is far from being surrounded with the splendor of European monarchs; and so much the better. He is not durable in his station; and so much the better. He never forgets that he is a simple citizen, and will soon return to the station of one. He does not give pompous dinners; and so much the better. He has fewer parasites, and less means of corruption." The vivacious Frenchman might have added another *tant mieux* to the last item. But although one of these characteristic comments was attached to the lack of pompous dinners, still Mr. Griffin felt called upon to give dinners of some kind. At one of these Brissot was present, and he has recorded that fact with some circumstantiality. "I should still be wanting in gratitude," he says, "should I neglect to mention the politeness and attention showed me by the president of

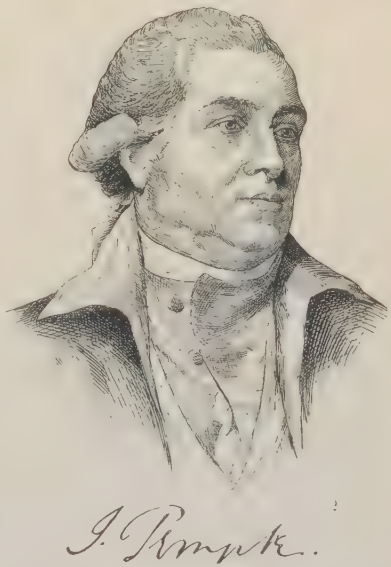
congress, Mr. Griffin. He is a Virginian, of very good abilities, of an agreeable figure, affable, and polite. . . . I remarked that his table was freed from many usages observed elsewhere; no fatiguing presentations, no toasts, so despairing in a numerous society. Little wine was drank after the women had retired. These traits will give you an idea of the temperance of this country: temperance, the leading virtue of republicans."

The president was, of course, accompanied by his lady, sometimes playfully called the "presidentess" in the correspondence of those days. Passing now to the American guests before we single out the diplomats, we notice that, besides Mrs. William S. Smith and her husband, there are General James Armstrong, the defender of Germantown in 1777; Mr. Arthur Lee, active in diplomatic work abroad during the Revolution; Mr. and Lady Mary Watts; their son and daughter-in-law; Mr. William Bingham, of Philadelphia, reputed the richest man in Pennsylvania, and celebrated for the magnificent hospitality dispensed by him and his beautiful wife at their own home; Mr. Daniel McCormick, and Mr. John Kean, delegate to the Continental Congress since 1785 from South Carolina, yet voting against the extension of slavery to the northwestern territory.

First among the diplomats on the list, and presumably at the dinner on this 20th of May, appears the minister of France, the Marquis de Moustier. Eléonore François Elie, Marquis de Moustier, was sent to America in 1787. Throughout his career he was a devoted and self-sacrificing adherent of the Bourbons, and suffered greatly on that account. But it led him into the mistake of making himself disagreeable in his official capacity here, inasmuch as he gave too much evidence of despising the republic which his own master had helped to establish. Yet, whether a welcome guest or not, as a member of the diplomatic corps he could not well be left out of the invitations. Quite different was the case with Don Diego de Gardoqui. "In the summer of 1785 the Court of Spain appointed practically a resident minister to the United States, though under the modest title of *encargado de negocios*, with a view to settle the controversy about the navigation of the Mississippi, which had been guaranteed to the United States by the treaty of peace; also to arrange a commercial treaty."[1] Though representing a more intense despotism, and a government which had diligently shunned all intercourse with our country during the war, De Gardoqui became exceedingly popular in New York, and his departure in 1789 was greatly regretted. He resided at No. 1 Broadway, and De Moustier was a neighbor, his house also facing the Bowling Green. The Spanish diplomat seems to have been unaccompanied by a lady,

[1] George Pellew's *John Jay*, p. 232.

but with the French minister came his sister, the Marquise de Brehan; a near relative of hers must have been the Comte de Brehan, who also appears on the list for this date, unless it is in error about the title; perhaps the "comte" was really the Marquis de Brehan and the brother-in-law of De Moustier; or the marquise was only a comtesse. Besides the minister, France had a *chargé d'affaires* to represent her, M. Louis G. Otto. He had come to America in 1779, and evidently liked republican ways and people, for he married Miss Livingston, a relative of Mrs. Jay's. He afterward became Count de Mosloy. A sister republic was among the first to recognize the American commonwealth, and the ink was hardly dry upon the treaty of 1783 when Francis P. Van Berckel presented his credentials as minister plenipotentiary from the United Netherlands to the United States. He was a widower, but the honors of his domestic establishment were borne by his daughter, Miss Van Berckel. There was as yet no minister from England, but the nearest in rank and functions to that position was that of consul-general, and Sir John Temple held that office at this time. He had been lieutenant-governor of New Hampshire from 1761 to 1774, and, strangely enough, in view of his present post, was removed for too great an "inclination toward the American cause." He was a native of this country, and had married a daughter of Governor James Bowdoin of Massachusetts. They were at the dinner of May 20.



Among the distinguished foreigners on Mrs. Jay's list is found the name of M. Brissot de Warville, from whose well-known work on America we have already quoted more than once. It was written on his return to Europe; and while the first volume (in the English translation) is devoted to an interesting account of his voyage to and experiences in this country, the second treats almost exclusively of commercial matters. He had come

[1] The portrait of Sir John has been copied from a photograph, made in 1890, of the original painting in the possession of his grandson, the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, of Boston, Mass. That of Lady Temple was made in like manner from a photograph of the original in the possession of her grandson, the late Grenville Temple Winthrop, now in the keeping of Hon. Robert C. Winthrop. These paintings are from the hand of the celebrated portrait-painter, Gilbert Stuart. The death of Sir John occurred in 1798. Lady Temple died in 1809.

over especially to make a study of these, in order to establish, if possible, improved mercantile relations between France and America. Brissot had been bred to the profession of the law, but in the stirring times preceding the revolution had drifted into journalism. When the outbreak finally occurred he was on the side of conservative patriotism, and of the party of the Girondists. He opposed the execution of the king, and in consequence he, together with several other Girondists, was arrested on October 3, 1793, and guillotined on the 31st. Brissot had brought to Mr. Jay from La Fayette a letter commending him as a writer on the side of liberty, and as one of the founders of the society in behalf of the blacks; for Jay was well known to be an anti-slavery man. On September 2, 1788, he dined at the secretary's table.

E. Templ l.

A marked influence was wrought upon the social world in New York by the inauguration of the federal government, and the residence here of the President of the United States. With the latter's advent, the prominence of Jay, especially as regards diplomatic connections, gave way to the distinctive, as well as distinguished, head of the republic. And from the social standpoint it is interesting to consider, first of all, the discussion which took place about the title, or mode of address, proper to the President. Some suggested "Most Serene Highness," or "Serene Highness," thinking it a safe appellation, inasmuch as none of the rulers in Europe bore it. Madison gave it as his opinion that the chief magistrate should be spoken of simply as the President. General Muhlenberg, with an eye to the high-sounding title assumed by the States General of the Dutch republic, suggested "High Mightiness"; but Washington was never quite certain whether Muhlenberg was in jest or in earnest. Speaking on the subject at the President's table, Muhlenberg remarked, aptly: "If the office could always be held by men as large as yourself, it would be appropriate; but if by chance a president as small as my opposite neighbor were elected [he might have referred to Hamilton] it would be ridiculous." Bancroft informs us that when the style, "The President of the United

States of America," was determined on, "the clause that his title should be 'His Excellency' was still suffered to linger in the draft."[1] This unwritten and therefore extra-constitutional title, however, was the one finally determined upon. In the furor of French sympathy excited by the first outburst of the revolution, the adherents of the democratic clubs inveighed against this title.

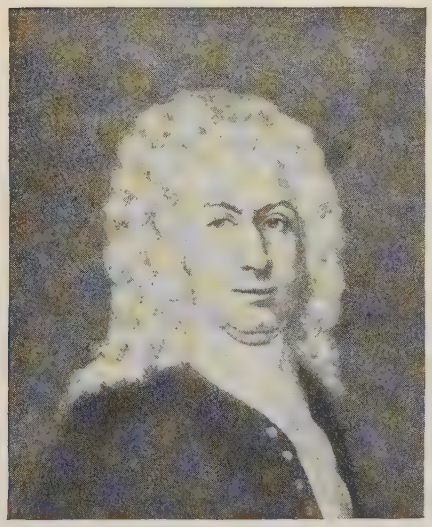
Their republican wrath rose also to a high pitch of fervor against the President's receptions, which society, at its own instance, called "levees," smacking thus most unsavorily of monarchical institutions in Europe. The stately and majestic President loved these courtly manners. When he had a message to deliver to congress, he did not intrust it to a page or a messenger, but rode to Federal Hall in a coach and six, with outriders besides. Yet he could be plain in his own house, as befitting the American Cincinnatus. Mr. Paine Wingate tells of a dinner the day after Mrs. Washington had arrived in New York: "The chief said grace, and dined on boiled leg of mutton. After dessert, one glass of wine was offered to each guest, and when it had been drunk, the President rose and led the way to the drawing-room." The President's "levees" were held on Tuesday afternoon; Mrs. Washington received on Friday evening, from eight to ten o'clock. At the levees, we are told, "there were no places for the intrusion of the rabble in crowds, or for the mere coarse and boisterous partisan, the vulgar electioneerer, or the impudent place-hunter, with boots, frock-coats, or roundabouts, or with patched knees and holes at both elbows. On the contrary, they were select and more courtly than have been given by any of the President's successors. None were admitted to the levees but those who had either a right by official station, or by established merit and character; and full dress was required of all."

It need not be said here that President Washington resided at first in the Franklin house, on the present Franklin square, corner of Cherry street. The huge bridge now has one of its piers standing on or near the spot, and the house has disappeared. Later, he occupied the Macomb house, at 39 Broadway, because the other was inconveniently "far out of town." And we are fortunate in having a minute account of the house of one of the cabinet officers, the secretary of war, Major-General Henry Knox, situated at No. 4 Broadway. It was advertised for sale in 1789, "a four-story brick house on the west side of Broadway [No. 4 at present is on the east side], 31½ feet wide by 60 feet deep, containing two rooms of thirty feet in length, one of twenty-six, three of twenty-three feet." Ample opportunity, therefore, in this generous

[1] *History of the United States*, 6 : 342 (ed. 1883).

mansion for the gatherings of the society of a capital; for there was a limit to the number that could claim to form a part of it then as now. To-day there are the "four hundred"; in Washington's day it was not far below that figure. "Fashionable society in New York in 1789," says Thomas E. V. Smith, "seems to have consisted of about three hundred persons, as that number attended a ball on the 7th of May, at which Washington was present." But the "three hundred" out of a population of not quite sixty thousand was a considerably larger proportion than that of the "four hundred" to nearly two millions.

At these gay assemblies the dress worn by ladies and gentlemen was modeled then, as now, after the fashions prevailing in London and Paris. Brissot de Warville observes: "If there is a town on the American continent where the English luxury displays its follies, it is New York. You will find here the English fashions. In the dress of the women you will see the most brilliant silks, gauzes, hats, and borrowed hair. The men have more simplicity in their dress." But that France also contributed to set the fashion of that day in New York we may gather from the *New York Gazette* of May 15, 1789, describing several costumes imported from Paris. "One was a plain celestial blue satin gown with a white satin petticoat. There was worn with it, on the neck, a very large Italian gauze handkerchief with satin border stripes. The head-dress with this costume was a pouf of gauze in the form of a globe, the *creneaux*, or head-piece, of which was made of white satin having a double wing, in large plaits, and trimmed with a large wreath of artificial roses which fell from the left at the top to the right at the bottom in front, and the reverse behind. The hair was dressed all over in detached curls, four of



PHILIP LIVINGSTON.[1]

[1] Philip Livingston, the second Lord of the Manor, was born at Albany, July 9, 1686. Was deputy secretary of Indian affairs, and afterward (in 1722) secretary. Was a member of the provincial assembly from Albany in 1709, and county clerk in 1721–49 He married Catharine Van Brugh of Albany, and during the later years of his life entertained with great magnificence. He died in New York city, February 4, 1749.

which fell on each side of the neck and were relieved behind by a floating chignon. . . . The newest costume consisted of a perriot and petticoat of gray striped silk trimmed with gauze cut in points. A large gauze handkerchief bordered with four satin stripes was worn with it on the neck, and the head-dress was a plain gauze cap such as was worn by nuns. Shoes were made of celestial blue satin with rose-colored rosettes." [1]

As for the gentlemen, they wore very long blue riding-coats, the buttons of which were of steel, the vest, or waistcoat, being at the same time of scarlet color, and the knee-breeches yellow. The shoes were tied with strings, and low; but gaiters were fastened above them, running up nearly to the knee, and made of polished leather. But for evening dress the gaiters were omitted, and the legs (more or less genuine as to shape) were incased in silk stockings. It was not until toward the end of the century that material modifications in the dress of gentlemen occurred. The hair was no longer powdered, nor worn long and tied in a queue at the back. The locks were worn short, or at a length considered proper to-day. For the close-fitting knee-breeches and stockings or gaiters upon the legs, loose pantaloons reaching to the shoe were substituted. "The women in 1800 wore hoops, high-heeled shoes of black stuffs, with silk or thread stockings, and had their hair tortured for hours at a sitting to get the curls properly crisped. The hoops were succeeded by 'bishops' stuffed with horse-hair. In the early days ladies who kept their coaches often went to church in check aprons; and Watson mentions a lady in Philadelphia who went to a ball, in full dress, on horseback." [2] About the same time, dark or black cloth took the place of colored stuffs for the dress of gentlemen.

THE TEMPLE ARMS.

Perhaps it will be of interest to conclude this review of New York society with two brief glimpses into the actual doings of people in high life, one of a private and familiar nature, the other a celebrated public occasion. While Mr. Jay was absent in England on the special mission, Mrs. Jay wrote to him as follows: "Last Monday the President went to Long Island to pass a week there. On Wednesday, Mrs. Washington called upon me to go with her to wait upon Miss Van Berckel, and on Thursday morning, agreeable to invitation, myself and the little girls took an early breakfast with her, and then went with her and her little grandchildren to breakfast at General Morris's, Morrisania. We passed together a very agreeable day, and on our return dined with her, as she would not

[1] Smith's *New York in* 1789, p. 95. [2] Mrs. Ellet, *Queens of American Society*, p. 149.

take a refusal. After which I came home to dress, and she was so polite as to take coffee with me in the evening." The other picture presents a fashionable ball given by the French ambassador, the Marquis de Moustier, at his residence opposite the Bowling Green, on May 14, 1789. Although a despiser of republics in theory, he could not very well avoid doing the honors of his nation to the great chief of the American commonwealth, who had been inaugurated two weeks before, and his manner of doing it was altogether worthy of France. Elias Boudinot of New Jersey, writing of it to a friend, spoke enthusiastically of his experiences there; and as his description has all the flavor of a contemporary and an eye-witness, we give it as it appeared in Griswold's *Republican Court:*

RESIDENCE OF LORD STIRLING.

"After the President came, a company of eight couple formed in the other room and entered, two by two, and began a most curious dance called *En Ballet.* Four of the gentlemen were dressed in French regimentals and four in American uniforms; four of the ladies with blue ribbons round their heads and American flowers, and four with red roses and flowers of France. These danced in a very curious manner, sometimes two and two, sometimes four couple and four couple, and then in a moment altogether, which formed great entertainment for the spectators, to show the happy union between the two nations. Three rooms were filled, and the fourth was most elegantly set off as a place for refreshment. A long table crossed this room from wall to wall. The whole wall inside was covered with shelves filled with cakes, oranges, apples, wines of all sorts, ice-creams, etc., and highly lighted up. A number of servants from behind the table supplied the guests with everything they wanted, from time to time, as they came in to refresh themselves, which they did as often as a party had done dancing, and made way for another. We retired about ten o'clock, in the height of the jollity."

We may properly take leave of New York society at a reception, or levee, at the President's house in Broadway. He stands in the midst of a brilliant circle of ladies and gentlemen. As guests are presented, he does not shake hands, but receives them with a dignified bow. He is attired in black velvet coat and knee breeches, a white or pearl-colored waistcoat showing finely underneath the dark and flowing outer garment. Silver buckles glitter at the knees and upon the shoes. A long sword hangs by his side, bright, with a finely wrought steel hilt. It is the mark of the gentleman of the day, and need not recall the soldier amid these peaceful surroundings. Yellow gloves adorn the hands that struck so bravely for liberty. With a lingering look of affection and admiration upon the noblest American that ever breathed, we pass out of the assembly-room, and the shadowy forms of the past dissolve. The plain present is upon us, a city huge and magnificent, a society possessing a wealth then never dreamed of, but adorned by no immortal names. Yet these are not "the times that try men's souls;" and, moving under brilliant exteriors, there may be hearts as noble and natures as brave, to be called forth when the needs of the country shall demand it.

LA TOUR AND ACADIA

IN THE SUFFOLK DEEDS

By A. E. Allaben

> In the Acadian land, on the shores of the Basin of Midas,
> Distant, secluded, still, the little village of Grand-Pré
> Lay in a fruitful valley.

The destruction of this Acadian village and the unhappy deportation of its inhabitants are pathetically pictured in Longfellow's *Evangeline*. The incident is historical. The sufferers were simple French peasants and fur-traders. The conquerors who dispossessed and scattered the villagers, who confiscated their lands and burned their cottages, were English. In the poem the act appears barbarous and desperately cruel, and in this light many historians present it. But there is another side to the story. For forty years these unreconciled Acadians had rejected all kindly overtures of the English government, losing no opportunity to vent their sleepless hostility. They still refused the oath of allegiance, and their removal seemed a military and political necessity.

The incident is remote; it occurred in 1755, yet the country, always in dispute between the French and English, had already been occupied by the French for one hundred and fifty years.

"The Basin of Midas," upon whose shores lay this prosperous hamlet, is the eastern arm or inlet of the bay of Fundy (Le Grande Baie Française, of the French), whose waters had already been the scene of contentions, of romantic hopes, brave endeavors, and cruel disappointments. Next in importance to Port Royal (on the present bay of Annapolis), and a key to the country, is the St. John river where it enters the sea, a spot occupied by Fort La Tour as early as 1635. Connected with this point is a remarkable history. Of especial interest is the fact that the region in the early day stood not only in intimate relation to the New England colonies, but also that this strategic point of Evangeline's country, with a goodly portion of adjacent lands, was under mortgage in due form to a citizen of Boston. The quaint and curious documents relating to the transaction are still preserved in the Suffolk Records. Furthermore, by an endorsement or memorandum upon the instrument itself, it appears, that, by expiration of the given time and in default of payment, a ceremony of

foreclosure of some sort occurred. Whether this was, as the bond recites, a "liuery & seizin of the sajd bargained premisses according to the Ceremony vsed in England in Cases of the like nature," putting the mortgagee into "full and peaceable possession," we cannot be entirely assured, yet so the memorandum declares in the following words:

"Memorand that vppon the day of sale seizin & peaceable possession of y^e^ fort & lands w^th^in specified was had taken & deliuered according to the tennor purport and effect of the deed w^th^in specified in the p^r^sence of y^s^ on y^e^ backsides."

Unfortunately the names of those witnesses "on y^e^ backsides" have not been recorded, and under the circumstances we will be justified in believing that the procedure was as regular, "according to the Ceremony vsed in England," as the times, place, and peculiar state of the case would admit. At all events the maker of the instrument had clear titles to what he conveyed under patents only one remove from the kings both of France and England; by the records the heirs of "Serjeant major Edward Gibbons of Boston in New England Esq^r^" have a fair legal showing should they lay claim to the mouth of the river St. John in New Brunswick, a tract containing four hundred and fifty square miles; or twice as much, if both sides of the river were intended. The grant was made to Charles Stephen de St. Estienne Lord de La Tour, upon January 15, 1635, together with a commission as lieutenant-general for the French king "on the coast of Acadia in New France." This was a renewal of a like commission given to Lord La Tour, February 11, 1631. Still earlier he had established a trading-post and built Fort St. Louis at Port La Tour near Cape Sable, where by his fidelity and spirit he won the commendation of the French government.

The mortgage-deed, already alluded to, by no means covers the only transaction made with New Englanders by La Tour and his wife, the brave, enterprising Lady La Tour. No less than ten instruments of different date, under the hand of one or both, are preserved in the Suffolk Records. They are inserted with little regard to the chronological order of the transactions, and for a clear understanding of these curious and highly interesting documents they must be rearranged and woven into the life histories of the La Tours.

Acadia, as the French understood it, included the present Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the greater part of the state of Maine, reaching westward to the Kennebec, and forming a very considerable portion of New France. The Barony of New Scotland, as mapped by Sir William Alexander, under the charters of James I. and Charles I., covered at the same

time substantially the same area. New England also claimed the country as far east as the St. Croix, the boundary finally secured by the treaty of Paris in 1783. Pemaquid and Penobscot were at various times held by the French. During the French and Indian war the contest of the French under Frontenac for possession of Acadia was wholly with the "Bostonians," or people of New England.

There were two La Tours, Claude and Charles, father and son. We are chiefly concerned with the son, yet some notice of Claude seems necessary. Claude de St. Estienne Sieur de La Tour, a French Huguenot allied to the noble house of Bouillon, having lost the greater part of his estates in the civil war, came to Acadia about the year 1609 with his son Charles, then fourteen years of age. He traded at Port Royal (now Annapolis) till that settlement was wantonly broken up by Argal, admiral for the Virginia colony. He then erected a fort and trading-house at the mouth of the Penobscot, where he remained till dispossessed by the Plymouth colony in 1626. In the meantime his son Charles allied himself with Biencourt, the son of Poutrincourt, who had founded Port Royal in 1605. Charles St. Stephen de St. Estienne, Sieur (or Lord) de La Tour, whose full name and title is here given once for all, became Biencourt's lieutenant and inseparable friend. After the outrageous raid of Argal they lived some years together among the Indians, and young Biencourt dying in 1623 bequeathed to Charles La Tour his rights in Port Royal derived from his father Poutrincourt, who had his title from De Monts, a grant confirmed to him also by the French king in 1607.

About 1625 Charles married a French Huguenot lady, Françoise Marie Jacquelin, who became the real heroine of Acadia, the first and greatest that land has ever known. The sober truth of this lady's energy, courage, constancy, sufferings, and pathetic end, is no whit inferior to the poetic picture of the mythical Evangeline. She lived a full century before the time of Longfellow's story, but scarcely a hundred miles from the home of his heroine, the distance across the bay between the rivers of St. John and Gaspereaux.

Soon after his marriage Charles La Tour left Port Royal and built Fort St. Louis at Point La Tour, only a few miles from Cape Sable. Two years later, in 1627, war was again declared between France and England. Of course, the quarrels of the mother countries always gave rein to unfriendly schemes of their weak, scattered, but intensely jealous colonies. Charles La Tour, realizing the feeble hold of the French upon Acadia, and the danger of assault, sent an urgent request to France by Claude, his father, for a commission for himself and reënforcements for his fort. The request

was heeded; but the entire outfit (eighteen vessels, one hundred and thirty-five cannon, with a large supply of ammunition) fell into the hands of Sir David Kirk, who sent Claude La Tour a prisoner to England. Kirk took possession of Port Royal, and in 1629 captured Quebec. Claude speedily became a great favorite in England. He married one of the queen's maids of honor; and Sir William Alexander, who established a Scotch colony at Port Royal, made him a baron of New Scotland, conferring the same order also upon his son. With the honor came a great tract of land from Yarmouth to Lunenbury along the eastern coast of Nova Scotia, about four thousand five hundred square miles. This was to be divided between father and son, forming the two baronies of St. Estienne and La Tour. In consideration of such favors Claude engaged to plant a colony and to secure his son's fort, St. Louis, for Great Britain. He came with ships, colonists, soldiers, and supplies. But Charles said his allegiance belonged to France, and not even for the entreaties or threats of a father would he betray his country's interest. At length in desperation the elder La Tour ordered two attacks, which were both gallantly repulsed. The commandant of the ship refused to make a third attempt, and sailed away to Port Royal. This was in 1630. Sir William's parchment baronetcy had been conferred upon La Tour the elder in the November previous under the style of Claude St. Estienne, Signeur de La Tour, and upon the younger in May of this same year, as Charles St. Estienne, Signeur de St. Denis Court. At this time England had possession of all Acadia and New France, save two small posts. But the following year, in concluding peace, under pressure from his royal cousin of France, who threatened else to withhold Queen Henrietta Maria's portion (four hundred thousand crowns), Charles I. weakly surrendered the whole. He informed Sir William Alexander, then Earl of Stirling, to whom he had by charter given such wide territories and remarkable powers, that Port Royal, his one poor colony, must be surrendered to the French, and the fort demolished. So collapsed that nobleman's enthusiastic schemes of colonization; and the newly created barons of New Scotland were left suspended in air, without country or estates. The formal engagement, the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, which insured this miscarriage of large promises and high hopes, was signed in March, 1632.[1]

[1] This was a comprehensive scheme. Sir William received almost regal powers over "the Lordship and Barony of New Scotland in America" (Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Cape Breton), to which was added a little later "the County and Lordship of Canady" (the present state of Maine, east of the Kennebec and north to the St. Lawrence, then called the great River of Canada). "Also that island Matowack or Long Island," described as reaching from the Hudson river to the Connecticut, and thereafter to be called "the Isle of Starlinge." Nor yet did Sir

Meantime Charles La Tour, after his gallant defense of Fort St. Louis, and the striking proof of fidelity to his country's cause, was encouraged by the arrival, in 1630, of two French ships with reënforcements, supplies, and a letter of hearty commendation and confidence, telling him to build dwellings and forts wherever he found it advantageous or convenient. Claude La Tour, sorely disappointed and distressed by his own failure to bring his son to terms, and doubtless ill at ease in the Scotch colony under such circumstances of failure and almost disgrace, gladly accepted an invitation to return to Fort St. Louis and his French allegiance. Thence he was sent with a force to establish a post and build a strong fort at the mouth of the St. John. February 11, 1631, Charles La Tour's courage and patriotism were further recognized in France by the above-named commission making him the king's lieutenant-general in Acadia. Four years after, this commission was reaffirmed in connection with a grant of the "Fort & Habitation of La Tour on the River St. John with lands adjacent having a frontage of five leagues on the river and extending ten leagues back into the country." He had transferred his residence to this place while his father took command at Fort St. Louis.

Fort La Tour on the St. John was a structure one hundred and eighty feet square, with four bastions and inclosed with palisades. It stood on the west side of the harbor, which it commanded toward the south, as also a good stretch of the river northward. Here this chivalrous pioneer lord lived with his devoted wife, like a feudal baron, surrounded by a large retinue of soldiers and retainers. The peltries taken in barter from the savages, and sold in France at a large profit, secured not only the necessities but

William's limitless desire and King Charles's prodigal generosity stop with such known and somewhat definite bounds. The grant also includes fifty leagues on both sides of "the River of Canada" (the St. Lawrence) as well as an equal breadth on all its tributaries, even to the discovery of "the South Sea, from which the head or source of that great River or Gulf of Canada, or some river flowing into it, is deemed to be not far distant" . . . "up to the head, fountain and source thereof wheresoever it be, or the lake whence it flows (which is thought to be toward the Gulf of California, called by some the Vermilion Sea"), . . . "likewise all and sundry islands lying within the said Gulf of California; as also all and whole the lands and bounds adjacent to the said Gulf on the West and South whether they be found a part of the continent or mainland or an island (as it is thought they are) which is commonly called and distinguished by the name of California."—*Novadamus Charter*, July 12, 1625.

For this vast domain, real and imaginary, Sir William Alexander was to pay a quit-rent of one penny Scots on the soil of New Scotland on the festival of the nativity of Christ if demanded. To facilitate the settlement he was empowered to create the order of "Knights Baronet of New Scotland," to be bestowed upon one hundred and fifty gentlemen, together with a tract of land to each containing eighteen square miles. Between the years 1625–1635 of such barons thirty-four were created for New Brunswick, fifteen for Nova Scotia, twenty-four for Cape Breton, and thirty-four for the great island of Anticosti.

also many luxuries not produced at home, while the forests abounded in game, and the water with fowl and fish. Explorations, the chase, and occasional warlike expeditions added the spice of adventure to this life of rude splendor and plenty. But this happy picture could not last. Even the vast reaches of a new and mainly unappropriated world were not ample enough to meet the insatiable greed of the adventurers who resorted to these shores.

The very year of the beginning of the war of 1627 the grand "Company of New France" was organized, including in its directorship Richelieu, De Rizilly, and Champlain. Upon the restoration of peace, arrangements for colonizing Acadia were made with new energy and zeal, and on a scale not before attempted. Isaac de Rizilly was in charge, and with him came Charles de Menou, Seigneur d'Aulnay de Charnisay, destined to become the rival and deadly enemy of Charles La Tour. In 1635 Charnisay was sent to Penobscot, which he seized and fortified. The following year De Rizilly died, and Charnisay presently succeeded to his interests in Acadia, which broad and diversified country soon proved quite too narrow for this intriguing adventurer and his enterprising countryman already established at St. John. The two men were totally unlike and could not fail to antagonize each other. Charnisay's headquarters at Port Royal were within the especial bounds of La Tour's command, while the latter's seat at St. John lay within Charnisay's jurisdiction. While La Tour quietly attended to his own affairs, Charnisay began his intrigues in France with the purpose of supplanting La Tour and driving him from the country. Securing the favor of Richelieu, in 1641 he finally obtained an order commanding La Tour to embark and return to France to answer charges. A few days later the king revoked La Tour's commission as lieutenant-general, which La Tour had so honorably won and so manfully defended for twelve years. Charnisay was empowered to execute the order, seize La Tour's person, and inventory his effects in the interest of the government.

This was a terrible stroke to La Tour. He utterly refused to embark in the vessel sent for him, and Charnisay did not venture to attack the fort. He sent back a report of La Tour's defiance of the king's order, and presently went to France to strengthen himself at court, and get assistance for making the arrest.

In this extremity La Tour turned to the people of New England. He sent a French Huguenot named Rochette as his agent. The citizens of Boston had great confidence in La Tour, and were quite as distrustful of his rival. Still they would promise only an amicable arrangement for trade. The following year he sent his lieutenant to Boston with a second

request for assistance. The Boston authorities and citizens entirely sympathized with him against his adversary, but were not willing to be embroiled in the affair by openly and officially espousing La Tour's cause. The merchants as a private enterprise sent out a vessel with supplies for Fort La Tour and to trade with other points. On the return this ship stopped at Pemaquid, where Charnisay showed the master his order for La Tour's arrest, which had been renewed in February, 1642. In France he had not been idle. He had perfected his title to Isaac de Rizilly's estate, and borrowing upon it two hundred and sixty thousand livres fitted out five ships with five hundred men. La Tour dispatched Rochette to the city of Rochelle in France. The Rochelle Huguenots promptly fitted out a large vessel called the *Clement*, which, manned by one hundred and forty armed men, they sent to his assistance. Meantime Charnisay with his fleet besieged Fort La Tour. The *Clement* could not enter the harbor to relieve the fort, since the entrance was guarded by two ships and a galliot; but La Tour, escaping the vigilance of the blockading squadron, stole out in his shallop by night, boarded the *Clement*, and set sail for Boston. Upon the morning of June 12, 1643, the good citizens of that place were astonished to see a large armed vessel, a formidable stranger, letting go her anchors in their harbor.[1]

La Tour again appealed to the governor and council. The captain of the *Clement* showed papers, dated the previous April under the hand of the vice-admiral of France, authorizing him to carry supplies to La Tour as lieutenant-general of Acadia; also a letter from the agent of the Company of New France, informing him of Charnisay's plot, and advising him to take care of himself, and again addressing him as lieutenant-general for the king. The Massachusetts authorities were convinced of La Tour's standing, and gave him all encouragement short of an actual official

[1] This sudden entry of La Tour's battle-ship caused great consternation. The place was utterly defenseless—both city and shipping quite at the mercy of the stranger. La Tour in a boat hailed Mrs. Gibbons, who with a few attendants was just returning from some short trip by water, and sought to converse with her. Her party in a fright drew up to the Governor's landing and hastened to his mansion, where La Tour and his men appeared almost at the same time. There was a call to arms in the city, and an escort or guard was hastily called out and dispatched to the governor. At this distance the alarm seems almost ludicrous. The practical Winthrop, with his usual candor, confessed the deplorable condition of "the coast-defense."

"But here," he says, "the Lord gave us occasion to take notice of our weakness &c., for if La Tour had been ill minded toward us, he had such an opportunity as we hope neither he nor any other shall ever have the like again. . . . Then having the Governor and his family and Captain Gibbon's wife etc. in his power he might have gone and spoiled Boston; and having so many men ready they might have taken two ships in the harbor and gone away without danger or resistance."—*Winthrop's Journal.*

espousal of his cause. It is at this point that La Tour appears in the Suffolk Records. The merchants were quite at liberty to assist him, and a fleet of four vessels properly fitted, armed, and manned, under the command of Thomas Hawkins, were furnished him on conditions named in a long and explicit contract, from which portions only can here be quoted. It begins as follows:[1]

"Articles of Agreement Indented and made the thirtieth day of June Anno dom 1643 betweene mounseir Latour knight of the orders of the king Leftennant Gennerall of new france of the one party, And Captaine Edward Gibbons and Thomas Hawkins merchant and parte owners of the good shipp called the seabridge the shipp phillip and mary the shipp Increase the shipp Greyhound all of them of the massachusetts bay in New England of the other party In behalf of themselves and of their partners, have let to freight to the sd mounseir dela Tour all the sd shipps in manner and vppon Condicons following,

1. first the sd Edward Gibbons and Thomas Hawkins and ther Assignes in the behalfe of the owners of the shipp seabridge doe Couenant and promise that the sd shipp shall be compleately fitted with a master and fowerteene able seamen, and a boy, with fowerteene peece of Ordinance, with powder and shott fitt for them, with tackle and Apparrell victualls for the sd sixteene men for two months time from the tenth day of July next."

Sections two and three provide in like terms for the *Philip and Mary* a crew of sixteen, for the *Increase* fourteen, and for each "tenn peece of ordinance" with supplies. The next specification is:

"That the shipp Greyhound shall be Compleately fitted with fower murderers: and powder and shott fitting for them, with tackle apparrell and victualls fitting for eight men: viz a master and seven able seamen with the sd shipp, Compleately for two months from the tenth day of July next.

These ships 'shall be by the Providence of God (the winde and weather serving) bee ready vppon demaund to sett sajle' from Boston Roades at the date named above; 'and from thence by God's Grace shall directly saile In Company with the shipp clement appertaining to the sd mounseir de la Tour; And further we promise to Joyne with the sd shipp clement In the defence of ourselves, and the sd mounseir La Tour; against mounseir dony [D'Aulnay], his forces or any that shall vnjustly assault.'"

On his part La Tour agrees to furnish twenty English soldiers, armed and provisioned at his own cost, for each of the three larger vessels, and eight for the smaller *Greyhound*.[2] He also has the privilege of putting on board his own French soldiers not to exceed ten for each vessel. He is to pay for the *Seabridge* two hundred pounds per month, for the *Philip and Mary* one hundred and twenty pounds per month, for the *Increase* one hundred and fifty pounds, and for the *Greyhound* fifty pounds, "in

[1] Suffolk Deeds, Lib. I., p. 7.

[2] We learn from Winthrop that these English soldiers engaged for forty shillings, or nine dollars and sixty-eight cents, per month.

peltry at the prize Currant as at the tjme of paȳment, they shall beare at Boston,"—this for a cruise of two months, without reduction of pay for any shortening of the time. La Tour is to furnish the ammunition, but the cost of that actually used is to be deducted from the ship-rent. Lastly

"what Pillage and spoile or goods shall be taken by the afore named shipp clement and the sd foure English shipps or either of them shall be aequally divided among the merchants ouners mariners and souldjers according to the vsual Custome In such voyages And for the true performance according to the true Intent of these p^resents the sd mounseir Latour doth make ouer to the sd Edward Gibbons and Thomas Hawkins all that his fort in the Riuer of S^t John, with the gunns pouder and shott therevnto belonging ; and all his property in the sajd Riuer, and the Coast of Achady together with all his mooveables and inmooveables therein In wittness hearof the partjes above named have Interchangeably put to their hands and seales

Signed and sealed De la Tour & a seale
in the p^rnce of v^s
Robert Keajne W^m Ting
Estienne auprvs"

This expedition proved wholly successful in raising the siege of Fort La Tour and putting Charnisay himself upon the defensive. Upon the appearance of La Tour's fleet the enemy, thoroughly surprised, precipitately took to flight. La Tour pursued, but Charnisay succeeded in making Port Royal (now Annapolis) bay, and ran his ships upon the beach to avoid capture. La Tour desired Captain Hawkins to join in an attack upon Charnisay's forces, who in much disorder were fortifying themselves in the mill. This he refused, but allowed his command to volunteer. About thirty Massachusetts men joined in the attack by which Charnisay was driven from the mill. The fleet returned to Fort La Tour. Falling in with a pinnace belonging to Charnisay, loaded with furs, she was made a prize. The English vessels were paid off and returned to Boston, having been absent only thirty-seven days.

Charnisay, beaten but not crushed, rebuilt the old fort at Port Royal, and presently sailed for France. Lady La Tour also went to France in her husband's interest. Charnisay secured an order for her arrest as involved in La Tour's rebellion. She escaped to England, where she engaged a vessel and freighted it with supplies for Fort La Tour. The master of the ship, in spite of her expostulations, spent so much time in trade by the way that six months were consumed in the passage. When the ship came at length into the bay of Fundy, Charnisay had already returned, and his vessels were on the watch to intercept any relief for La Tour. He overhauled Lady La Tour's ship, but little suspected the prize he held in his hand. She and her people were hidden in the hold, while the master,

professing to sail an English ship bound for Boston, was suffered to pass on toward that port.

La Tour meantime, discouraged and distressed at his wife's long absence, which now exceeded a year, had set out for Boston, where he arrived in July, 1644. He represented his condition to the governor and magistrates, craving their assistance, and not failing to urge the English title to his possessions by grant from Sir William Alexander. All sympathized with him, but the matter ended as usual without official action in his favor. A merchant vessel, however, sailed with supplies for his fort, and in this case a letter to Charnisay of expostulation was added. With this La Tour had to content himself, and his white sails were hardly out of sight when Lady La Tour's chartered vessel came into Boston harbor.

Lady La Tour promptly entered action, as Winthrop relates, "against Captain Baylye, and the merchant (brother and factor to Alderman Berkley who freighted the ship) for not performing the charter party," and causing the needless detention and peril which she had suffered. She had the captain and merchant arrested, who were compelled to surrender the cargo, valued at £1,100, to deliver their persons from custody. She then employed three vessels to convey her supplies and convoy her home. The contract under which she secured this fleet is also found in the Suffolk Records, and is as follows:

"Know all men by these p^rsents that I francoice mary Jacquelin spouse of charles sieur St Steeven knight of the orders of the king of fraunce Lieutenant in the Coast of the accady of new fraunce by virtue of a procuration given vnto me from my sajd S^r of St Steevens the twenty-seventh of August last past, doe Confesse to have hired of Cap^tne John Parris three shipps to Convey me to my fort & in consideration of seven hundredth pounds starling wch I promise to pay or cause to be pajd by the sajd S^r Called de la Tour forthwith vppon our Arrivall at the fort de la Toure in S^t Johns Riuer the dischardge of w^t goods I have putt aboard the sajd shipps I do further promise that the pajment of the abovesajd some of seven hundredth pounds shall be pajd in Pelleterje moose skines at twenty five shillings p^r skin one w^th an other marchantable beavor the skins at eight shillings p^r pound & Coale at twelve or in other payment of Comoditjes of value farther promising vnto the sajd Cap^ne Parris that if so be he be not fully sattisfyed the above sajd some vppon ou^r Arrival to be ljable to make good w^teuer damages may insue through default therof In wittnes whereof I have herevnto signed and sealed made at Boston this eleventh day of december 1644 francoice marje Jacquelin & a seale

In p^rnce of Charles dupre
Joshua Scotto: Ed. Gibbons"

Lady La Tour made a safe passage with her little fleet and supplies. We can imagine the happy meeting after this long separation, while beset with so many difficulties and dangers. For the time too there was abun-

dance, though not without hint of financial embarrassment. Even the moose-skin and beaver currency gleaned out of the woods did not suffice for the great expenditures of this contest. Hence the following bond:

"St. Johns, December 29, 1644.

I mounseir charles of S^{t} Steevens delatoure Knight & Baronet and francois marje Jacquelin doe acknowledg to have Received of M^{r} John Paris all such goods as came in the three shipps. Cap^{t} Richardson Capt Thomas Capt Bridecake and his owne but have not given him full sattisfaccon, according to his Contract and ou^{r} obligation, onely he hath received of me a hundred seventy two pounds in beaver sterling money and a smale chajne of Gold to the valleju of thirty or fouerty pound which is to be Retourned again In Case it possibly may; and more besides Wee doe engage ourselves to give sattisfaccon vnto majo^{r} Gibbons for the some specified in the bond; what he hath received above specified is to be deducted out of the bond of seven hundred pound.

de latour & seale
francois: marje Jacquelin

Signed sealed and
deliuered in the
p^{r}nce of John Pasfeild
Thomas Bredcake"

Marie, Charnisay's agent, had been in Boston at the same time with Lady La Tour, endeavoring to persuade the authorities of La Tour's outlawry and of the impropriety of their maintaining friendly relations with him. However, he only secured a treaty of amity and free commerce between the colony and Charnisay, which that vengeful Frenchman thought of small consequence when he heard of Lady La Tour's success. Indeed, his rage knew no bounds. He wrote an insolent and abusive letter to Governor Winthrop, and soon found opportunity to make his resentment felt.

Although La Tour and his wife had now obtained a temporary success, yet the contest was ruinous to both parties. The enormous expenses and losses, together with the obstruction of his trade, reduced La Tour to poverty. His indebtedness to the Boston merchants only increased; but they seem to have had unbounded confidence in his integrity. In May of the following spring he owed them more than ten thousand pounds, and he felt constrained to give his creditors the best and only security he could. Hence the famous mortgage deed of Fort La Tour and the adjacent lands at the mouth of the St. John, recorded at length in Suffolk Deeds.[1] Only the first part of this long document is here given, containing a description of the premises conveyed, and the important exception or reservation. It will be observed that the tract excepted embraces seventy-two miles on the eastern coast of Nova Scotia proper, and as much in depth, and hence includes the greater part of the peninsula. It is the grant from Sir Wil-

[1] Lib. I., filling 10 pages of the folio. It has been printed in Hazard's *Historical Collections*, I., 541–544.

liam Alexander to Claude and Charles La Tour, to be divided into the two baronies of St. Estienne and La Tour.

"This Indenture made betweene S^r charles S^t Steephens lord of La Tour in fraunce and Knight Barronet of Scotland of y^e one part and Serjeant major Edward Gibbons of Boston in New-England Esq^r of the othe^r parte wittnesseth that y^e sajd mounseir lord of latour for & in consideration of the full some of two thousand eighty fower pounds To him the sd moun^ser in hand pajd by the sajd S^gt major Gibbons and also for diverse other good causes and Considerations him the s^d moun^ser herevnto especially moving hath Graunted bargained sould enfeoffed and confirmed vnto him the s^d S^gt major Edward Gibbons his heires and Assignes all that his fort called fort La Toure & plantacon w^thin y^e northerne part of america wherein y^e s^d mouns^r together with his family hath of late made his Residence, Scittuate & being at or neere the mouth of a certajne Riuer Called by y^e name of S^t John's Riuer together also with all the Ammunition and weapons of warr or instrumen^ts of defence & other Implements necessarjes And together also with all the land & Islands Riuers lakes woods & vnderwoods mines & mineralls whatsouer and all and singular other the comoditjes & Appurtenances to the same plantacon belonging or in any wise appertayning either by right of discouery or first Inhabitting and there graunted vnto him by the grand Company of Cannida merchants or as the same were heeretofore purchased of S^r Willjam Alexander Knight by S^t chaude of S^t Stephen Lord of latour for and in the name of him the sajd S^r charles his heires and Assignes by the name of the Countrje of new Scotland, formerly called the Countrje of Laccadie as it lyeth along the sea coast eastward as by a deede thereof in the french toung made bearing date the 30^th of Aprill 1630. . . . To have & to hold—"

No need to give the remaining tedious formula. The time of redemption was fixed "at or before the twentjeth day of february which shall be in the yeare of o^r Lord God one thousand six hundred fifty and two;" that is, by our reckoning, February 20, 1653. The instrument is signed: "Charles de sainct Estienne," and witnessed by seven persons.

No doubt La Tour hoped that, by this solemn and formal conveyance to a very prominent Boston citizen, the personal interest as well as the sympathies of the people and authorities might be more fully enlisted in his cause. Certainly Governor Winthrop and others did not regard La Tour's title lightly, and they were by no means indifferent to securing a substantial claim to the lands and harbors patented to him. So Winthrop remarks:

"In the opening of La Tour's case it appeared that the place where his fort was had been purchased by his father of Sir William Alexander, and he had a free grant of it and of all that part of New Scotland under the great seal of Scotland, and another grant of a Scott Baronet under the same seal; and that himself and his father had continued in possession &c. about thirty years, and that Port Royal was theirs also until D'Aulnay [as Charnisay was more commonly called in New England] had dispossessed him of it by force within these five years." [1]

[1] Winthrop's *Journal* (see page 179).

Nor was this confidence ill-founded, for La Tour's grants were subsequently confirmed under the hand of the Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell. But at the time of this mortgage La Tour was a bankrupt and apparently ruined. His enemy had triumphed, and he no longer held in actual possession an acre of ground or a sheltering roof.

Charnisay's ships now so haunted the coasts and scoured the intervening seas, that La Tour could neither relieve his courageous lady and faithful friends at the fort, nor himself return to their aid. In February, learning from two spies that Lady La Tour had no more than fifty soldiers all told, little powder and that mainly of poor quality, while her husband was absent in Boston, and the fort indeed to appearance all but defenseless, the implacable Charnisay judged that now the hour of triumph drew nigh. Accordingly he sailed into the harbor and opened his attack, confident of taking Fort La Tour almost without resistance. But he reckoned without his host. Lady La Tour took command, inspired her devoted soldiers, manned a bastion, and directed the fire with such effect that Charnisay was compelled to draw off with twenty killed and thirteen wounded. His shattered vessel he warped ashore behind a neighboring point to save her from sinking.

Charnisay was, however, still able to prevent La Tour's return, and in the following April appeared before the fort with a yet stronger armament. In the meantime Lady La Tour and her men had not been relieved nor supplied, and consequently were taken at even greater disadvantage. But Charnisay, who now made his approach from the land side, was repulsed again and again, until he despaired of success except by strategy and treachery. Upon the fourth day he succeeded in bribing a Swiss sentry, who, on Easter morning, while the garrison were at prayers, allowed the enemy to approach without giving the alarm. They were already scaling the walls when discovered. Yet brave Lady La Tour rallied her forces, and putting herself at their head, the assailants were repulsed with such promptness and vigor that Charnisay, who had already lost twelve killed and many wounded, was glad to withdraw, and offered honorable terms of capitulation. He guaranteed life and liberty to all. In no condition to endure a siege, despairing of relief and anxious to save the lives of her friends, Lady La Tour consented, and opened the gates to her dastardly foe. Then the extent of his perfidy appeared. The character and performance of the heroic Lady La Tour made no appeal to the rapacious and cruel Charnisay. Every soldier in the fort, French and English alike, was hung, save one, whom he spared on the dreadful condition of becoming the executioner of his comrades. He did not venture to put Lady

La Tour to death. Even the corrupt French court would not have tolerated such a procedure against a noble lady whom he was merely commissioned to arrest. But he did worse. He compelled this heroic victim of his vindictive hate and perfidy to stand by with a rope about her neck and witness the murder of all her faithful defenders.

Lady La Tour, so heroic and spirited by nature, was not formed to endure a helpless captivity under circumstances of such cruelty. The strain of the protracted contest, the separation from her husband, the surrender of the fort, with loss of home and hope, proved too much for her lofty spirit. She faded away, and, only three weeks after the surrender, died of a broken heart, and was laid to rest on the banks of the St. John by the same cruel hands which had wrought her sorrow.

A little child left behind was afterwards sent to France, but no mention of it occurs in the La Tour genealogy, and it probably died young.

The booty taken with the fort is estimated at two thousand pounds, and Winthrop rather peevishly blames La Tour for not having removed his plate and valuables to Boston, where they might have satisfied his creditors, instead of falling into the hands of his enemy. Distressed and beggared, La Tour still found refuge and sympathy with his New England friends. For, says Winthrop:

"In the spring he went to Newfoundland, and was there courteously entertained by Sir David Kirk. Returned to Boston again by the same vessel and all the next winter was entertained by Mr. Samuel Maverick at Noddle's Island."[1]

La Tour returned to Boston in one of Kirk's ships, and in the following January rented the same vessel from Maverick, Sir David's agent. This was for a trading expedition, and, undertaken after his bereavement and losses, and upon the conditions he accepted, it displays again the indomitable will and spirit of the man. So far from spending all winter as an idle guest at Noddle's Island, we find him executing this lease on January 14, and his contract with the merchants who furnished the trading-stock on January 19. He must have sailed about this time, for Winthrop

[1] Winthrop's *Hist. N. Eng.*, II., 291. But in this statement Winthrop is not accurate, neither is he consistent with himself; for he says afterward, apparently under date [25 (5) 1645] of July 25, 1645, though the entry must have been made later, that:

"M. La Tour having stayed here all winter and so far in the summer, and having petitioned the court for aid against M. D'Aulnay, and finding no hope to obtain help that way, took shipping in one of our vessels which went on fishing to Newfoundland hoping by means of Sir David Kirk, governor there, and some friends he might procure in England, to obtain aid from thence, intending for that end to go thence to England, returned hither before winter."—Winthrop's *Hist. N. Eng.*, II., 303.

himself elsewhere states that he arrived at Cape Sable "in the heart of winter."

That, under the circumstances, his Boston friends furnished La Tour with this complete outfit, shows their confidence and perhaps their sympathy; but these sentiments did not prevent an eye to business, nor obstruct their fondness for good bargains. From the results of the voyage La Tour, first of all, agreed to pay his friends the full price for their goods as per invoice. But secondly: "And in consideration of the Adventure w^{ch} they run I doe promise to deliver vnto them or their Assignes over & aboue the principall aboue expressed three eight parts of all w^{ch} shall remaine when the principall is payd." And again, thirdly: "For hyre of the afore said vessell" with crew, supplies, and necessary appointments, including "foure guns two murderers 6 musketts with powder shott match & other necessaries" he must give "the ful one halfe part of all such Bever Moose & other furrs & Merchandize as he shall get by way of trade wth the Indians in this his voyage" beyond the amount required to pay for his goods. That is, after settling for the stock in trade, La Tour would have one-eighth of the profits, while the ship took one-half and the merchants three-eighths. With a most prosperous voyage this would be a laborious if not impossible method of restoring his shattered fortunes. If he "turned pirate," as was said, it was upon this discouragement.

Honest John Winthrop is the sole authority for this story. He declares:

"When La Tour came to Cape Sable (which was in the heart of winter), he conspired with the master (being a stranger) and his own Frenchmen, being five, to go away with the vessel, and so forced out the other five English (himself shooting one of them in the face with a pistol) who, through special providence, having wandered up and down fifteen days found some Indians who gave them a shallop and victuals, and an Indian pilot. So they arrived safe at Boston in the third month [May]. Whereby it appeareth (as the Scripture saith) that there is no confidence in an unfaithful or carnal man. Though tied with so many strong bonds of courtesy, etc., he turned pirate, etc."[1]

Hannay in his *History of Acadia* discredits the tale. No doubt these five sailors returned and imposed upon the governor with this pitiful yarn, which Hannay suggests was more likely concocted to cover their own mutinous conduct or desertion. There is much to be said for this view. The thing is so inconsistent with all we know of La Tour's character and conduct, both before and after, that it becomes well nigh incredible. His version of the incident has not come down to us; but his subsequent relations with New England, the distinguished consideration and remark-

[1] Winthrop's *History of New England*, II., 325.

able favors received from the British government, refute the supposition that such a stain could rest upon him. He afterward traded at Boston, an exception being made in his favor at a time when all exporting of provisions to either Dutch or French was interdicted. Living in Acadia under English rule, he stood so high as to receive almost unparalleled gifts at the hands of the government. As for Winthrop's journal, it ceased with the death of its author (March 26, 1649), and hence could not contain the correction which otherwise might have been added.

La Tour appeared at Quebec August 8, 1646, where this governor of Acadia, proscribed from his province and outlawed in France, was received with acclamations from the people, and all honors from the commandant. He continued four years absent from Acadia, two of which at least he spent in Canada. Of this period we have but a meagre knowledge, but in those stirring times we may be sure such a man could not be idle. In 1648 he is mentioned as having gone to fight against the Iroquois. He continued in the fur trade, and is said to have penetrated to the shores of Hudson's bay.

Charnisay, of course, adorned his own cause in France, where he was complimented for his success, in letters commendatory, by the queen regent, in the name of the child-king, wherein it was assumed that La Tour wished to subvert the French authority and planned to deliver his fort to foreigners. Charnisay's renewed commission recited his many and remarkable services, and gave him everything—all authority, and exclusive privileges of trade from the St. Lawrence to Virginia. He returned, summarily and forcibly ejected Nicholas Denys, the only remaining rival holding patents within his territory. He now reigned supreme, apparently having succeeded in all his intrigues and rapacious schemes. He was embarrassed, indeed, with an enormous debt incurred through such costly enterprises, but with an immensely rich monopoly, which might presently reimburse him fourfold. His career came to a sudden end, for in 1650 he was drowned in the river of Port Royal. "There is no further history or tradition concerning him. If Charnisay had any friends when living, none of them were to be found after his death. . . . His influence at the French court, which must have been great, rested upon such a slender foundation of merit that it did not survive him a single day. He who stood high in the royal favor was a few months after his death branded as a false accuser, in an official document signed by the king's own hand." [1]

Upon Charnisay's death La Tour returned to France, and had little

[1] Hannay's *History of Acadia*, p. 188.

trouble in establishing his own innocence and securing a complete reversal of all the former proceedings against him, with a renewal of his commission as governor and lieutenant-general in Acadia. Indeed, the charter highly commended his fidelity and valor in defending the territorial rights of his sovereign, which, as the document recited, he would have continued to do had he not been hindered by the false accusations and pretenses of Charles de Menou, Sieur d'Aulnay Charnisay.

La Tour returned to Acadia, and in September, 1651, took peaceable possession once again of his plantation and Fort La Tour at the mouth of the St. John. Charnisay's widow, alarmed at the scope of his commission, sought to interest the Duke de Vendome. He readily secured letters patent from the compliant king, but did nothing under them. Early in 1653 the bitter and disastrous controversy between these rival French houses of Acadia was at once and forever composed by the marriage of Lord La Tour to the widow of Charnisay. On February 24 of that year the voluminous and explicit marriage contract declared the object of the union to be to secure "the peace and tranquillity of the country, and concord and union between the two families."

About the time that La Tour and his new wife were well settled at Fort La Tour, which had been bestowed as a marriage portion on Madame Charnisay, a new claimant appeared in the field. A certain M. Le Borgne, chief creditor of Charnisay, secured a judgment and execution against the estate, and now proposed to capture all Acadia for debt. He had already seized upon St. Peter's and Port Royal by a mixture of strategy and violence, and soon appeared before Fort La Tour with a pretense of bringing supplies for sale, but intending to take the place by fraud and force. He was hastily recalled to Port Royal by news of the re-occupation of St. Peter's by Nicholas Denys under a new commission from the French king, who seems to have given away the province or any part of it as often as anybody would ask him.

So Le Borgne, intending to return later, withdrew without revealing his treacherous scheme. But the next day an English fleet arrived before the fort, under the command of Major Robert Sedgwick of New England. Cromwell had sent four ships to Boston with intent there to organize an expedition against the Dutch of Manhattan. They arrived early in June, 1654, and a few days later came news of peace concluded between England and Holland. Our fathers, entering into the scheme with alacrity, had already enlisted five hundred men; and all thinking it a pity to waste so fine an armament, they soon saw it to be their duty to turn the fleet against their popish neighbors in Acadia, and this in a time of profound

peace. Under this surprise and compulsion Fort La Tour surrendered, as did also Port Royal and Penobscot. Cromwell quite approved of this deft sleight-of-hand performance.

But La Tour was full of resources. He hastened to England and pressed his claim under the grant of Sir William Alexander with great success. In connection with Thomas Temple and William Crowne, and for a small annual rental of beaver skins, he secured a grant and government of all the coasts with one hundred leagues inland from the present Lunenburg in Nova Scotia to the river St. George in Maine. La Tour did not wait for another turn in fortune's wheel, but sold out his share to Temple and Crowne, himself retiring to a comfortable private life still within his beloved Acadia, where he enjoyed a decade or more of prosperous tranquillity, dying in 1666 at the age of seventy-two.

MRS. MARTHA J. LAMB

By Daniel Van Pelt

Literary circles of New York have sustained a severe loss in the decease of Mrs. Lamb. Many tributes of respect and appreciation have already appeared in the contemporary press, and many more may be looked for. It is eminently fitting that a leading part in these testimonials to the worth of the departed should be taken by the periodical which owed so much of its success to her signal ability and her indefatigable industry, and which had come to be so closely identified with her name.

The simple story of her life is quickly told. She was born at Plainfield, Massachusetts, on August 13, 1829. Her maiden name indicates more than one suggestive line of ancestry. Martha Joanna Reade Nash was the daughter of Arvin Nash and Lucinda Vinton. Thus, on the mother's side a strain of the mercurial Gallic blood would be apt to lend enthusiasm to the nature, and warmth and brilliancy to the literary style. Her paternal grandparents were Jacob Nash and Joanna Reade. Jacob Nash was a soldier of the Revolution, and traced his pedigree to the company who came over in the *Mayflower*. Her grandmother's family embraced within its English branch one whose name has become a household word in literature—Charles Reade the novelist. The laws of heredity would determine at the outset that a person thus descended would develop a love for her country and its history, as well as incline to a literary expression of that *penchant*.

In her early girlhood Mrs. Lamb spent much of her time in Goshen, Massachusetts. Her school-days brought her to Northampton and Easthampton. People acquainted with her in those days speak of her as bright, healthy, and wholesome, energetic to a degree, and with great confidence in her ability to accomplish difficult tasks. Her fondness for books made her father's library a place of delight to her at a very tender age. In a paper read before a historical society some years ago, the writer gives a pleasant glimpse of Mrs. Lamb's initiation to her career as historian: "She herself tells with charming simplicity of her introduction to history, wondering with a child's eagerness if the *Scottish Chiefs* were true, and rummaging until she found an old musty history of Scotland. It was a yellow-paged volume, printed in the ancient style which reveled in long *s's* and other eccentricities; but, with a child's confidence, she was undismayed at the

unattractive appearance of the book, and seating herself on the floor read steadily from beginning to end 'to find about William Wallace.' After this beginning she read all the historical works in her father's library, and scandalized her family and amused her friends by innocently trying to borrow precious volumes from the neighbors." But besides this part of her mental equipment, upon which rests her reputation to-day, it is not so well known that she had remarkable mathematical talents. Before her marriage she was a teacher in a polytechnic institute, and had undertaken the revising and editing of some text-books on mathematics for the higher classes of such schools. This aptitude, too, enabled her to prepare a popular work explaining the Coast Survey to lay readers, a treatise published by the Harpers; while her studies in this connection naturally led her, again, to write the excellent paper on "The American Life-Saving Service."

In 1852, when she had attained the age of twenty-three, she was married to Mr. Charles A. Lamb of Ohio, who moved with her to the city of Chicago. Here another side of her character found a scope for development. During her residence of eight years in Chicago, she started a movement in practical and much-needed benevolence, which resulted in the founding of the Home for the Friendless and Half-Orphan Asylum, which is still in flourishing condition to-day. In 1863, in the dark days of civil war, she acted as secretary of the first Sanitary Fair; and its success was largely ascribed to her enthusiasm in the cause, and her well-directed efforts in promoting the enterprise.

In 1866 Mrs. Lamb came to take up her residence permanently in New York. It had now become expedient that she engage in literary work, and, like so many others who have such labors in view, she was inevitably drawn toward the metropolis. She began immediately to prepare for writing the work which has more than anything else established her fame. At the same time her industrious pen and versatile mind turned to other and lighter fields of literature. In a space of less than two years (1869–1870) she put forth no less than eight books for children. In 1873 she ventured upon fiction and produced *Spicy*, a novel which attained some note; and about fifty shorter stories attest that this was a vein which Mrs. Lamb could work with remarkable ease. An illustrated volume was published by the Appletons in 1879, of which the text was written by Mrs. Lamb; the very title—*Historic Homes of America*—being abundantly suggestive of the interesting contents as regards its products both of the pencil and of the pen. In 1881 and 1882 she was induced to lend her powers as a graceful writer to enhance the Christmas cheer in American homes, and there appeared successively *The Christmas Owl* and *The*

Christmas Basket. In 1883 she published her *Wall Street in History*, which attracted attention, and her position as an authority on the history of the metropolis was so well recognized that she was invited to prepare the historical sketch of New York city for the tenth census. A *Memorial of Dr. J. D. Russ*, *Snow and Sunshine*, and about one hundred magazine articles on historical and other subjects, indicate not only the industry but the versatility of her pen, which seems never to have rested since she entered upon her distinctively literary career.

But in the midst of all these various literary labors, the *History of New York City* was growing under her hands during a period of fifteen years of study and investigation. Up to this time no history of the metropolis upon such a scale, commensurate with the greatness of its subject, had been undertaken. There were a few antiquated treatises; one by Chief Justice Smith, carrying events to the year 1756, continued to a somewhat later period by his son, and republished as thus extended in 1830. There was William Dunlap the actor's history, useful in its way but not very scholarly, and leaving our information suspended somewhere among the early years of this century. A number of minor attempts, more or less fragmentary, had also been made to record the story of our city. Finally, a few years before the war, was issued a book that could at all compare, in exhaustive study and attractive style, with Mrs. Lamb's later effort, and this, too, was from a woman's hand, Miss Mary L. Booth. But even this left free scope for such an undertaking as was contemplated and finally executed by the subject of this sketch. With every added year materials for a history of our city were accumulating; the methods of studying and writing history were improved, while its requirements were more exacting. And, above all, it was after the war especially that our great city took ever more gigantic strides in the way of commercial development, material growth, and literary importance. There was a place for a new history to be written under such conditions; it but required sufficient courage and ability to carry out the work. Neither of these necessary qualities was lacking in Mrs. Lamb.

The *History of the City of New York* was published in two volumes, in the year 1881. "It is not so much," said one competent critic, "that Mrs. Lamb has written a history of the largest city in the western hemisphere, but that she has executed her task with such fidelity, accuracy, excellence, and signal success." It is true that one who is familiar with the ground she covers, as the result of special studies on similar topics, will occasionally find little slips in statement, some facts unreported, and others not quite correctly reported. But it would be exceedingly unfair

to press such *minutiæ* as vitiating the record as a whole. It must not be forgotten that she alone and personally covered the whole field, while her cavilers may have but fixed their attention upon parts of it. As what she wrote was honestly her own composition, in the heat and labor of composing some unessential details may have escaped her eye, or may have worn a different look from what they possessed upon the unimpassioned note-book. Another fault may be said to be an inclination to discursiveness. We are occasionally carried far away from our city, to scale the Heights of Abraham with Wolfe; to traverse the Jerseys with Washington as he retires before Cornwallis; and we fight one or two battles under his magnificent leadership, which were not fought on either Long Island or Manhattan Island. But then we almost forget how far we are away from our subject in the charm of the style and the vividness of the narrative which delight and beguile us. Perhaps not least among the merits of this history is that it does not forbid but rather invites the continuance of effort in the same direction. Other histories of New York city have sprung up in the wake of it, stimulated thereto doubtless by having seen how interestingly such a story could be told. And as scholarship too finds with every advancing decade more materials to be worked into readable history and valuable information, it is not surprising that the present decade has seen initiated a history of New York city on a very much larger scale than even Mrs. Lamb's, but conducted by several investigators at the same time. Many tokens of appreciation of a flattering nature came to Mrs. Lamb as the result of her achievement.

At the time of her death she was a member of many learned societies, two among which she prized peculiarly—the American Historical Association, of which she was a life member, and the Clarendon Historical Society of Edinburgh, Scotland, of which she was made a fellow.

In 1883, two years after completing her history, Mrs. Lamb purchased the *Magazine of American History*, and assumed the editorial direction of it herself. Although it had then been issued a few years, this periodical felt at once the stimulus of a new life when Mrs. Lamb assumed the editorship. Her name alone gave it prestige, but the nature of the contents kept on augmenting its reputation, and ere long it held easily the foremost rank amid publications of this kind. No cultured home could afford to be without its valuable and unique information, illuminating alike topics of a larger and of a minor or more local historical interest. Its scope allowed it to give an *entrée* to papers and discussions which the popular magazines barred out as too "dry," but which, somehow, took color and new interest when placed before the people in these pages. The

conduct of the magazine has tended to withdraw Mrs. Lamb from literary activity in other directions, so that her life has become identified with its life, and at her death it remains a monument to her uninterrupted devotion to historical studies even when old age was coming on apace. To within a few days of her death her time and thought were given to it. Warned to take heed to herself as the inclemency of the weather increased, she still persisted in her daily visits to the office. She contracted a severe cold, resulting in pneumonia. As the old year passed away and the new year came in, she was trembling on the brink of the grave; and early on the morning of Monday, January 2, 1893, her useful and industrious career was terminated by a peaceful death.

A NORTH CAROLINA MONASTERY[1]

By J. S. Bassett

Early in the sixth century persecution in Rome drove Benedict of Nursia into exile. After some wandering he settled at Monte Casino, and drew around him a school composed of a few associates of pious inclination, severe habits, and unhesitating devotion to duty. His fame spread till he found that his school had grown to large numbers, and had attracted students from all Christendom. Out of this school grew the monastery of Monte Casino, and out of the monastery developed the order of Benedictine monks. To estimate the influence of this order would be difficult. Speaking broadly, it educated Europe. Whenever a colony of Benedictines went out among the barbarians, it became a centre from which were spread the forces of enlightenment, morality, and improved economic conditions. In conducting their enterprises their spirits were heroic. Winter blast, sterile soils, and rude society, did not deter them. To the vicissitudes of nature they opposed courage and industry; to the rudeness of men they opposed a calm, persevering, Christ-like spirit. They were well suited for the conditions they encountered. They strengthened the cause of right, protected the weak, opposed feudal robbery, and in short, during the six centuries following the establishing of the order, they exerted a generally equalizing influence over the social surface of Europe.

They fitted so well into the past that we are accustomed to imagine that they belonged there. Unless we actually stumble on their long black habits we forget that the Benedictines are still active and true to the purposes of their teacher, are continually sending out parties to found new colleges or new abbeys. The writer realized this not long ago, when he had his attention called to the Mary Help abbey, near Belmont, North Carolina.

Perhaps the conditions of such an attempt long ago would be reproduced no more exactly in any state of the Union than in North Carolina. This is without doubt the most non-Catholic state in America. Gaston county, in which Belmont is situated, is perhaps the most non-Catholic county in the state. It lies in the district of the Cape Fear and Catawba valleys, within which the Scotch colonies settled in the eighteenth century, and the inhabitants are mostly Presbyterians. At the time the enterprise began there were only eighteen hundred Catholics in the whole state.

[1] A paper read before the Historical Seminary of Johns Hopkins University, December 16, 1892.

Agriculture in the south, conducted for the most part by negro labor, is careless and superficial. Society has not entirely emerged from the semi-feudal conditions of ante-bellum days. Taken all in all, it seemed that here was an experiment, an investigation of which would be of interest both to the historian and to the sociologist. Through the kindness of the monks, materials were easily attainable, and it was comparatively a simple task to write this sketch of the past history and present life of the abbey.

Since the days of Spanish colonization there have been Benedictine foundations in South and Central America; but not till 1842 was there one in the United States. In that year Arch-abbot Wimmer of Münich, Bavaria, founded St. Vincent's abbey in Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania. This is the parent of all the Benedictine abbeys now in this country. Among the largely Catholic population of the north and the west, the order has had great success; but for a time the south remained to them an unfallowed field.

In the year 1876 Rev. Dr. J. J. O'Connell gave for establishing a colony a plantation of five hundred acres, situated near a station on the R. & D. R.R., then known as Garibaldi, but since changed to Belmont.

So far as the natural conditions of the site are concerned, they could hardly have been better in the state. The climate is a happy medium between the cold winters of the mountains, lying fifty or more miles to the west, and the semi-tropical seasons of the Atlantic coasts just below Wilmington. The soil, of red clay mixed with sand, is capable of being made very fertile. It produces cotton, tobacco, and all the cereals. Without cultivation the farmer may reap enough native hay for his stock. Red clover grows to great advantage. All kinds of fruits abound, the section being the home of the Catawba grape. The location is very healthful. The people are, perhaps, more intelligent than average southern farmers; and as to liquor drinking, they boast that they are the most temperate in North Carolina. Briefly, the spot is well suited for intelligent, diversified farming, and the people are good neighbors.

The design of the Benedictines, when they accepted Dr. O'Connell's gift, was to erect a college to educate priests for the southern work. Accordingly, during the same year, Rev. Dr. Herman Wolfe led out the first colony, which found shelter for a while in Dr. O'Connell's house. The quiet sons of the Covenanters were surprised at the sight of the black-robed figures about their old neighbor's premises. Monks! They had never before seen one. About all they knew of such beings they had gotten from the impressive pictures of Fox's *Book of Martyrs*, and from the milk-and-water stuff that is usually doled out to children by Sunday-school

libraries. North Carolina is such a strongly dissenting state, that in many rural districts even a surpliced Episcopal clergyman is an object of interest. Imagine, then, the feelings of these good people when they found themselves face to face with real, living monks.

The Benedictines, however, settled down to their work at once. With seven or eight boys, whom they gathered with much effort, the teachers began the routine work of what had been called "Saint Mary's college." The lay brothers went to their tasks in kitchen, workshop, and field, and wherever the care of the farm took them. The neighbors found them affable, self-contained, industrious, and strictly honest in business affairs. If there was but little communication, there was respect and no ill-will on either side.

The first work of Dr. Wolfe was erecting a college building. He soon had ready a two-story frame house. Four years later a three-story brick building, seventy-five by thirty-five feet, was constructed for the college, and the monks used the wooden structure for their quarters.

Nine years passed, and the number of students increased from eight to sixteen or twenty. The mother abbey had such demands from the north and the west that the work in North Carolina was not pushed very energetically. Brothers looked on Saint Mary's as almost a place of exile. Failure stared the young college in the face. Arch-abbot Wimmer, realizing that something must be done to prevent dissolution, applied to Rome to have Saint Mary's erected into an independent abbey. The request was granted, and the new abbey was called Mary Help.

After much effort a small band of volunteers was secured, who agreed to go south and take the new work in hand. On July 14, 1885, these assembled in the chapter house of Saint Vincent's to elect an abbot. This election must be held in strict accord with canon law, and the utmost secrecy must be observed. The unanimous choice fell on Rev. Leo Haid, secretary, chaplain, and professor at Saint Vincent's. A better man for the place it would have been hard to find. He is well known in Catholic circles as an orator, and his success with Mary Help abbey has been remarkable.

By the fall opening the sixteen students had increased to forty-five. To-day, seven years later, it is over a hundred. Plans were made for a new college building to be erected in parts. In 1887 the east wing, seventy-five by sixty feet, was completed. It is of brick, three stories high, with a basement. In 1888 the central building, fifty-four by sixty feet, was put up. The west wing, of the same size as the east wing, remains to be built. In 1891 they added one hundred and twenty feet to the old college building, and now use it for an abbey. At the present time they are building

an abbey church. It is to be a handsome Gothic structure, one hundred and fifteen by fifty-four feet.

Besides, Mary Help has become a mother abbey. In 1887 Abbot Haid erected a high school in Richmond, Virginia. In 1891 he opened Saint Leo's military college at Clear Lake, Florida. The buildings of the latter are ample, and the institution is said to be in a flourishing condition.

In 1888 Abbot Haid was consecrated bishop of Messene and vicar apostolic of North Carolina. He refused to resign his abbatial position, and by a special arrangement, common in ancient times, but never before employed in the United States, he was allowed to fulfill his new duties and still to retain his office as abbot.

In casting up the general statistics of the abbey at the end of the seventh year of its existence, it is seen that the membership has increased from four priests, four sub-deacons, two clerics, and four lay brothers in 1885, to seventeen priests, two deacons, six clerics, three novices, twenty-two lay brothers, and eighteen lay novices and candidates in 1892; that is to say, a growth from fourteen to sixty-eight. Moreover, two hundred and fourteen acres of land have been added to the original farm, thus making seven hundred and fourteen acres in one tract.

The condition of the farm is much better than it was originally. Land has been improved by careful and studied cultivation, and blooded stock has been gradually introduced. All supplies needed have been raised by the monks. In the winter of 1885–86, with four cows and two horses to keep, the abbot had to buy hay; now he has feed in abundance for his thirty head of cattle and seven horses. The system of agriculture is the most modern, and the farm has become a model for the neighbors. A large orchard furnishes fruit for home consumption, with a small amount for sale, while the abbey vineyard furnishes wine for table use and for sacramental purposes. Incidentally, it may be remarked that land in the immediate vicinity has increased in value during the last eight years from eight or ten dollars to twenty-five or thirty dollars an acre.

It is undoubtedly a fact that the abbey is becoming very wealthy. It is equally true, I am informed, that it is all through the efforts of the monks themselves. They have received no outside aid. While individual farmers have become poor, they have become wealthy; and this while educating without charge their own candidates and many other students.

The cause lies in two facts: (1) The organization of the labor forces of the abbey, and (2) the manner of life of the monks themselves.

Monasticism is the purest type of communism. All property is held in common. A monk can neither give nor receive anything without the

consent of the abbot. Whatever he produces goes into the common store; whatever he needs for his simple wants he gets from this store through the procurator. The saving is great. The abbot has control of all expenditure. He also directs the entire life of the members of the order. He assigns each one his work according to what he thinks is his most profitable adaptability. The member must submit. If he thinks his task is impossible, he may tell his superior so in a spirit of gentleness and patience; but if the abbot still thinks that he should do the work, then the disciple must yield, and no more objection is allowed.

Although the abbot is elected as in a perfect democracy, he holds power almost as if he were an autocrat. He is largely independent of higher authority, and to him every monk is responsible for the correct performance of his duty. He is head farmer, head teacher—supreme over each department. He thinks out the plans of the monastery; he directs their execution. Bishop Haid is professor of moral theology in the college, and works as the other teachers. He may often, when other duties allow, be seen in the fields working with the lay brothers.

The routine life of the monks, just as it was a dozen or more centuries ago, is severe and simple. They arise at 3.45 o'clock, at the summons of the abbey bell, spend two hours in prayer and meditation, partake of a slight breakfast, and then go about their daily tasks. Study, rest, and recreation are duly provided for. At 9 o'clock in the evening all retire. The religious motive drives away rivalry and discontent. Each one works from a sense of religious duty. The abbot says they do not need watching; he always knows they are doing their duty.

The health of the community is excellent. If we except attendance due to accidents from the use of machinery, the physicians' fees do not reach ten dollars a year. There are some persons at hard work at the advanced age of seventy-five or seventy-eight years. From the monks' standpoint the abbey is represented as a delightful place to live in.

Monasticism as compared with communism has one decided advantage: No man is born a monk. It has been the fate of the attempts in the past to establish societies on the communistic basis, that as soon as the original members have been replaced by a younger generation, their own children for the most part, the project has failed. Taking the vows of monastic life is a thing of choice, and is backed by the strongest religious motives. Monasticism looks to earnest conviction for its continued existence; communism must rely on the fortuitous circumstances of birth.

BAYARD TAYLOR

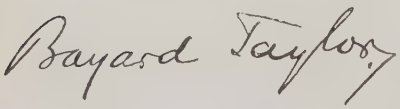
By The Editor

Many interesting and pleasant memories are associated with the name of one who has a just claim to what Halleck happily called

> "That frailer thing than leaf or flower,
> A poet's immortality;"

—whose brief and brilliant career, "the truly American story of a grand, cheerful, active, self-developing, self-sustaining life, remains as an enduring inheritance for all coming generations."

Bayard Taylor, journalist, traveler, poet, critic, novelist, and lecturer, was born in Kennett Square, the name of a pleasant and pretty rural village in Chester county, Pennsylvania, January 11, 1825. He was descended from a Quaker family, and breathed from the first a moral atmosphere as pure and healthful as the mountain air in which his infancy was cradled. His entrance upon active life was as an apprentice in a printing office, where he began to learn the trade at the age of seventeen, receiving a new impulse to his imperfect studies, and in some sense supplying the defects of his early education. In *Graham's Magazine* for May, 1843, there is a poem of his, entitled "Modern Greece," signed J. B. Taylor, and another in August, 1844, called "The Nameless Bird." In the following year he ceased to use his first name of James, and began to call himself J. Bayard Taylor, which he had seldom done before, and under that arrangement of his patronymic appeared in the same magazine as the author of "Night on the Deep" and "The Poet's Ambition." By this time the promise of his life had been recognized by several Philadelphians, who kindly advanced the young writer the necessary means to enable him to visit Europe, and he com-



menced his adventurous journey with knapsack and pilgrim staff. On the eve of departure for the Old World he published a volume entitled *Ximena and Other Poems*, a *brochure* almost as rare as George Bancroft's poems, or the little volume of Judge Story's called *Reason and Other Poems*, all of which are now lying on my library table.

Soon after his return to his native land Taylor published the fruits of his foreign travel and study in *Views Afoot*, a volume which has always been a favorite with the public, as it was with its author. After a brief course of literary activity in Pennsylvania he shook off the dust of rural life from his feet, and early in 1848 appeared in New York. Here he became attached to the staff of the *Tribune*—a connection which continued for three decades. A year later he made a journey to California, returning by way of Mexico. Before his departure, in 1851, on a protracted tour in the East, he had made the acquaintance of Longfellow, Whittier, and Holmes, and of the New York *literati* Bryant, Halleck, Willis, Poe, Morris, Park Benjamin, and the brothers Duyckinck, and had published two additional volumes of poems, also *Eldorado; or, Adventures in the Path of Empire*—a peculiarly popular book.

A few days after his return from his third tour, Taylor told me that he had traveled fifty thousand miles. His letters describing the journey appeared from time to time in the *Tribune*, and later in a series of uniform volumes. During all this period Taylor was becoming a proficient in many modern languages, of which the German was a favorite as early as his twenty-first year; and he had become a most popular lecturer, appearing in all the principal cities and towns of the northern, middle, and western states. He made a fourth tour in 1856–58, and in 1862–63 was Secretary of Legation at St. Petersburg, acting for a time as *chargé d'affaires*. In 1874 the poet-traveler revisited Egypt, attended the millennial celebration in Iceland, and on his return, during the same year, published an interesting account of his journeys to those distant lands. His latest and most ambitious poetical work, entitled *Prince Deukalion*, appeared but a few days before his death.

Taylor's accurate knowledge of foreign countries was utilized by American publishers, who employed him to edit at one time a *Cyclopædia of Modern Travel*, at another an *Illustrated Library of Travel* in eight volumes. He edited, with George Ripley, a *Handbook of Literature and Fine Arts*, and was the author of numerous novels and short stories, perhaps the best of which is called *Can a Life Hide Itself?* The most ambitious attempt of Taylor's authorship was his admirable metrical translation of *Faust*, issued in 1870–71. It is not speaking too strongly to pronounce it

a marvel of poetic diction, and the best annotated edition of the greatest German poem yet written. Had he been spared a few years longer to the world, he would have enriched it with a life of Goethe—a task for which he was perhaps of all men best fitted. But, alas! the book is unwritten.

In his ever-active, busy career as a professional literary man Taylor produced, edited, and translated, between the years 1844 and 1878, no less than fifty-two volumes, a harvest surpassed by few whose labors have covered much longer periods. Added to all this, there was much good work of various kinds in the *New York Tribune*, with which he was so long identified, in contributions to the *North American Review* and to the *Atlantic*, *Harper's*, and *Scribner's* monthlies, and in the numerous lectures and addresses delivered during nearly three decades. His last published writing, and also, I believe, his latest composition, was the poem tributary to Bryant, "Epicedium," which first appeared a few days after Taylor's death. What could more touchingly herald the tidings of Taylor's obsequies in a foreign land than this fifth stanza of his own "Epicedium" for the venerable poet who preceded him but so short a time on the last journey to that land from whence no returning envoy comes?

"And last, ye Forms, with shrouded face,
Hiding the features of your woe,
That on the fresh sod of his burial-place
Your myrtle, oak, and laurel throw—
Who are ye?—whence your silent sorrow?
Strange is your aspect, alien your attire:
Shall we, who knew him, borrow
Your unknown speech for Grief's august desire?
Lo! one, with lifted brow
Says: 'Nay, he knew and loved me: I am Spain!'
Another: 'I am Germany,
Drawn sadly nearer now
By songs of his and mine that make one strain,
Though parted by the world-dividing sea!'
And from the hills of Greece there blew
A wind that shook the olives of Peru,
Till all the world that knew,
Or, knowing not, shall yet awake to know
The sweet humanity that fused his song,
The haughty challenge unto Wrong,
And for the trampled Truth his fearless blow,
Acknowledged his exalted mood
Of faith achieved in song-born solitude,
And give him high acclaim,
With those who followed Good, and found it Fame!"

Notwithstanding the enormous amount of his intellectual labor, it was all well done, and in the highest degree of perfection of which he was capable. I spoke to him once of his literary tasks, and remarked that it was often so urgent and hastily executed that I supposed he grew careless and indifferent about its quality; but he answered in strangely strong terms, "No; in all this various work that you allude to, I am always as much in earnest to do my best as if salvation for all time depended upon it."

"This is not the place," remarks the *Tribune*, "for a critical estimate of his writings, but there is one conspicuous quality in them which shone so brightly also in his personal character that we cannot pass it over here in silence. That quality is honesty. It is seen in the frank simplicity of his style, the thoroughness of his workmanship, the clearness of his opinions, the fidelity with which he held through life to his chosen work, sparing no pains to produce the very best of which he was capable, however small the subject or trivial the reward. Nobody could read one of his books without feeling the influence of this virtue. Nobody could know him without perceiving that this high literary merit was a reflex of an earnest and simple nature. If there is a long remembrance for honest men, there is no less a long life for honest books. It is a golden lesson for authors and journalists, that in this instance literary honesty and personal uprightness have secured a brilliant success in life, and an enduring reputation."

The American government has during the present century appointed many men of letters to represent the republic as ambassadors and consuls, who have shown that an accomplished man of letters may also be a skillful diplomat and thorough man of business—may, in fact, be the "Perfect Ambassador" of the old Spanish treatise. Beginning in 1810 with Barlow, the United States has since been represented abroad by Wheaton, Bancroft, Irving, Hawthorne, Motley, Marsh, Theodore S. Fay, Bigelow, Boker, Lowell, Howells, Bret Harte, and John Hay; but it may be questioned whether any one of these were better fitted to represent our country at the post to which he was accredited than was Bayard Taylor when appointed by President Hayes to the court of Berlin—an appointment which met with the unanimous approval of the press and people. The poet departed for his new field of labor in April, 1878, and ere the close of the year came the startling and unlooked-for intelligence of his death, on Thursday afternoon, December 19. His funeral services were celebrated in Berlin on the Sunday following, Dr. Joseph P. Thompson, formerly of New York, and Berthold Auerbach, the German poet, making appropriate and impressive addresses in the presence of an immense concourse of people.

Many meetings in honor of the poet's memory were held in New York and elsewhere. At one of these gatherings, which occurred in Tremont temple, Boston, on the evening of January 15, 1879, a rare combination was

witnessed, which no one who had the good fortune to be present will ever forget—namely, the following poem, written for the occasion by Henry W. Longfellow, and read by Oliver Wendell Holmes, who prefaced it with these well-chosen words:

"I can hardly ask your attention to the lines which Mr. Longfellow has written and done me the honor of asking me to read, without a few words of introduction. The poem should have flowed from his own lips, in those winning accents, too rarely heard in any assembly, and never forgotten by those who have listened to them. But its tenderness and sweetness are such that no imperfection of utterance can quite spoil its harmonies. There are tones in the contralto of our beloved poet's melodious song that were born with it, and must die with it when its music is silenced. A tribute from such a singer would honor the obsequies of the proudest sovereign, would add freshness to the laurels of the mightiest conqueror; but he who this evening has this tribute laid upon his head wore no crown save that which the sisterhood of the Muses wove for him. His victories were all peaceful ones, and there was no heartache after any one of them. His life was a journey through many lands of men, through realms of knowledge. He left his humble door in boyhood, poor, untrained, unknown, unheralded, unattended. He found himself once at least—as I well remember his telling me—hungry and well-nigh penniless in the streets of a European city, feasting his eyes at a baker's window and tightening his girdle in place of a repast.

"Once more he left his native land, now in the strength of manhood, known and honored throughout the world of letters, the sovereignty of the nation investing him with its mantle of dignity, the laws of civilization surrounding him with the halo of their inviolable sanctity; the boy who went forth to view the world afoot on equal footing with the potentates and princes who by right of birth or by right of intellect swayed the destinies of great empires. He returns to us no more as we remember him; but his career, his example, the truly American story of a grand, cheerful, active, self-developing, self-sustaining life, remains as an enduring inheritance for all coming generations."

"Dead he lay among his books,
The peace of God was in his looks.
As the statues in the gloom
Watch o'er Maximilian's tomb,
So these volumes, from their shelves,
Watch him, silent as themselves.
Ah! his hand will nevermore
Turn their storied pages o'er!
Nevermore his lips repeat
Songs of theirs, however sweet!
Let the lifeless body rest,
He is gone who was its guest.
Gone, as travelers haste to leave
An inn, nor tarry until eve.
Traveler, in what realms afar;
In what planet, in what star;
In what vast aërial space,
Shines the light upon thy face?

In what gardens of delight
Rest thy weary feet to-night?
Poet! thou whose latest verse
Was a garland on thy hearse—
Thou hast sung with organ tone,
In *Deukalion's* life thine own.
On the ruins of the past
Blooms the perfect flower at last.
Friend! but yesterday the bells
Rang for thee their loud farewells;
And to-day they toll for thee,
Lying dead beyond the sea:
Lying dead among thy books,
The peace of God in all thy looks."

Memory recalls to me that I was a schoolboy on College Hill, Poughkeepsie, when Taylor first lectured in that town, and when I first saw him at a supper-party under my father's hospitable roof. He possessed what old Fuller quaintly called a "handsome man-case," and was, I think, the tallest of American poets, standing over six feet. Later in life he came to resemble a Teuton in look and bearing, and was greatly changed from my early recollections, when he possessed a slight figure and something of the Grecian type in head and face, as represented in an early portrait of him, seated on the roof of a house in Damascus, painted by Thomas Hicks. There comes back to me the remembrance of many delightful meetings with Bayard Taylor during a period of more than a quarter of a century. One of the earliest occurred in a western city. He appointed a rendezvous, and, escaping from his lecture committee, he came to the trysting-place, bringing Maurice Strakosch, and introducing him as a friend and the composer of music to one of his (Taylor's) earliest poems. How many hours we sat and smoked and sang and told stories and talked music and art and poetry over our good Rhenish wine, I will not venture to say. I was then fresh from my first visit to Europe, and was brimful of Mario, Grisi, and Lablache, of famous pictures and of literary celebrities, and so found great delight in the conversation of my companions and seniors. Some years later we had another joyous evening, dining together in company with Halleck. Taylor told us, referring to the short berths in the sleeping-cars, that his legs were too long for a lecturer, and that he should stop that business as soon as "Cedarcroft" was finished and paid for. If my memory serves me, he said that it was entirely built with the proceeds of his lecturing. Taylor related a little incident of railway travel in Germany. During his conversation with a fellow-passenger it soon became

evident that they were both great travelers. At length, on inquiring each other's names, the fact was developed that each was well known to the other by reputation. They had some junketing together, and afterwards became warm friends, and, I believe, correspondents. Taylor's companion was Ferdinand von Hockselter, the well-known German traveler and geologist, who died in Vienna in July, 1884, and whose writings have made his name as well known throughout the scientific world as that of Bayard Taylor is in the field of *belles-lettres*. This is the incident that gave rise to the story of a similar meeting with Humboldt, of whom it was untruthfully and maliciously asserted that he said, "Bayard Taylor has traveled more and seen less than any man I ever met!"

The last time Mr. Taylor was in my house was in May, 1877, when he came to meet the divers dignitaries who honored the unveiling of the statue of Fitz-Greene Halleck in the Central Park, Bryant and Boker and Curtis being among the other authors present, while the late President Hayes and his cabinet, with the general of the army and the vice-admiral of the navy, assembled to do especial grace to the memory of that poet. And the last time that I met him was at the Goethe Club reception given at Delmonico's, on the eve of his departure for Germany. The same society that gave him such a brilliant send-off held a meeting in honor of his memory. Said one of the speakers: "The circles of our felicities make short arches! Who shall question the wise axiom of Sir Thomas Browne, the stout old knight of Norwich, when he thinks upon the bright sunshine of the meeting of this club but a few short months ago, and the sombre shadows which hang over us here to-night? Then, with song and dance and wine, we wished 'God-speed' to the prosperous poet on his way to an honorable post in a distant land; this evening we meet together again to mourn over his untimely death—the important literary undertaking of his life, as he deemed it, and of which he had so long dreamed as likely to forever link his name with that of Germany's greatest poet—the life of Goethe, his *magnum opus*, unfinished, if indeed begun. Full of honors if not of years, he passed to his rest; and he is properly entitled to a place among the *Dii minores* of modern poetry!" It may be added that a few months later his mortal remains were brought back from Berlin, and on Saturday, March 15, 1879, were buried with suitable honors in Longwood Cemetery in his native county.

"Such graves as his are pilgrim shrines,
Shrines to no code or creed confined—
The Delphian vales, the Palestines,
The Meccas of the mind."

The aged parents of the poet survived him, and lived to celebrate the sixty-sixth anniversary of their marriage, which took place in the year 1818. Joseph Taylor, his venerable father, who was born at Kennett Square in 1795, and had always resided there, died June 23, 1885, and two days later was buried by the side of his sons Bayard and Frederick—the latter the Benjamin of the flock, who fell on the field of Gettysburg. His mother, Rebecca, lived to the age of ninety-three, dying at Kennett Square, February 18, 1891.

Among the many portraits of Mr. Taylor is an interesting and admirable photograph taken in 1869 by Brady at the time of the unveiling of the bust of Alexander von Humboldt in the Central Park. Around a table, on which stands a model of the bust, are seated Mr. Bryant, Mr. Bancroft, and Mr. Taylor, while leaning on the back of Mr. Bancroft's chair stands George H. Boker. The lapse of a few years made striking changes in the appearance of all these authors. Mr. Bryant wore his hair much shorter then than was usual during his later years. The upper lip was shaven, and the whole expression was less venerable, while more practical and severe. Mr. Bancroft looked like a rather thin and well-preserved Englishman, with white side-whiskers and smoothly shaven chin and lips. Boker and Taylor were both without gray hairs, and the former especially had the look of an alert, active, handsome man of thirty-five or forty at the most. Mr. Taylor shows in the picture at his very best—strong, earnest, and in the full prime of manly vigor.

From Taylor's letters and notes and manuscript poems, of which I have in my garner a goodly sheaf, including the original of his admirable address delivered at the unveiling of the Halleck monument at Guilford on the seventy-ninth anniversary of the poet's birth, I take a few extracts. The earliest is a boyish epistle addressed to the poet Halleck, dated West Chester, Pa., August 16, 1842. He writes:

"Wishing to make a collection of the autographs of distinguished American authors, I have taken the liberty of requesting yours, trusting that my admiration of your poems may serve as an excuse for my boldness. I have obtained the autographs of Irving, Whittier, and some others, and hope to be able to obtain yours. By sending it with the bearer you will confer a lasting favor on yours truly, J. BAYARD TAYLOR."

Writing to a friend from Switzerland in 1856, the poet says:

"Sitting by the blue rushing waters of the arrowy Rhone, with a vile Swiss cigar in my mouth, I think of you and of that precious box whose contents have long since vanished into thin air. I smoked some of them in Stratford, and before Anne Hathaway's cottage. I gave a few to Thackeray, to puff off the first chapters of his new novel; one

of them made a fast friend of a Gascon coachman in the Bois de Boulogne; I flung the stump of another into the Rhine at the feet of the Loreley; and the last were consumed in my own beechen arbors in Germany, beside my fountain and my laughing fauns. The memory of those blue clouds brings tears into my eyes and sorrow into my soul."

In a letter dated Cedarcroft, near Kennett Square, Pa., November 5, 1860, Mr. Taylor writes:

"I have a new book of poems coming out in a month or so—'The Poet's Journal'—some two hundred pages of new material. I have been spending the summer in this Arcadian retreat;" and adds, "Yours, about to vote for Lincoln."

The most laconic note I ever received or saw was an acceptance from Taylor of an invitation to meet a few friends at dinner in November, 1860. It consisted of the single word "Coming," written under a neatly executed pen-and-ink drawing of the dial of a clock, with the hands pointing to the appointed hour of seven. To this, as I remember, was nothing more added but "Bayard Taylor." A beautiful woman wanted it, and I weakly parted with the interesting artistic souvenir of my friend.

Writing from Gotha in June, 1861, the poet says:

"We are all in good health and spirits, and greatly cheered by the good news from home. Nothing reconciles me to the absence at such a time, but the knowledge that everything is going on for the best, and that the Republic is more firmly established than ever. There was great rejoicing here all winter among the royalists at the prospect of our dissolution; but now they don't say much, while the liberals rejoice. I am proud to be an American at this time."

Eight years later, writing from his Arcadian retreat near Kennett Square, the poet says:

"I was in New York on Friday, and just as I was leaving the city your invitation reached me through Mr. Putnam. The time is short, and other engagements already undertaken still further curtail it; but I would like to render whatever honor I may to Halleck's memory, and do not feel justified in declining the invitation—at least before learning precisely what will be expected of me. I will say, then, that I could make an address of from twenty to thirty minutes in length, if that will suffice: that I should like to know in advance whether it is the corner-stone of the monument that is to be laid, or the monument itself to be dedicated. This you do not state. Having, as you know, been out of the country, I am ignorant of what has already been done in the matter. Also tell me, is not this the first instance of a monument being erected to an American poet? If you can give me a sketch in advance of the nature of the commemoration, and the committee will be satisfied with an address of half an hour in length, I will do my best to share in honoring the poet's memory."

In a letter dated June 18, 1869, after thanking me for a book which I had sent him, he says:

"I have been so busy with my 'Faust' here in the quiet of the country, that I have fallen behind the pace of contemporary literature, and have not before had an opportunity of reading the very entertaining volume. . . . I prefer to make a short address, not only because the time is brief, but because I think long-winded orations—however excellent the theme—have become an American vice. I can say everything needful in half an hour, and an audience cannot keep freshly attentive and receptive longer than that. . . . I think I shall go to New York on the evening of the 7th and thence to Guilford on the morning of the 8th, so that we can probably go in company, if that is also your plan."

Writing from his country-seat May 10, 1870, Mr. Taylor remarks:

"I was absent at Cornell University when your letter arrived, and now reply at the earliest leisure. I am quite willing to contribute to the proposed statue [of Halleck, in the Central Park, New York], just as soon as I shall possess a small sum which is not appropriated in advance of my receiving it. Since I am not independent of my copyrights, and all American books have such an unsatisfactory sale, except the kind which I should not write at any price, that I must consider my living household first and the dead afterwards. I do not possess a dollar that was not earned by my own personal labor; and you will therefore kindly allow me to wait a few months, until I ascertain how much I may conscientiously spare."

In May, 1872, he incidentally mentions:

"I have never met either Bulwer or Carlyle. Tennyson I know—perhaps I should say *have known;* but something has occurred since I last saw him which makes my relations towards him very delicate. It is a purely private matter, but of such a nature that when I go to England this year I shall not visit Tennyson unless I first receive an intimation that he will be glad to see me."

I find also two pleasant little scraps which show how, in spite of journalistic labors at home and preparations for his honored duties abroad, he lectured to the last, how occupied he was with social and other engagements, and how—it gives me pleasure to remember—our friendly intercourse was maintained to the end:

"Many thanks for your kind invitation," Taylor writes in November, 1877, "but as I am giving a course of Lowell Institute lectures in Boston on Wednesdays and Saturdays, and must be in Portland next Thursday, I must count the dinner among my lost pleasures."

In the following March (he went to his German mission in April) he writes from Kennett Square:

Kennett Square, Penn'a,
March 27, 1878.

Dear General:

This address will show you why I cannot accept your kind invitation. But, in fact, I have neither day nor evening disengaged, up to the time I sailing.

Very truly yours,
Bayard Taylor

Having written to Taylor during the siege of Vicksburg that one of his compositions was a great favorite in our camp, and was often declaimed and sung by the men of my regiment, he expressed his pleasure, and sent me a copy of his spirited lyric, which presents a striking contrast to the grave and high strain of his later poetical work. Taylor's "Song of the Camp" is a fitting companion for Hoffman's "Monterey" and Halleck's "Bozzaris," which are also contained in my manuscript collection.

Cowper used to say that he never knew a poet that was not thriftless. Certainly this is not true of Taylor, nor of any of his literary brothers and contemporaries (nor, so far as I am aware, of any prominent American poet) except Poe. It is thought that the many-sided man injured himself by late hours and overwork, believing that his strong constitution was incapable of being injured by either, or by both combined. Certain it is that his writings are a monument of unflinching toil and industry, and many of them full of the "best thoughts in the best lan-

guage." No man knew better than Bayard Taylor that "nothing would come to him in his sleep," to borrow the words of Goethe; and it is possible that he frequently deprived himself of necessary rest. From year to year he toiled and sang unceasingly, overcoming all obstacles and receiving no honors or rewards to which downright hard work did not fully entitle him.

"He could do more, I think," says his friend Hay, "in a short space of time than any other man I ever knew. He would, if required, write a whole page of *The Tribune* in a single day. His review of Dr. Schliemann's first book, written from advanced sheets, was remarkably full, and gave such a good idea of the work that it was almost unnecessary to read the book itself. He had a peculiar gift at condensing matter and still retaining every point which the author made. Perhaps his greatest feat in this line was achieved upon Victor Hugo's poems. They arrived in New York on a certain morning, and the next morning he published nearly a page review of the work, with several columns of metrical translation, done so finely that all the original vigor and spirit was retained."

There was nothing of the *genus irritabile vatum* about Taylor, or what an English writer has described in still more forcible words,

"The jealous, waspish, wrong-head, rhyming race."

On the contrary, he was a simple-hearted, generous, and genial gentleman, with troops of friends at home and abroad. The grasp of his strong hand was warm and true, with a gentle manner and sweet smile which was very winning. Five years after his death his name and his fame were frequently and appreciatively mentioned to me in England, in all of whose great libraries I found some of his writings, and always his *Faust*. Throughout Germany I met with many of his admirers, and not a few of his works both in the originals and in translations. The old librarian of the valuable Weimar collection, who knew Goethe and whose father was intimate with Schiller, brought out many volumes once the property of those famous men, and then showed me a copy of Taylor's *Faust*, presented by the translator to his friend the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar, accompanied by many kindly words of commendation of the good work of the American poet, whom he knew personally, and whose untimely death he deeply lamented.

In Berlin I heard many words of kindness spoken of Taylor by both high and low, and learned many incidents of his too brief official career there. The aged emperor, who was at Waterloo, warmly thanked him for making his presentation address in German instead of the conventional French (or, as it sometimes happens with our ambassadors, in poor English). Bismarck received the poet in the garden of his palace on the Wilhelmstrasse, and walked with him under the grand old oaks and elms

and lindens, talking on literary topics, and showing a surprising intimacy with the new minister's own productions. No less delighted was Taylor on meeting Disraeli during the congress which brought so many celebrities to Berlin. Taking him warmly by the hand, the illustrious Englishman said, "Taylor, Bayard Taylor—how glad I am to see the man I have so long known."

Of opinions from the living I will not speak, but simply allude to two venerable writers who thought very highly of Bayard Taylor's literary attainments—my old friends Captain Trelawney, the biographer of Byron and Shelley, and the poet Richard Henry Horne, the contemporary of Keats, Southey, and Sir Walter Scott, and the author of the well-known line,

"'Tis always morning somewhere in the world,"

inscribed on the sun-dial at the head of the famous Brighton Pier, and so made familiar to many thousands who never read his writings.

Says a London literary journal:

"Aside from his official relations, Bayard Taylor was accredited in a peculiar degree to the German people. In this sense he was a worthy successor of Mr. Bancroft. If the historian belonged rather to the scholars and professors, Mr. Taylor had long been adopted into the fraternity of poets and wits and purely literary people of Germany, and they welcomed him hither in his new character as one of themselves. The minister's knowledge of the language was exact and flexible. He had not learned it like a philologist, and perhaps never took a German grammar in his hands; but he had a literary acquaintance, learned through the study of all the masters, and a practical familiarity acquired through years of life in the country, and the most intimate intercourse with the best people. He spoke German fluently on the platform without preparation, and successfully wooed the German muse with his pen. And he had such a complete consciousness of his power over the language, that he never needed to display it, but would cheerfully submit to be bored by those ambitious Teutons who essayed their mysterious English in his presence."

In September, 1884, there appeared from the loving pen of his widow an admirable memoir of Bayard Taylor, in which the progressive story of his busy literary life is exceedingly well and wisely told. But it does not leave the impression of a happy half-century of existence—rather the reverse. The reason, as shown in the biography,[1] is twofold—his lofty ambition as a poet, which was not gratified by the consciousness of adequate recognition, and the necessity of keeping the pot boiling, as he once said to the writer, by incessant literary drudgery with his pen. "What

[1] *Life and Letters of Bayard Taylor*, edited by Marie Hansen Taylor and Horace E. Scudder. 2 vols., 12mo. Boston, 1884.

we all need," he wrote—and the words in their application to himself are full of pathos—"is not to live without work, but to be free from worry."

Writing in 1873 from Gotha, to a friend who had congratulated him on his success in life, the poet replied, in the saddest letter that he ever wrote:

"You exaggerate what you consider my successes. . . . From 1854 to 1862 or thereabouts, I had a good deal of popularity of a cheap ephemeral sort. It began to decline at the time when I began to see the better and truer work in store for me, and I let it go, feeling that I must begin anew and acquire a second reputation of a different kind. For the last five years I have been engaged in this struggle, which is not yet over. . . . I am giving the best blood of my life to my labors, seeing them gradually recognized by the few and the best, it is true, but they are still unknown to the public, and my new claims are fiercely resisted by the majority of the newspaper writers in the United States. . . . 'Lars' is the first poem of mine ever published in England, and I hoped for some impartial recognition there. Well, the sale is just one hundred and eight copies! My translation of 'Faust' is at last accepted in England, Germany, and America as much the best. It cost me years of the severest labor, and has not yet returned me five hundred dollars. The 'Masque of the Gods' has not paid expenses. The sale of my former volumes of travel has fallen almost to nothing. . . . For two years past I have had no income of any sort from property or copyright, and am living partly on my capital and partly mechanical labor of the mind. . . . I am weary, indeed, completely fagged out, and to read what you say of my success sounds almost like irony."

When it was announced to Taylor that he was to be sent as minister to Germany he rejoiced exceedingly in the appointment for many reasons, but chiefly because it was made in acknowledgment, not of political services, but of his literary attainments and position.

"It is something so amazing," he wrote to the poet Paul H. Hayne, "that I am more bewildered and embarrassed than proud of my honors. If you knew how many years I have steadily worked, devoted to a high ideal, which no one seemed to recognize, and sneered at by cheap critics as a mere interloper in literature, you would understand how incredible this change seems to me. The great comfort is this: I was right in my instinct. The world does appreciate earnest endeavor, in the end. I have always had faith, and I have learned to overlook opposition, disparagement, misconception of my best work, believing that the day of justification would come. But what now comes to me seems too much. I can only accept it as a balance against me, to be met by still better work in the future."

In that last line rings the true metal of Bayard Taylor, who believed in the words of the inspiring Goethe, "*Wir heissen euch hoffen*," and that, as brave old Sam Johnson said, "Useful diligence will at last prevail."

OUR LEADING LIBRARIES

NO. I. THE ASTOR LIBRARY, NEW YORK

By Frederick Saunders, Chief Librarian

Sir Thomas Bodley—who, toward the close of his life, founded the great library which bears his name—once remarked concerning the renowned city of colleges, that it had everything but an adequate library. With some modifications, this observation might have been considered applicable to this metropolis—the city of Mr. Astor's adoption—when he founded the library that bears his name.

John Jacob Astor was born at Waldorf, near Heidelberg, Germany, in the year 1763. When only sixteen, he left his father's farm, setting out, on foot, for the Rhine; and when resting under a tree, he is said to have made these three resolves—"to be honest, industrious, and never gamble"; and it is added that he adhered to them throughout his long life. He went to his elder brother, at London, and engaged with him in business some three years, after which he came to New York. This was in 1783; subsequently, he embarked in the fur trade, which he prosecuted with such energy and success that in ten years his establishment at the mouth of the Columbia river, known as Astoria, had its agencies in England, Germany, France, and indeed in all parts of the civilized world. At the beginning of the present century, he shrewdly invested in the real estate of the then young city of New York to such an extent that his property continued to augment so largely as to constitute him the most opulent merchant in the United States, if not in America.

Although the Astor library may not claim precedence over other public libraries of New York city in the order of time, yet in respect of its distinctive character as a cosmopolitan library of reference for scholars, its claim to priority will not be disputed. As to the origin of the institution, it may suffice to cite the words of its first librarian, Dr. Joseph G. Cogswell, which are the following: "For the existence of this library, the community are indebted to the generosity of the late John Jacob Astor. It was a kind impulse of his own heart which prompted him to do this noble act. He wished, as he said, by some permanent and valuable memorial to testify his grateful feelings toward the city in which he had so long lived and prospered. When he consulted with his friends as to

the object to which his intended liberality should be applied, the plan of founding a public library was most approved, and his decision was promptly taken in favor of it. Nor was it owing to any misgiving or wavering in opinion that the accomplishment of the purpose was not effected in his lifetime." In a subsequent letter, Dr. Cogswell wrote, under date of July 20, 1838, the following: "Early in January, Mr. Astor consulted me about an appropriation of some three or four hundred thousand dollars, which he intended to leave for public purposes, and I urged him to give it for a library, which I finally brought him to agree to do; and I have been at

THE ASTOR LIBRARY.

work ever since settling all the points which have arisen in the progress of the affair."[1] Washington Irving and Fitz-Greene Halleck cordially indorsed the proposition of the establishment of a public library; and yet the matter was kept in abeyance until March, 1842, when Dr. Cogswell received the appointment of librarian, and measures were put into operation for the erection of the library building. Meanwhile, Dr. Cogswell commenced the (to him) congenial service of book-hunting at home and abroad—an office for which his eminent bibliographical and critical scholar-

[1] Cogswell's *Life and Letters*.

ship so signally qualified him. The board of trustees therefore authorized him to visit the literary centres of the old world, for the purpose of obtaining the rare foundation works in the several departments of learning adapted to the higher order of study in all branches of art, science, and literature. It so happened that he was singularly opportune in his earlier visits to the great book-marts of Europe. In its several capitals—London, Paris, Leipzig, Rome, Stockholm, and elsewhere—his purchases were a great success; and at the auction sale of the celebrated library of the Duke of Buckingham he secured many very rare and choice works of art and of renown. It having been the original design to form a library that should be adequate to meet the demands of advanced students, the selection of its books has been uniformly governed by a recognition of that fact.

In a republic of such free political institutions as ours, intellectual culture is a necessity, since it affords a guaranty of our national greatness, if not, indeed, of our national existence. The leading capitals of the old world have long since proved the vast importance of such beneficent institutions; and it may justly be deemed a matter of gratulation and national honor that the metropolitan city of the new world should thus emulate their example. Yet, not in New York only is this the case; the like liberal endowments have since become conspicuous in the principal cities of the United States. Thus, our public libraries may be said to unite with our colleges and schools, harmoniously combining their aid for the universal elevation of the people—the one supplementing the other. As pioneer in this important work, the Astor library may thus prove to America what the library of the British Museum has so long been to Great Britain—"The Scholars' Court of Appeals." Differing from the popular circulating libraries, the Astor is a consulting or reference library, its books being freely accessible to all visitors. It is a literary laboratory, where are engendered those mental forces that propel the industrial achievements of the age; where may be seen many an earnest worker who,

> with calm, inquiring looks,
> Has culled the ore of wisdom from his books—
> Cleared it, sublimed it, till it flowed refined
> From his alembic crucible of mind.

Thus public libraries present many claims upon our grateful regard, since they not only educate and elevate society, but also conserve and perpetuate the intellectual treasures of past ages. It has been well said that "moral and intellectual light is all-pervading: it cannot be diffused among one class of society without its influence being felt by the whole community."

But to resume the sketch of the library. On the death of Mr. Astor, in March, 1848, and by virtue of his will, the munificent sum at that time, of four hundred thousand dollars, for the founding of a public library in New York, was conveyed to a board of trustees, selected by the testator. An act of incorporation was granted by the state legislature on the following January, and active operations were commenced for the carrying out of the requisitions of the founder. On January 9, 1854, the Astor library building, with its eighty thousand volumes, comprising an assemblage of costly works of art, and the accepted authorities in the several departments of human lore, was formally opened to public inspection. The novelty of its grand display of the great national art-productions of Europe —such as the stately volumes of the Musée Français and Raphael's Vatican—together with the prestige of the founder, naturally gave *éclat* to the occasion. The exhibition was continued several successive days, and afterward the institution was rendered available for students.

During the early years of its history, the library was honored by the visits of many distinguished personages, among them His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, with his suite, to whom a private reception was tendered by the Astor family and Dr. Cogswell, with his aids. Afterward came another notable visitor, Prince Napoleon, who was said to bear such close resemblance to the great emperor. Then, some years later, came the Japanese commissioners, who, when shown some of the portraits, in books, of their historic men, greatly marveled. After their visit the Chinese ambassadors came in great state, arrayed in their courtly costumes; their deportment so indicative of culture and refinement that it occasioned general remark. The Emperor of Brazil, Dom Pedro, was the next distinguished visitor; he seemed much interested in the library and in popular education.

Among the host of literary characters who have at various times visited the institution, it must suffice simply to mention the names of the more distinguished: Washington Irving (who was a frequent visitor), George Bancroft, Edward Everett, Fitz-Greene Halleck, S. F. B. Morse, G. P. R. James, Thackeray, Dickens, Longfellow, Emerson, Saxe, Willis, Holmes, Motley, Hawthorne, Cobden, Sparks, Gould, Greeley, and Dean Stanley. Lovers of learning, and men eminent in the various departments of art, science, and literature, have always been cordial in their commendation of the library. From a great number of such testimonials, one only is cited, as indicative of the others. Charles Sumner wrote on one occasion to his friend Theodore Parker: "I range daily in the alcoves of the Astor: more charming than the gardens of Boccaccio, and each hour a Decameron."

The Astor library soon became widely known abroad, as an evidence of which, numerous donations of important works have been made from time to time by the governments of Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Spain, Italy, Sweden, Denmark, Australia, China, and Japan; as well as by the Czar of Russia, the King of Italy, the Duke of Northumberland, and other distinguished personages.

The year 1859 was memorable in the annals of the library, on account of the lamented death of Washington Irving, its first and honored president. In this sad event the institution, in common with the world of letters, suffered severe loss. Among the numerous loving tributes to his memory, Tuckerman has voiced for us one of the best: "No one ever lived a more beautiful life; no one ever left less to regret in life; no one ever carried with him to the grave a more universal affection, respect, and sorrow."[1] In September, 1859, William B. Astor, eldest son of the founder of the library, presented to the trustees the second library building, with the ground upon which it stands. This second hall, of the same dimensions and style as the first, afforded the required facilities for the increasing accessions to the library. Upon the decease of Mr. Irving, William B. Astor was elected president of the board of trustees, which office he filled till his death. During his life he extended to the institution his fostering care, liberally augmenting its financial resources,—having by special gifts and bequests enriched its treasury to the extent of five hundred and fifty thousand dollars. The library lost a generous patron in his death.

In the year 1864 Dr. Cogswell completed his first catalogue of the library, which then comprised about one hundred thousand volumes. This herculean and self-imposed work—which, however, to him was a labor of love—he achieved while superintending the daily administration of the library. A lasting debt of gratitude is due to this devoted service from students who consult the library; since without the assistance of such a key to unlock its treasures, they would prove, to a great extent, unavailable. The board of trustees readily recognized this fact, and acknowledged the doctor's essential service by their recorded vote of thanks. Not long after the completion of this catalogue, forming four large octavo volumes, and a supplementary volume, bringing the record down to the year 1866, and including a subject-index, Dr. Cogswell tendered his resignation as superintendent, and soon after resigned his membership in the board of trustees, his impaired health demanding this action.

[1] It has been claimed that it was honor enough to be known as "the friend of Sir Philip Sidney"; a like honor may be accorded to the writer of the present sketch, in respect to the illustrious author Washington Irving.

Few men of letters could have evinced more of the *suaviter in modo* amid the varied conditions incident to the arduous duties of his profession than Dr. Cogswell, and none could have surpassed him in his unremitting labors in the formation and the interests of the institution he served so long and so well. After his retirement from his official connection with the library, the board elected as superintendent Francis Schroeder, ex-minister to Sweden, who resigned in 1870; E. R. Straznicky then became the incumbent until 1875, when the trustees installed one of their number, James Carson Brevoort, who continued in office until 1878, when the present incumbent, Robbins Little, was installed. In the year 1877 Alexander Hamilton was elected president of the trustees, and this office he held until his death. The gentlemen who now compose the board of trustees are the mayor of the city of New York, *ex officio;* Hamilton Fish; Dr. Thomas M. Markoe, president; Professor Henry Drisler, secretary; John Lambert Cadwalader, Right Rev. Henry Codman Potter, Stephen Van Rensselaer Cruger; Robbins Little, superintendent; Stephen Henry Olin; Edward King, treasurer; and Charles Howland Russell.

In October, 1881, the late John Jacob Astor, the grandson of the founder, erected a third building adjoining the other two, of corresponding style and dimensions, which, with the ground, he presented to the trustees. The entire structure now has a frontage of about two hundred feet, with a depth of one hundred feet. It is built of brown-stone and brick, and is in the Byzantine order of architecture. The main floor of the library, which is twenty feet above the street level, is reached by marble steps from the vestibule, or main entrance. This entrance hall is richly frescoed and paneled; around it are twenty-four classic busts of heroes and poets in Italian marble, by a Florentine artist, from antiques. These busts, with the colored marble pedestals upon which they are placed, were presented to the library by Mrs. Franklin Delano, a sister of the late John J. Astor.

At the delivery desk, at which readers apply for books, are the printed slips upon which the title of the book desired is written, together with the name and address of the applicant. In close proximity are the two printed catalogues, which now form eight large volumes. These bring the record of the collections down to the close of 1880, and are supplemented by the card catalogue, which includes all accessions after that date. The second printed catalogue, which connects with Dr. Cogswell's, costing about forty thousand dollars, was the gift of the late John J. Astor, whose combined gifts and bequests exceeded eight hundred thousand dollars. In the central hall, westward, are glass show-cases of rare manuscripts and brilliant missals: one manuscript in golden letters on purple vellum is over twelve

hundred years old, being A.D. 870; also rare specimens of early typography, and many choice literary relics—in all estimated to be worth about one hundred thousand dollars. The central as well as the south and north halls, which are connected by arched passages, are uniformly walled around with alcoves devoted to some specific classification of subject. The same arrangement is continued in the galleries of the three halls. The north hall is devoted to histories of all nations, and the south hall to all branches of science and art. The middle or central hall, at the west end, is devoted to the patents of all nations—the British patents alone forming some five thousand volumes. The entire capacity of the library, thus enlarged, would now afford space for half a million of volumes, which is about double the extent of its accumulations, exclusive of about twelve thousand pamphlets. The total number of volumes on its shelves on January 1, 1893, was two hundred and forty-five thousand three hundred and forty-nine. The library may be said to be especially rich in some departments, such as the fine arts, architecture, archæology, Orientalia, history, the classics, dramatic literature, scientific serials, mathematics, political economy, and bibliography. It has also a very extensive collection of the transactions of the scientific and literary societies of Europe and America.

It would be impossible, within the restricted limits of this sketch, to present even an epitome of the numerous noteworthy productions that grace the alcoves of the library. With its advancing growth will inevitably come the evidences of its ever-increasing utility and appreciation. Like our Colossus of Liberty, with uplifted torch guiding the toilers of the seas to the shelter of our hospitable shores, so this monumental library, as an intellectual lighthouse, attracts literary toilers to its ever-accessible treasury of mental wealth. In the halls of the library are marble busts of its founder; of Washington Irving, its first president; and of Dr. Cogswell, its first superintendent; also life-size portraits of William B. Astor, Alexander Hamilton, the late president; Fitz-Greene Halleck; and Daniel Lord, its first treasurer. Subsequent to the death of the late John Jacob Astor, the library became enriched by the gift of his rare collection of paintings—costing originally seventy-five thousand dollars—presented by his son, William Waldorf Astor. These beautiful art-productions, by eminent foreign artists, are freely accessible to visitors on Wednesdays, during library hours, from nine A.M. until five P.M., except during the three winter months, when the hours are from nine A.M. until four P.M. The administration of the library is under the direction of the board of trustees, the several departments of its routine service being assigned to the superintendent and four librarians, with their numerous assistants.

JOHN ARCHDALE, AND SOME OF HIS DESCENDANTS

By Stephen B. Weeks

John Archdale was appointed governor-general of Carolina, August 31, 1694.[1] Of his early history we know nothing. He was the son of Thomas Archdale of Loaks, in Chipping Wycomb, Bucks county, England. In 1664 he came to New England as the agent of his brother-in-law, Governor Gorges of Maine.

The name Archdale first appears in the list of proprietors of Carolina on July 13, 1681.[2] This was Thomas Archdale as future entries show,[3] and not John Archdale as Dr. Hawks states.[4] Dr. Hawks says, further, that in 1684 John Archdale purchased the share of the late Sir William Berkeley, "who did not die until 1682." He is again in error; the share of William Berkeley passed, after his death in 1677,[5] into the hands of his widow. She married Colonel Philip Ludwell, who was himself appointed governor of "that part of our province of Carolina that lies north and east of Cape Fear," December 5, 1689,[6] and governor of Carolina, November 2, 1691.[7] On December 14, 1683, the proprietors "approved of the bargain made by Sir Peter Colleton with Col. Philip Ludwell in behalf of the Lords Proprietors for my Lady Berkeley's right to the proprietorship that was Sir William Berkeley's for £300." This purchase was made by Colleton for the Duke of Albemarle, Earl Craven, Lord Carteret, and himself, and this proprietorship was afterwards "conveyed in trust to Thomas Amy, Esq're, for the above-named four Lords Proprietors."[8] From the materials before me I conclude that the share which came into the possession of Thomas Archdale in 1681 was that of Sir John Berkeley, who died in 1678, for the shares of Craven, Shaftesbury, Colleton, Albemarle, and Carteret were still in the original families; Sothel had purchased the share of Earl Clarendon,[9] Amy purchased that of William Berkeley, and only that of Sir John Berkeley could have then been on the market.[10]

[1] *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, i. 389. [2] *Ibid.*, i. 338. [3] *Ibid.*, 360, 361, 363 *seq.*
[4] Hawks, ii. 49. [5] He was buried July 13, 1677. [6] *Colonial Records*, i. 360.
[7] *Colonial Records*, i. 373. [8] *Ibid.*, i. 347. [9] *Ibid.*, i. 339.
[10] *Ibid.*, i. 345, May 25, 1681, a letter was sent to the governor and council of Ashley river, in which it is said Mr. Archdale had bought "Lady Berkeley's share." (*South Carolina Hist. Soc. Colls.*, i. 106).

Archdale had become a Friend, convinced and separated from his father's house, as he tells us, by the preaching of George Fox.[1] But this conversion does not seem to have been of very serious consequence as far as the management of their share of Carolina is concerned. His name appears in all the proceedings of the proprietors as the representative of his father, and we know, from instructions sent to Governor Sothel, that an Archdale, doubtless John, was in Albemarle on December 14, 1683: "And that he [Sothel] do forthwith with the advice of Mr. Archdale choose four of the discreetest honest men of the county &c."[2] Again, in February, 1685, the proprietors write Sothel, and insist that he "with the advice of Mr. Archdale"[3] fill certain blanks with names of men who were to serve as lords proprietors' deputies. From the letter quoted above, we know that he was in North Carolina in March, 1686.[4] It is probable, then, that he came out to Carolina in a year or two after his father became a proprietor to look after their common interests, and while there his co-religionists, the Quakers, were not allowed to feel the need of any help he was able to give them. His presence did much, no doubt, to give them prestige in the colony, to protect them from persecution should such be attempted, and to increase their numbers. During the temporary absence of Sothel in 1685 and 1686, Archdale acted as governor of the colony, whether by the special appointment of that infamous dignitary, or because of his position as a virtual proprietor, or as the commissioned deputy of his father, we do not know. That Archdale purposed settling a part of his family in North Carolina is probable; we know that his daughter Ann married Emmanuel Lowe, a Quaker of some prominence in the colony.[5]

In 1687–88 Archdale was a commissioner for Governor Gorges in Maine. When made regularly governor of the whole of Carolina, he was not a proprietor, for his name is not on the list of "the true and absolute Lords and Proprietors," and we learn from a communication to the commissioners of customs, dated November 10, 1696, that he was administering the share of the proprietorship for his own son, who was a minor.[6] It seems probable that Thomas Archdale, dying in the meantime, had willed his share of Carolina to his grandson, and that John Archdale, although administering it, was not himself a proprietor. He came into this dignity a few years later, probably by the death of the son.

[1] Letter to Fox in Hawks's *History of North Carolina*, ii. 378.
[2] *Colonial Records*, i. 346. [3] *Ibid.*, i. 350.
[4] Not January, as Dr. Hawks states, ii. 499.
[5] Wheeler (i. 32) says this marriage took place in July, 1688; Dr. Hawks says in 1668 (ii. 499).
[6] *Colonial Records*, i. 467, 545.

Archdale was appointed governor of Carolina with the express hope that he would be able to heal the disturbances in South Carolina. This trouble had arisen through the popular ferment about the tenure of lands, the payment of quit-rents, the naturalization of Huguenots, and the recent annulment by the proprietors of the laws of Ludwell's parliament relating to juries and the election of representatives.[1] At last, Governor Smith wrote in despair to the proprietors that "it was impossible to settle the country, except a proprietor himself was sent over with full power to heal their grievances."[2] Lord Ashley, grandson of Shaftesbury, was first chosen for this duty, but he declined, and the proprietors chose Archdale in his place, with almost unlimited powers. He could sell, let, or escheat lands, appoint deputy governors in both provinces, make and alter laws. He sailed for America in January, 1695, and reached Virginia in June.[3] He visited North Carolina at once, and found Thomas Harvey acting as deputy governor. He had been fulfilling this office since September 24, 1694,[4] at least, and was now established in his office by Archdale, who then passed on to South Carolina, took up his residence in Charleston, and assumed the government, August 17, 1695.[5] His administration of South Carolina was, as it had been formerly in North Carolina, wise, prudent, and moderate. He found a keen spirit of hostility to the French refugees, and thought best to summon his first assembly from the English inhabitants only. The difficulties were settled to the satisfaction of all except the French. The price of lands and the form of conveyance were fixed by law. Three years' rent was remitted to those who held lands by grant, and four to those who held by survey, without grant. Arrears of quit-rents were to be paid in money or commodities, as was most convenient.

Archdale held a middle position between the extremes of the church party, and at the same time had a care for his co-religionists. He enforced a military law, but exempted them from its provisions. He established a special board for deciding contests between white men and Indians, and in this way won the friendship of the latter. The hostility to the French began to abate by degrees, and in 1696 they obtained the privilege of becoming citizens. Under this beneficent rule the colony regained a tem-

[1] Rivers, *History of South Carolina*, 171. [2] *Description of Carolina*, 101.

[3] *South Carolina Hist. Soc. Colls.*, i. 138, 139.

[4] Archdale succeeded Thomas Smith as governor in South Carolina. Ludwell had been made governor-general, November 2, 1691, but he seems to have been acting as governor of North Carolina as late as May 1, 1694 (*Col. Rec.*, i. 391). I have been unable to conclude from the records whether he continued to act as the executive in North Carolina after this, or appointed a deputy; if the latter, who was it? Alexander Sellington, as is commonly said?

[5] *Description of Carolina.*

porary repose. It was increasing in wealth, and toward the close of 1696, after having held sway for a little over a year, Archdale set out for England, appointing Joseph Blake deputy governor of South Carolina. He again visited North Carolina, probably traveled through the province with Dickinson, the Quaker missionary, was present at a Palatine's court held there, December 9, 1696, and again confirmed the rule of Thomas Harvey.[1]

It is likely that Archdale never returned to America. In 1698 he was elected to parliament from Chipping Wycomb, but his conscientious scruples in regard to taking the prescribed oaths prevented him from taking his seat. He was a proprietor, probably by the death of his son, at the time his *Description of Carolina* was written, which a reference to the religious troubles under Johnson fixes at a date later than 1704. His share of Carolina was transferred to his son-in-law, John Dawson, December 2, 1708,[2] and from this time little is seen of Archdale in the annals of the province of Carolina.[3]

In 1707 Archdale published in London *A New Description of that Fertile and Pleasant Province of Carolina; with a Brief Account of its Discovery and Settling, and the Government thereof to this time. With several Remarkable Passages of Divine Providence during my time.*[4] This brochure deals almost exclusively with South Carolina affairs and does not expressly state that he had ever visited North Carolina. It is hardly a description at all; it is rather a memoir, rambling, discursive, defensive, recounting his personal experience and work as governor in Carolina. But in it he makes a strong plea for liberality and religious freedom. "Cannot dissenters kill wolves and bears, &c., as well as churchmen; as also fell trees and clear ground for plantations, and be as capable of defending the same, generally, as well as the other?"

Archdale deeded to his grandson, Nevil Lowe, a tract of land lying in Pasquotank county, North Carolina, on February 2, 1712 [1713]. This deed was acknowledged October 19, 1715, which indicates that he was

[1] *Col. Rec.*, i. 405, 546; *South Carolina Hist. Soc. Colls.*, i. 212.

[2] *South Carolina Hist. Soc. Colls.*, i. 177.

[3] The usual statement that Archdale introduced the culture of rice into South Carolina by distributing a bag of the seed brought by a sea captain from Madagascar is an error. Rivers quotes an act of assembly for September 26, 1691, by which a reward was conferred on Jacob Peter Guerard for the invention of a "pendulum engine" for husking rice, which was superior to any machine *previously used* in the colony.

[4] Quarto, pp. 40. Reprinted in Charleston, 1822, and included in Carroll's *Historical Collections of South Carolina*, ii. 85, 120 (New York, 1836). Doyle, in his *English in America*, p. 437, calls it "confused and rambling," and such it certainly is, but Grahame touches it more generously on its human side, and says it is full of good sense, benevolence, and piety. *Cf.* also *Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. v., chap. v.

then still living, and, possibly, in North Carolina. This is the last notice we have of the governor. This grandson was old enough to take part in the "Cary Rebellion," 1707–1711. He was one of the leaders in the movement, and was arrested by Governor Spotswood. He seems to have been a man of attainments and culture, for we find that a commission was issued him as Secretary of North Carolina, January 31, 1711, and this at the very time when the aristocratic or church party was again coming into power, under the leadership of Governor Hyde.[1] He died before June 17, 1717. His father, Emmanuel Lowe, was a leader in the "Cary Rebellion." In fact, this uprising seems to have been a sort of family affair, for Cary was also a son-in-law of Archdale, having married his daughter, probably in South Carolina.[2] Emmanuel Lowe died June 11, 1727, and his wife on June 3, 1731. The descent from this couple seems to be, as far as I can restore it from the Quaker records, as follows: Their daughter, Anne, married Thomas Pendleton. They had a child, named Anna Letitia; she was born October 24, 1733, and died April 20, 1791. In September, 1750, she and Demsey Conner declared their purpose of marriage. They had one son, at least; his name was also Demsey, and he was at school in Hillsborough, N. C., in 1774. His mother married, for her second husband, John Lancaster, of Pasquotank, who had his seat at New Abbey, near Nixonton. He was a prominent man in the section, sided with the British, returned to England, leaving his family in North Carolina, broke a blood-vessel when he heard of the treaty of peace, and so expired. He was a man of so much influence that the general assembly in 1782 thought it proper to confiscate his property. The wife of the second Demsey Conner (died, 1790) was named Ann, and to them were born three children: George Archdale Lowe Conner, who died November 10, 1807; John Lancaster Conner, who was at the University of North Carolina in 1805–06, and died young, probably prior to 1810. There was one daughter, Frances Clark Pollock Conner, who first married (1808)

[1] *South Carolina Hist. Soc. Colls.*, i. 160, 182. The fact of his being appointed to such an important office would indicate that he had attained a more mature age than twenty-two, which would not have been the case had his parents been married in 1688, as Wheeler states. It is refreshing to find a Quaker and a rebel occupying such a responsible position after all the claims set up, then and now, by the church party. We may also add that on November 30, 1710, the proprietors agreed to appoint Emmanuel Lowe himself, the arch rebel, to the secretaryship, and this under Hyde. *Ibid.*, i. 181.

[2] *South Carolina Hist. Soc. Colls.*, i. 142. There can be no doubt that this is the same man. Archdale appointed Thomas Cary, his son-in-law, receiver-general, or treasurer. Williamson (*History of North Carolina*, i. 170) says this had been the business of the rebel. This relationship was not known to me when I published my *Religious Development in the Province of North Carolina*. Colonel Cary died prior to 1720.

Joseph Blount (1785–1822), and, secondly (1834), William Hill, secretary of state for North Carolina. The sons died without issue. Mrs. Hill had one son by her first husband, who was called for his father. He died unmarried, and, so far as the writer knows, the line of John Archdale is extinct.[1]

The administration of Archdale in North Carolina was short, but it seems to have been, on the whole, a successful one. The colony had been torn by political dissensions, and plundered by ignorant proprietors and villainous governors; but from the coming of Archdale until the struggle for a church establishment in 1701, North Carolina was quiet and prosperous.

There is little in North Carolina to-day to recall the name of the Quaker governor. A precinct of Bath county was called Archdale in the early years of the eighteenth century, but the name has long since given place to that of Beaufort. One of the halls of Guilford college, a Quaker institution, and a small manufacturing village in the Quaker settlement in Randolph county, are all that to-day recall the name and the virtues of the peace-loving Friend.

[1] Perhaps the earliest picture of student life at the University of North Carolina in existence is to be found in letters written from that institution in 1805 by John L. Conner, which are now in possession of the writer.

A VALUABLE REVOLUTIONARY DOCUMENT

Account of monies furnished by Lewis Pintard to the following American officers, prisoners of war, on Long Island, viz.:

OFFICERS.	RANK.	STATE.	CORPS.	AMOUNT.
James Abbott	Ensign	Connecticut	Ely's	£113 6 9
Abraham Allen	"	New Jersey	Dye's Militia	45 13 8
William Allison	Colonel	New York	Militia	131 12 4
James Anderson	Lieutenant		Hazen's	113 6 8
Richard Andrews	"	North Carolina	2d Battalion	36 19 3
William Andrews	"	Massachusetts	Crane's Artillery	47 9 3
John Wm. Annis	"	Pennsylvania	Militia Artillery	43 5 9
Edward Antill	Lieut.-Colonel		Hazen's	340 15 9
Thomas Armstrong	Captain	North Carolina	2d Battalion	36 19 3
Thomas Armstrong	Lieutenant	Pennsylvania	Ewin's Battalion	112 12 3
Richard Bacon	Servant to Col.	Webb		21 5 3
Andrew Barns		New Jersey	Gloster Militia	43 13
Henry Bedinger	Lieutenant	Virginia	Rawlings's	150 15 4
William Bell	"	Pennsylvania	Clotz's	150 15 7
Mathew Bennet	"	"	Baxter's	156 19 3
Russell Bissel	Ensign	Connecticut	Enos's	74 11 6
John Blackleach	Lieutenant	"	Bradley's	149 11 8
Gabriel Blakeney	"	Pennsylvania	Watt's	150 13
George Blewer	"	"	4th	132 4 4
Theodore Bliss	Captain		Lamb's Artillery	47 5
James Bradford	D. C. Musician			129 14 2
Robert Bradford	Ensign	Connecticut	Cook's	137 15 11
Joshua Brainerd	Lieutenant	"	"	140 8 11
Henry Brewster	"	New York	Allison's	114 8 4
Thomas Brickell	Volunteer	Virginia	Nansimond county	26 5
Joseph Britton	Lieutenant		Guest's	101 13 10
Robert Brown	"	Pennsylvania	Baxter's	150 8 4
James Bruyn	Lieut.-Colonel	New York	Dubois's	146 19
Jonathan Bryan, Esq.	Inhabitant	Georgia		296 18
Edward Bulkley	Captain	Connecticut	S. B. Webb's	83 18 6
Moses Butler	Lieutenant	"	Sloop *Ranger*	29 15 3
Nehemiah Carpenter	Quartermaster	New York	Dubois's	113 6 10
Ebenezer Carson	Lieutenant	Pennsylvania	10th	119 8 10
Asher Carter	"	"	McIlvain's Militia	112 14 9
Robert Chesley	"	Maryland	2d	116 4 5
Aaron Chew	"	West Jersey	Militia	110 14 1
Charles Clark	"	Pennsylvania	2d Northern Militia	112 9 10
John Clark	"	Virginia	8th	112 12 3
Henry Clayton	"	Pennsylvania	Swoope's	31 10
George Combs	Captain	New York	Drake's Militia	36 10 10
John Connelly	Lieutenant	Pennsylvania		26 5
Jesse Cook	"	Connecticut	Bradley's	148 2 7
Thomas Cook	"	New Jersey	Forman's	146 2 2
Peter Coonrad	"	Pennsylvania	5th Northumberland	112 14 9
Jacob Covenhoven	Captain	New Jersey	1st Horse	46 18 8
Carried forward				£4,803 15 1

OFFICERS.	RANK.	STATE.	CORPS.	AMOUNT.
Brought forward				£4,803 15 1
Thomas Coverly	Ensign	Virginia	9th	112 14 9
Joseph Cox	Lieutenant	Pennsylvania	6th	121 2 6
John Cozens	Captain	New Jersey	Gloster, 1st	37 18 4
John Craig	Lieutenant	Pennsylvania	Baxter's	150 15 7
Joseph Crane	Captain	New York	Volunteer Company	100 7 7
Isaac Crane	Adjutant	"	Field's	135 1 7
John Crawford	Lieutenant	Pennsylvania	Watt's	150 15 7
William Crawford	"	"	5th	157 10
Charles M. Croxall	"	Maryland	Hartley's	112 14 8
John Cudner	"	New York	Drake's Militia	26 9 2
Samuel Culver	Ensign	Conn. Militia	Hooker's Regiment.	26 5
Samuel Culverson	Captain	Pennsylvania	Montgomery's	31 10
John Cunningham	Lieutenant	"	2d Lan. Militia	112 12 5
Nathaniel Darby	Ensign	Virginia	9th	112 12 4
William Darke	Major	"	8th	119 11 8
Robert Darlington	Lieutenant	Pennsylvania	Watt's	31 10
Hezekiah Davis	"	"	Montgomery's	150 10 8
Benjamin Davis	"	"	Swoope's	31 10
Rezin Davis	"	Maryland	Rawlings's	150 15 7
Peter Decker	Captain	Pennsylvania	5th Battalion	31 10
Samuel Dodge	Lieutenant	New York	Dubois's	96 8 5
Andrew Dover	"	Pennsylvania	5th	162 10 9
Ephraim Douglass	Quartermaster	"	8th	139 19 5
Lebbeus Drew	Lieutenant	Massachusetts	Shepherd's	122 4 9
Baron D'Uertrizt	Captain	Pennsylvania	Armand's	115 19 5
John Duguid	Lieutenant	"	3d	154 2 7
Nathaniel Edwards	"	Connecticut	Bradley's	150 13
Samuel Eldred	"	Massachusetts	1st	112 12 4
William Ellis	Major	N. Jersey Militia.	Ellis's Regiment	31 10
John Ely	Colonel	Connecticut	2d	125 19 7
John Erwin	Lieutenant	Pennsylvania	Baxter's	189 15 5
Abner Everit	"	"	"	150 15 5
Moore Fauntleroy	Captain	Maryland	Light Dragoons, 4th	114 10 1
Ephraim Fenno	"	New York	Lamb's Artillery	132 17 10
William Ferguson	Lieutenant	Pennsylvania	Proctor's	139 19 6
Reuben Field	"	Virginia	8th	112 9 5
John Finley	"	Pennsylvania	5th	150 18 2
Samuel Finley	"	Virginia	Rawlings's	150 13
Samuel Fisher	Captain	Pennsylvania	Murray's Militia	47 9 2
Peregrine Fitzhugh	Cornet		3d Light Dragoons.	136 0 4
Nathaniel Fitz Randolph	Captain	New Jersey	Militia	
Robert Foster	Ensign	Virginia	15th	112 2 8
John Furman	Lieutenant	New York	Dubois's	130 19 6
Nathaniel Galt	Captain	Pennsylvania	Navy	118 9 10
Mark Garret	Forage Master.			107 18 9
William George	Lieutenant	Virginia	Rawlings's	150 15 5
Gasper Geyer	Sub-Lieutenant	Philadelphia		43 13
Samuel Gilbert	Captain	Massachusetts	Prescot's	36 2 5
Adam Gilchrist	As. Com. Forage			100 0 3
George Gilchrist	Captain	Virginia	9th Regiment	31 10
Aquilla Giles	Major			153 13 4
Erasmus Gill	Lieutenant		4th Light Dragoons	31 10
Oliver Glean	Quartermaster	New York		114 8 6
Henry Godwin	Captain	"	Dubois's	127 3 10
Nathan Goodale	"	Massachusetts	Putnam's	141 8 2
Richard Grace	Lieutenant	Maryland	Price's	161 1 11
Carried forward				£10,805 18 8

OFFICERS.	RANK.	STATE.	CORPS.	AMOUNT.
Brought forward.	.....	.....	.....	£10,805 18 8
Thomas Granbery	Volunteer	.....	.....	26 5
Jesse Grant	Lieutenant	Connecticut	Webb's	131 11 8
John Green	Ensign.....	Pennsylvania	Buck's Co. Militia..	112 14 9
Francis Grice	Captain	"	Navy	125 9 2
Jacob Groul.....	Surgeon.....	"	Lutz's	31 10
Peter Harkenburgh.....	Ensign.....	"	Baxter's.....	31 14 3
Nathan Hale	Colonel	New Hampshire .	2d	63
Edward Hall	Lieutenant	Maryland	Late Forman's.....	84 13 3
Elihu Hall	" ...	"	1st	135 2 4
Benjamin Halstead.....	"	New York.....	Allison's	116 11 7
Henry Hambright	Captain	Pennsylvania	Clotz's.....	31 10
Henry Hardman.....	"	Maryland	Griffith's.....	42
John Harper	Major	Pennsylvania	Humphrys's.....	148 19 6
John Haviland.....	Lieutenant	New Jersey	Jaque's Militia.....	26 5
Nicholas Haussegger...	Colonel	.....	.....	103 16 5
John Hays	Captain	Virginia	9th.....	112 12 3
Edward Heston.....	"	Pennsylvania	.....	43 10 6
Robert Higgins.....	"	Virginia	8th.....	112 11 10
Philip Hill	Lieutenant	Maryland	2d.....	182
Rignal Hilliary.....	Ensign.....	"	1st	115 19 8
Thomas Hobby.....	Lieut.-Colonel .	Connecticut	Bradley's.....	165 16 1
Robert Hodgson.....	Major	Delaware	5th.....	43 13
John Holiday	Lieutenant	Pennsylvania	Watt's.....	150 10 8
Jonathan Holmes	"	New Jersey . ..	Martin's.....	150 11
Samuel Holmes.....	Captain	New Hampshire .	Knolton's	44 12 7
Israel Honeywell	"	New York.....	Drake's	26 9 2
Elisha Hopkins.....	Adjutant.....	Connecticut	S. B. Webb's.....	174 11 11
James Humphrey.....	Captain.....	New York.....	McClaughry's.....	115 17 1
Ephraim Hunter.....	Lieutenant	Pennsylvania	Watt's	150 13 2
John Hunter	"	New York.....	McClaughry's.....	119 0 2
John Hutchin	"	New Jersey	Shreeve's.....	112 14 9
John V. Hyatt.....	"	Delaware	Hall's	112 12 5
Charles Jackson	A. D. Q. Gen..	.....	.....	26 5
Pattin Jackson.....	Lieutenant	New York	Dubois's.....	116 11 6
Daniel Jamison.....	"	Pennsylvania ...	Baxter's	31 10
Thomas Janney.....	"	"	5th.....	152 6 2
John Johnson	Adjutant.....	"	Baxter's	150 15 8
James Jones.....	Lieutenant	"	8th Chester County.	112 14 9
Levin Joynes.....	Major	Virginia	9th.....	117 0 10
James Irvine	Brig.-General..	.....	.....	223 15 1
Isaac Theeler.....	Lieutenant	New York..	Drake's Militia	26 9 2
John Ther	"	Pennsylvania	8th Cumberland....	112 14 8
John Thilty	Cornet.....	... .	Baylor's.....	110 18 9
Hugh Thing	Lieutenant	Pennsylvania	McCallister's	31 10
James Thronkhytt.....	Captain	New York.....	Drake's.....	26 9 2
N. Laurence.....	Lieutenant	North Carolina ..	2d Battalion.....	36 19 2
Asa Lay	"	Connecticut	Meigs'....	91 2 8
Andrew Lee.....	"	.....	Hazen's.....	144 5 1
Abraham Legget... ...	Ensign.....	New York.....	Dubois's	60 13 9
John Levacher.....	"	Maryland	2d	126 14 5
Rufus Lincoln.....	Lieutenant	Massachusetts ...	Bradford's	112 14 9
Samuel Lindsay	"	Pennsylvania	Montgomery's	157 12
James M. C. Lingan ...	"	Maryland	Rawlings's.....	150 13
Theophilus Little	"	New Jersey.....	Holmes's.....	52 8 2
Thomas Little.....	"	"	Hendrickson's.....	113 6 9
Bateman Lloyd	"	"	Martin's	112 12 5
Carried forward.....				£16,349 0 9

OFFICERS.	RANK.	STATE.	CORPS.	AMOUNT.
Brought forward				£16,349 0 9
Samuel Logan	Major	New York	Dubois's	132 4 2
Thomas H. Lucket	Lieutenant	Maryland	Rawlings's	150 13
Henry Lyler	"	"	3d	116 2
Robert Magaw	Colonel	Pennsylvania	6th	123 6 10
Luke Marbury	"	"	11th Militia	128 9 10
Daniel Marlin	Captain	New York	Graham's	51 4 5
Joseph Martin	Lieutenant	Pennsylvania	Baxter's	150 15 5
Thomas Martin	"	Virginia	9th	112 14 9
William Martin	"	Pennsylvania	Proctor's	106 6 9
John Massey	"	Maryland	26th Militia	112 12 3
George Mathews	Colonel	Virginia	9th	164 6 4
Monsr. de Mauleon				29 8
Alexander McArthur	Lieutenant	New York	Dubois's	120 11 10
Alexander McCashey	D. Com. For			107 14
James McClaughry	Lieut.-Colonel	New York	2d Militia	131 12 1
John McClaughry	Ensign	"	Dubois's	115 12 3
John McDonald	Captain	Pennsylvania	Swoope's	31 10
Samuel McClellan	Lieutenant	"	Montgomery's	31 10
Samuel McFarland	"	New Jersey	1st Gloster County	107 7 3
Samuel McHatton	Ensign	Pennsylvania	Watt's	150 10 8
Michael McKnight	Captain	N. Jersey Militia	3d Regiment	34 15 4
John Meals	"	Virginia	Spotsylv. Militia	26 9 2
John Mercer	Lieutenant	New Jersey	Ogden's	113 11 4
Thomas Millard	"	Philadelphia	Militia	9 11 10
James Moor	Captain	Delaware	Hall's	112 14 9
James Morris	Lieutenant	Connecticut	Bradley's	112 12 5
Joseph Morrisson	"	Pennsylvania	McCallister's	150 15 4
Ebenezer Mott	"	New York	Dubois's	124 9 10
Jacob Moyen	Ensign	Pennsylvania	Swoope's	31 10
Jacob Mumme	"	"	Baxter's	150 15 5
Henry Murfit	Lieutenant	"	5th Militia	133 18 9
Francis Murray	Major	"	13th	100 3 5
Godfry Myer	Lieutenant	"	Baxter's	150 15 5
Sands Niles	Ensign	Connecticut	Ely's	113 4 5
Christopher Omdorff	Lieutenant	Maryland		174 10 2
Thomas Parker	"	Virginia	9th	118 12 5
Abraham Parsons	"	New Jersey	2d Militia	112 9 11
Robert Patton	"	Pennsylvania	Swoope's	157 12 6
James Paul	Ensign	New Jersey	2d Regiment	79 0 3
Henry Pawling	Lieutenant	New York	Dubois's	116 13 10
Thomas Payne	"	Virginia	9th	112 12 3
Joseph Payne	Ensign	"	"	112 12 3
Nathaniel Pendleton	Lieutenant	"	Rawlings's	150 12 10
Solomon Pendleton	"	New York	Dubois's	121 18 5
Tobias Polhemus	"	New Jersey	1st Monmouth	127 10
David Poor	"	Massachusetts	Hutchison's	147 17 10
David Potter	Colonel	New Jersey	2d Cumberland Mil.	98 10 1
John Poulson	Captain	Virginia	9th	112 12 3
William Preston	Lieutenant	Pennsylvania	Knox's Artillery	112 14 9
Nathaniel Ramsey	Lieut.-Colonel	Maryland	3d	316 18 1
Robert Randolph	Lieutenant		3d Light Dragoons	163 15 7
Thomas Reid	Ensign	Pennsylvania	McAllester's	31 10
Isaac Requaw	Adjutant	New York	Drake's Militia	86 12 7
Thomas Reynolds	Lieut.-Colonel	New Jersey		26 5
Nathaniel Reynolds	Lieutenant	New York	Drake's Militia	26 9 2
Abijah Richardson	Surgeon's Mate	Massachusetts	Greaton's	68 18 2
Carried forward				£22,465 8 4

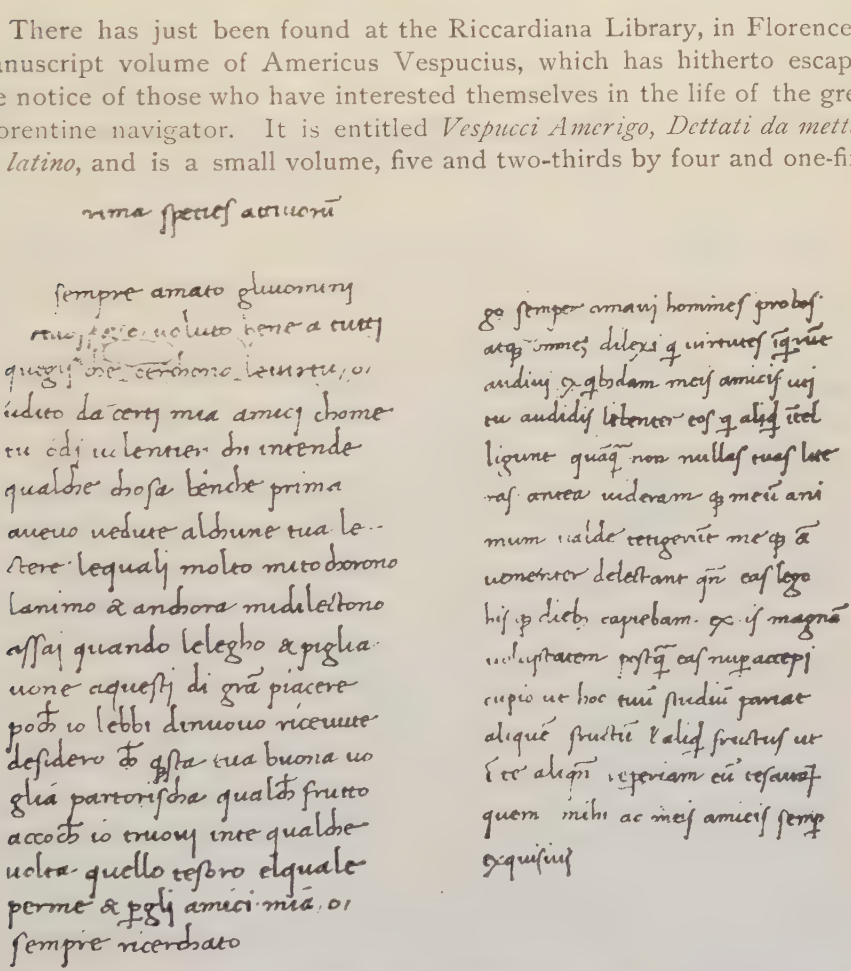
OFFICERS.	RANK.	STATE.	CORPS.	AMOUNT.
Brought forward.				£22,465 8 4
Josiah Riddick	Volunteer	Virginia	Nansimond county.	26 5
John Riley	Lieutenant	Connecticut	S. B. Webb's	134 18 9
William Robertson	Adjutant	Virginia	9th	112 9 10
John Robins	Ensign	"	"	112 14 8
Andrew Robinson	Lieutenant	Pennsylvania	Swoope's	192 9 1
William Rogers	"	Virginia	4th	101 13 11
Thomas Rowse	Ensign	Maryland	Price's	116 2
John Rudolph	Lieutenant	Pennsylvania	5th	150 15
Samuel Rutherford	Ensign	"	Clotz's	31 10
Robert Sample	Captain	"	10th	103 19 5
John Scarborough	Ensign	Virginia	9th	112 12 3
James Semmes	Lieutenant	Maryland	1st	101 11 8
Lemuel Sherman	Master of Galley	Washington		33 16 7
Isaac Shimer	Lieutenant	Pennsylvania	Baxter's	147 3 4
Zacharias Shugart	"	"	Swoope's	150 15 4
Joseph Shurtleff	A.D.Q.M. Gen.			100 7 7
G. Selleck Silliman	Brig.-General	Connecticut		89 9 2
William Silliman	Major	"	Silliman's	26 9 2
Edward Smith	Lieutenant	Virginia	Rawlings's	154 12
Jonathan Smith	Ensign	"	8th	112 12 3
James Smith	Lieutenant	Pennsylvania	Proctor's	47 5
John Smock	Lieut.-Colonel	New Jersey	1st Militia	44 14 7
Charles Snead	Lieutenant	Virginia	9th	112 5
Smith Snead	Captain	"	"	112 9 10
Silas Snow	Lieutenant	Delaware	4th Militia	43 13
Jacob Sommer	Ensign	Philadelphia Co.	Militia	43 14 4
William Standley	Lieutenant	"	5th	150 15 7
Roger Stayner	Captain	"	2d	112 14 7
Lord Stirling	Major-General			20 9 6
Charles Stockley	Ensign	Virginia	9th	112 12 3
John Stotsbury	Captain	Pennsylvania	11th	79 7 7
Abraham Stout	Lieutenant	New Jersey	2d	112 12 3
Aaron Stratton	"	Massachusetts		150 10 9
John Swan	Captain		3d Light Dragoons.	170 9 5
Cornelius Swartwout	Lieutenant	New York	Lamb's Artillery	116 13 10
Henry Swartwout	Ensign	"	Dubois's	113 6 8
Michael Swoope	Colonel	Pennsylvania		51 0 7
Thomas Tanner	Lieutenant	Connecticut	Bradley's	150 10 9
Severn Teackle	"	Virginia	9th	112 14 9
James Teller	Captain	New York	Drake's	26 9 2
John Thatcher	"	Connecticut	Swift's	115 13 6
Thomas Thomas	Colonel	New York	West. Ches. Militia.	46 12 11
William Thompson	Brig.-General			119 17 4
Andrew Thompson	Ensign	New Jersey		84 17 10
Thomas Thweatt	Captain	Virginia	10th Regiment	78 10 9
Edward Tillard	Major	Maryland	6th	182 6 5
Oliver Towles	"	Virginia	"	116 8 2
Charles Turnbull	Lieutenant	Pennsylvania	Proctor's	139 0 2
Leonard Van Bueren		New York		31 3 4
Jacob Van Tassel	Lieutenant	"	Hammond's Milit	35 4 4
G. H. Van Wagennen	D. Com. Pris.			9 16
Robert Walker	Lieutenant	Massachusetts	Brewer's	112 12 5
Benjamin Wallace	Captain	Pennsylvania	Montgomery's	31 10
Bernard Ward	"	"	Atlee's	155 1 5
Joseph Ward	Com. of Musters			89 2 10
Thomas Warman	Lieutenant	Virginia	Rawlings's	152 10 3
Carried forward				£27,962 12 5

OFFICERS.	RANK.	STATE.	CORPS.	AMOUNT.
Brought forward.				£27,962 12 5
David Waterbury	Brig.-General			105 0 4
Mason Wattles	Lieutenant	Massachusetts	5th Battalion	36 15
Samuel B Webb	Colonel			303 7 5
John Weidman	Ensign			112 14 7
Ebenezer West	Adjutant	Connecticut	Ely's	113 4 4
Joel Westcoat	Lieutenant	Pennsylvania	3d	79 11 1
Samuel Whiting	"	New York	Lamb's Artillery	134 18 9
James Whitlock	"	New Jersey	Scudder's	113 6 9
Daniel Williams	Captain	New York	Graham's	91 6 7
James Willing	"		Navy	148 5 10
John Willis	"	Virginia	2d Regiment	80 18 10
James Winchester	Lieutenant	Maryland	2d	115 17 2
Erastus Wolcott	"	Connecticut	Webb's	83 7 2
Tarlton Woodson	Major	Maryland	Hazen's	133 11 10
Robert Woodson	Lieutenant	Virginia	9th	112 12 4
George Wright	Major	Pennsylvania		43 5 9
Thomas Wynn	Lieutenant	"	Montgomery's	150 15 4
William Young	"	"	McCallester's	150 15 4
Total				£30,072 6 10

AN AUTOGRAPH MANUSCRIPT OF AMERICUS VESPUCIUS

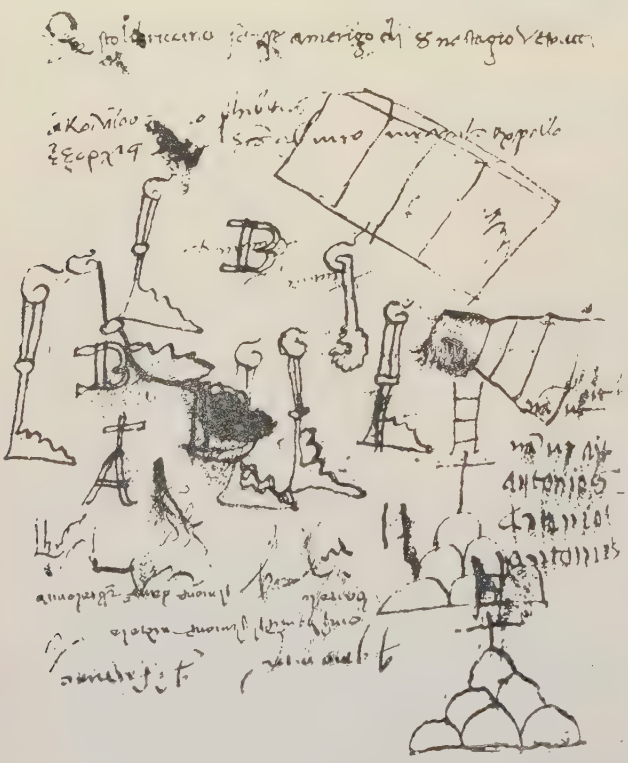
By Walter Sibbald Wilson

There has just been found at the Riccardiana Library, in Florence, a manuscript volume of Americus Vespucius, which has hitherto escaped the notice of those who have interested themselves in the life of the great Florentine navigator. It is entitled *Vespucci Amerigo, Dettati da mettere in latino,* and is a small volume, five and two-thirds by four and one-fifth



inches, containing one hundred and eighty-eight leaves. It is executed in the beautiful round handwriting of the fifteenth century, and is bound in parchment. The title is not contemporaneous with the manuscript, but was given to it by Lami. Vespucius was born in Florence on March 9, 1451; at the age of twenty-seven he visited Paris with a distant rela-

tive, returning to his native city in 1480. Ten years later he set out for Spain, and it was during the years just previous to this departure that he is supposed to have written the manuscript volume under consideration. The book contains a series of exercises in grammar, but of a peculiar character. Vespucius had experienced a strong desire to master the Latin language thoroughly, and with this object in view he wrote sentences in Italian, to which he could apply a given grammatical rule, and afterwards translated them into Latin. On each right-hand page there is a subject which fills it entirely, and which is the development of a single main idea; and at the top, on the margin of the leaf, are found certain rules indicated, the application of which is necessary to translate the subject into Latin. But instead of writing "foolish and puerile propositions similar to those found in many of our modern grammars, such as, 'the cat of my uncle's brother is much pleased with the dog of my cousin's aunt,' he wrote, in Italian, sentences having in general a deep purport, and this purport was suggested to him by the atmosphere of Florence in which he lived, and then ruled by Lorenzo the Magnificent. This opinion seems to me confirmed by reading the whole manuscript."[1]



In the accompanying photographs are shown; first, the reverse side of the first leaf (page 2 of the book), with the Italian composition written in a firm, exquisite hand; and on the second leaf (page 3 of the book) is shown the Latin translation of the opposite page. The range of subjects

[1] G. Uzielli, in *Toscanelli* for January, 1893.

covered is wide; they are of a philosophical character, and give evidence of a thoughtful mind. In one, Vespucius, who did not believe that theology could explain natural phenomena, such as meteoric displays, and showers of blood, etc., addresses the following ironical inquiry to the believers: "Oh! priest, from whom counsel has been so often sought in the times when it has thundered, or the lightnings have flashed, when the thunderbolt has fallen, or when the hail has destroyed, when it has rained or snowed in an extraordinary manner, as if the nations truly believed thee to be the god Apollo, who, as the poets imagine, possesses a knowledge of future things as well as things present and past! what advice would'st thou give to this people if it rained stones, or blood, or flesh, as one reads in the old chronicles?"[1]

In another "exercise" he lays down the fundamental problem of the science of the emotions; and in a third he enunciates a precept of hygiene and of morality. Leaf 188, also shown in the photograph, and which is the last in the book, contains at the top the following declaration: "Amerigo de Ser Anastagio Vespucci wrote this little book." Under these words there are some scrawls and several lines of writing, in part from the hand of Vespucius, in part made by other persons, as may be seen in the photograph herewith. There can be read two Greek words, with their pronunciation: "akolitos," "exorkist"; the Latin words "non prohibitus," "abjuro juramento expello"; some names repeated several times, such as Antonius, Simone. Upon examination it appears that although Vespucius had written all the Italian composition in his book of exercises, he had only translated six pages into Latin. This may readily be accounted for from the fact that, at that period, it was unsafe for any one to write his opinions in too free and open a manner. Lorenzo the Magnificent was in power, and he was an unscrupulous ruler. "Possessed of high ability, great in the policy of trifling expedients, but extravagant to excess, the slave of his passions and incapable in business matters, Lorenzo did not hesitate to use the public treasure for his own needs, and to lay hands on the dowers deposited in the banks of the Republic, and which belonged to the young daughters of Florence." This little manuscript volume will prove a valuable addition to the literature in existence referring to Americus Vespucius.

[1] *Toscanelli* for January, 1893.

THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. JOHN THE DIVINE

By Allan Grant

On a bitter cold afternoon at the close of the year 1892, the anniversary of St. John the Evangelist's Day, December 27, the corner-stone of the Cathedral Church of St. John the Divine was laid with solemn and appropriate ceremonies. The site of this cathedral, destined when com-

CATHEDRAL OF ST. JOHN THE DIVINE.

pleted to rival the grandest ecclesiastical edifices of Europe, extends from One Hundred and Tenth to One Hundred and Thirteenth streets, and from Morningside to Tenth avenues, New York. It is at present occupied by the buildings of the Leake and Watts Orphan Asylum. A point just east of the asylum, and overlooking the broad valley below, was selected for

laying the corner-stone, a polished block of Quincy granite, four feet four inches square by two feet four and a half inches deep. Owing to the season of the year a temporary wooden structure of cruciform shape, covered by a canvas roof, steam heated, and capable of seating comfortably a thousand persons, had been provided.

In the centre of the building was seen the stone, around which a platform with a lectern in one corner had been erected, and at each angle was displayed the American flag. The floors of the whole building, as well as of the platform, were carpeted. Necessarily only a limited number (eleven hundred) of admission tickets were sent out, and to the holders of these were assigned seats in the nave. The chancel was set apart for the clergy, the left transept for the various church societies, and the right transept for the choir and the students of the General Theological Seminary. The clergy, students, and choristers assembled in the asylum, and at three o'clock the procession entered, led by the marshal carrying a silver mace. He was followed by the musicians, and behind them came seventy members of the Church Choral Society, and the students of the General Theological Seminary, all of whom took seats in the south transept. The trustees of Columbia College and of St. Luke's Hospital were next in order, and sat in the north transept. The clergy came next, walking two by two, and separating at the corner-stone to meet and sit together in the chancel. The line extended from the tent to the asylum, and numbered about two hundred and fifty persons in all. Following the clergy were the architect and the builder. The trustees of the cathedral, wearing purple sashes, were next in order, and were seated on the left side of the platform. Then came the bishops. As the clergy entered the building they read with Bishop Potter, responsively, the processional psalms, "Lord, who shall dwell in Thy tabernacle?" and "I was glad when they said unto me." When the clergy had taken their places in the chancel the sight was most impressive. The white robes, the colored stoles and hoods of many hues, contrasted with the darkly dressed congregation, made a pleasing picture. The bishops sat in the midst of the chancel.

The services were conducted by Bishop Potter and Drs. Dix and Huntington, Chief Justice Fuller taking part in the programme. Bishop Doane delivered the address. The following articles were deposited beneath the stone:

The Holy Bible.
The Book of Common Prayer, according to the Standard of 1892.
The Hymnal of the Church.
Journals of the convention of the diocese of New York, 1882-92.

Journals of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, 1889-92.

General James Grant Wilson's *Centennial History of the Diocese of New York*, 1886.

Spirit of Missions, December, 1892.

Church papers—*The Churchman*, *Standard*, and *Living Church*.

Daily newspapers of December 27, 1892.

The *Church Almanac*, *Whittaker's Almanac*, *Living Church Quarterly*, and *Tribune Almanac*, 1893.

Catalogue of the General Theological Seminary, 1892-93.

Catalogue of St. Stephen's College, 1892-93.

Form of the office of the cathedral corner-stone laying.

Names of the trustees of the cathedral.

Charges and addresses delivered by the Rt. Rev. Henry C. Potter on "Law and Loyalty in the Church" before the one hundred and third convention of the diocese of New York; on "The Offices of Wardens and Vestrymen;" and on "The Relation of the Clergy to the Faith and Order of the Church," at the one hundredth anniversary of the consecration of the bishops for the Church in America by English bishops in Lambeth; at the dedication of All Saints' cathedral, Albany; at the one hundredth anniversary of the inauguration of George Washington as President of the United States, in St. Paul's chapel, April 29, 1889.

Letters of Bishop Potter to the people and clergy of the diocese concerning the cathedral, 1887.

Badge and rules of prayer and service of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew.

Fragments of brick from the first church in America, bearing inscription on silver plate: "From the ruins of the First Christian City of the New World, where the first church was erected by Christopher Columbus, 1493.—Isabella, Hispaniola."

Medal of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society.

List of the officers of the governments of the United States, the state and the city of New York.

Coins of the United States.

Lists of objects deposited in corner-stone.

The illustration accompanying this article is the one selected by the trustees from among several designs which were submitted to them. Some modifications of the original have already been decided upon, and others may possibly be adopted hereafter. It is estimated that the total cost of the cathedral will be about ten millions of dollars, and it is hoped that it may be completed within a very few years of the close of the present century. Several persons have subscribed one hundred thousand dollars each, and one generous person, whose name is withheld, has given half a million of dollars.

Head Quarters Armies of the United States,

City Point, April 2. 7 P.M. 1865

Mrs A. Lincoln,

Washington, D.C.

Last night Gen. Grant telegraphed that Sheridan with his Cavalry and the 5th Corps had captured three brigades of Infantry, a train of wagons, and several batteries, prisoners amounting to several thousands. This morning Gen. Grant, having ordered an attack along the whole line telegraphs as follows

"Both Wright and Parke got through the enemies lines. The battle now rages furiously. Sheridan with his Cavalry, the 5th Corps, & Miles Division of the 2nd Corps which was sent to him since 1. this A.M. is now sweeping down from the West. All now looks highly favorable. Ord is engaged, but I have not yet heard the result on his front"

Robert yesterday wrote a little cheerful note to Capt Penrose, which is all I have heard of him since you left. Copy to Secretary of War

A. Lincoln

THE DEATH OF EX-PRESIDENT HAYES

A special meeting of the cabinet was held in Washington, D. C., on Wednesday, January 18, at which the following executive order was drafted and adopted :

To the People of the United States :

The death of Rutherford B. Hayes, who was President of the United States from March 4, 1877, to March 4, 1881, at his home in Fremont, Ohio, at eleven P.M. yesterday, is an event the announcement of which will be received with very general and very sincere sorrow. His public service extended over many years and over a wide range of official duty. He was a patriotic citizen, a lover of the flag and of our free institutions, an industrious and conscientious civil officer, a soldier of dauntless courage, a loyal comrade and friend, a sympathetic and helpful neighbor, and the honored head of a happy Christian home. He had steadily grown in the public esteem, and the impartial historian will not fail to recognize the conscientiousness, the manliness, and the courage that so strongly characterized his whole public career.

As an expression of the public sorrow, it is ordered that the executive mansion and the several executive departments at Washington be draped in mourning and the flags thereon placed at half-staff for a period of thirty days, and that on the day of the funeral all public business in the departments be suspended, and that suitable military and naval honors, under the orders of the secretaries of war and of the navy, be rendered on that day.

Benjamin Harrison.

Executive Mansion, Washington, D. C., *January* 18, 1893.

By the President,

J. W. Foster, *Secretary of State.*

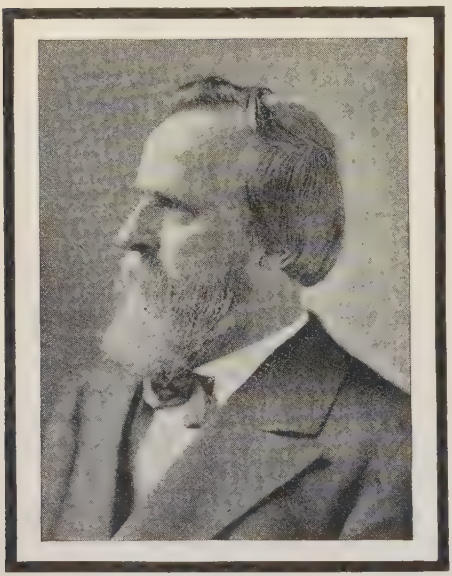
On the day following, Governor McKinley, of Ohio, the ex-president's native state, issued the following proclamation :

To the People of Ohio :

It is my sorrowful duty to announce to the people of the state the death of one of its most honored citizens, Rutherford B. Hayes, which occurred on the night of the 17th inst., at his home, Fremont, Ohio. It is fitting that the people of Ohio, whom he served so long and faithfully, should take special note of the going out

of this great life, and make manifest the affectionate regard in which he was held by them.

His private life was conspicuous for its purity, gentleness, and benevolence. His public services were long and singularly distinguished. In his youth he had an important official position in the chief city of the state. He was among the first of Ohio's sons to offer his services to the cause of the Union in the late war. In battle he was brave; and wounds he received in defending his country's flag were silent but eloquent testimonials to his gallantry and patriotism and sacrifice. From major of the Twenty-third Ohio Infantry he reached the high rank of a major general of volunteers, commanding a division; beloved by his comrades and respected by all. While in the field he was elected to the national house of representatives, but his sense of duty impelled him to decline to serve in congress while the country was imperiled. Subsequently he performed honorable service in that body. For two successive terms he was elected Governor of Ohio, and after a period of retirement he was again chosen the chief executive of the state. Then the nation called him to the presidency, and he performed the duties of that high office with dignity, faithfulness, and ability.



R. B. Hayes

From the completion of his term as President of the United States until his death he was an exemplification of the noblest qualities of American citizenship in its private capacity; modest and unassuming, and yet public-spirited, ever striving for the well-being of the people, the relief of distress, the reformation of abuses, and the practical education of the masses of his countrymen. We are made better by such a life. Its serious contemplation will be helpful to all. We add to our own honor by doing honor to the memory of Rutherford B. Hayes.

I, therefore, as Governor of the State of Ohio, recommend that flags on all public buildings and schoolhouses be put at half-mast from now until after the funeral of Rutherford B. Hayes, and that, upon the first opportunity after the funeral, the people assemble at their respective places of divine worship and hold memorial services. And, as a mark of respect, I do order that on the day of the funeral, the 20th inst., the executive office be closed.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto subscribed my name and caused to be

affixed the great seal of the state at Columbus, this the 19th day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and ninety-three, and of the independence of the United States the one hundred and seventeenth.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY, JR.

By the Governor,

SAMUEL M. TAYLOR, *Secretary of State.*

The funeral of General Hayes, at Fremont, Ohio, took place on Thursday, January 19, and was attended by many distinguished persons, including Grover Cleveland, the only ex-President of the United States now living. President Harrison, who was prevented from being present in person, was represented by several members of his cabinet.

ONE OF WASHINGTON'S SWEETHEARTS

On the occasion of one of the numerous journeys which General Washington took to the North in February and March, 1756, he visited among other places Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. It is stated, too, that in New York he was impressed by the charms of a young lady, Miss Mary Philipse. A few particulars in connection with this pleasing incident may be of interest. Mary Philipse was the niece and heiress of Mr. Adolphus Philipse. The founder of the family and of the family's wealth was Frederick Philipse, owner of a vast tract of country which embraced Tarrytown and reached down to the Harlem. Upon a tax list of New York city for the year 1674 he is rated as worth eighty thousand florins (thirty-two thousand dollars), by far the richest man in town; only two men approached him in wealth, and these were rated each at fifty thousand florins (twenty thousand dollars). Frederick Philipse and his son Adolphus, after him, were in the governor's council, and intensely loyal to the king. The wealth of the family had not grown less by the year 1756. Mary Philipse was heiress to a vast amount. Her sister, likewise an heiress, had married Beverly Robinson, the son of John Robinson, who was Speaker of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, and as such had so eloquently complimented

Washington when he took his seat there. Beverly had been a schoolmate of Washington's, and it was but natural that the latter should be his guest on this visit to New York. And, equally as a matter of course, Washington at this house met Mary Philipse. Irving says of this meeting :

"That he was an open admirer of Miss Philipse is an historical fact ; that he sought her hand, but was refused, is traditional, and not very probable. His military rank, his early laurels, and distinguished presence were all calculated to win favor in female eyes ; but his sojourn in New York was brief, he may have been diffident in urging his suit with a lady accustomed to the homage of society, and surrounded by admirers. The most probable version of the story is that he was called away by his public duties before he had made sufficient approaches in his siege of the lady's heart to warrant a summons to surrender."

Whatever the truth of this courtship is, it is certain that Washington did not marry her. Yet, by the strange concatenation of events in that stirring age, twenty years later he occupied her house on Harlem Heights as his headquarters. After he had gone back to Virginia a letter reached him from a friend, giving him warning that another was seeking the rich and beautiful prize. Captain Roger Morris, a fellow aid-de-camp in the Braddock campaign, was likely to win her hand. But Washington left the field clear for him. Hence Mary Philipse became Mary Morris. And when the Revolution came she clung to the traditions of her family, and remained a loyalist. Besides her wealth and beauty she was credited with possessing a strong mind and imperious will ; so much so that it was freely hinted at that time that if Washington had married her he would never have been the leader of the patriots. Captain Morris may have needed no petticoat persuasion to keep him from joining the rebels. At any rate, the wife and husband both fled to England, and their estates on Manhattan were confiscated. They owned a beautiful mansion overlooking the Harlem river and the country far beyond it. Later it came into the hands of Madame Jumel, who was married to Aaron Burr shortly before the latter's death in 1830 ; and it still stands to-day, known as the Jumel Mansion, as a lonely relic of former days, on One-hundred-and-sixty-first street near St. Nicholas avenue. It was occupied by Washington as headquarters after the battle of Long Island, and before his retreat from Manhattan island, or in the early autumn months of 1776. It may be that his thoughts reverted with fond regret to the beautiful mistress of the mansion in the happy days of youth.

TRUTH ABOUT SECESSION

"Secession" has not a pleasant sound to our ears. It has cost us too much blood and treasure. However, if there be any good ground for distributing the blame of this bad thing, do not let us be so unfair and so unhistoric as to concentrate it upon one section, and confine it to the men of one period or generation. The author of a recent book puts the matter tersely and strongly thus :

"The truth is, it is nonsense to reproach any one section with being especially

disloyal to the Union. At one time or another almost every state has shown strong particularistic leanings; Connecticut and Pennsylvania, for example, quite as much as Virginia or Kentucky. Fortunately the outbursts were never simultaneous in a majority. It is as impossible to question the fact that at one period or another of the past many of the states in each section have been very shaky in their allegiance, as to doubt that they are now all heartily loyal. The secession movement of 1860 was pushed to extremities, instead of being merely planned and threatened; and the revolt was peculiarly abhorrent because of the intention to make slavery the 'corner-stone' of the new nation; but at least it was free from the meanness of being made in the midst of a doubtful struggle with a foreign foe."

This last clause is aimed at the decided separatist sentiments and activities prevailing in the New England states during the war of 1812. It seems almost incredible (but the facts are there, and they are unmanageable things) that "half a century before the 'stars and bars' waved over Lee's last intrenchments, perfervid New England patriots were fond of flaunting 'the flag with five stripes,' and drinking to the health of the—fortunately still-born—new nation." It would seem the part of wisdom then for the pot to lay aside its habit of predicating blackness of the kettle. We have all erred on this unhappy "secesh" question, and now we have all learned to be wiser, after having had some punishment for our error. Union *after* Liberty will no longer do. It must be Liberty *and* Union, Liberty *with* Union, Liberty *through* Union. But we must cease prosing about this matter; the point is, not to forget the farther past in the overwhelming importance of the more recent past; or let us forget both together!

A STRANGE STORY

When Gouverneur Morris, our Minister at Paris during the Reign of Terror, was in France, he formed intimate friendships with many members of the royal family, even before he was accredited as the representative of our government. Among those who admired him and cherished his society was the Duchess of Orleans, the wife of the wretched Philippe Egalité, and mother of Louis Philippe, who reigned as king after the downfall of Charles X. At one of these frequent and sudden turns of fortune which were constantly bringing one or another group of "patriots" to the guillotine, General Dumouriez found it the better part of valor to seek refuge in flight. He had lost a battle, and the French red republicans had no alternative for their generals but "victory or death," in a somewhat new application of that brave motto. In his train fled Louis Philippe, and by that means escaped, probably, the fate of his father. But while he saved his life, he did not save much of worldly goods with it. In this extremity a friend of the duchess called upon Morris for aid. Remembering the mother's kindness and friendship, Morris responded at once and generously. He gave the young duke money wherewith to go to America, and directed his bankers at New York to give him unlimited

credit. When, later, "he came to his own," this generosity on the part of the American commoner was conveniently forgotten. "He was not a bad man," says Theodore Roosevelt, on whose authority we tell this story, "but he was a very petty and contemptible one; had he been born in a different station of life he would have been just the individual to take a prominent part in local temperance meetings, while he sanded the sugar he sold in his corner grocery." Morris, disgusted at the man's ignominious ingratitude, jogged his memory a little; whereupon the noble king, remembering that "*noblesse oblige*," quietly forwarded the bare original sum, without a *centime* of interest, and, what is worse, without a word of thanks. This aroused the American to still greater indignation. He now engaged a lawyer, through whom he coolly notified the royal niggard that "if the affair was to be treated on a merely business basis, it should then be treated in a strictly business way, and the interest for the twenty years that had gone by should be forwarded also." This carried the figure to seventy thousand francs, which was not fully refunded till after Morris's death, a few years after this episode. The account of this incident was obtained by Mr. Roosevelt from manuscripts in the possession of the Hon. John Jay, and has not before been presented to the public.

UNITED STATES HISTORICAL EXHIBIT AT MADRID

In his report to the Secretary of State, Mr. William G. Curtis, *attaché* of the United States Commission to the Madrid Historical Exposition, speaks as follows:

"The building in which the exposition is held is a magnificent structure of stone, simple in its architecture, but imposing in its dimensions. It stands on one of the principal avenues of the modern portion of Madrid, and is intended for the permanent home of the National Library, which now occupies an ancient monastery, but will be removed to its new quarters at the close of the exposition. The upper story of the great quadrangle is entirely occupied by the Spanish section, while the rooms upon the lower floor are assigned to Portugal, Italy, Germany, Norway and Sweden, Mexico, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Uruguay, Santo Domingo, the United States, and one or two other nations. The exhibits from these countries, with the exception of the United States, are devoted almost exclusively to historical relics and archæological collections illustrating the condition of the native races which occupied the American continent at the time of the discovery. The United States exhibit occupies six large rooms at the left of the entrance on Calle de Serrano, and it is the most extensive of any nation except Spain. The principal room and a smaller one adjoining are occupied by a splendid exhibition selected with great care from the treasures of the Smithsonian Institute and the National Museum at Washington. The next room is occupied by an exhibit from the museum of the University of Pennsylvania, and in the adjacent apartment is a collection of objects illustrating the history and condition of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Arizona, furnished by the generosity of Mrs. Hemingway of Boston. In two large rooms at the right of the entrance is a collection of the portraits of Columbus, with large photographic views of places in America visited by him on his several voyages, and scenes identified with his career, and photographs and medals of all the monuments that have been erected in his honor. This collection was furnished by the Bureau of the American Republic at Washington.

"But the most important and attractive portion of the exhibition is the Spanish section, in which is displayed a marvelous collection of relics of what may be termed the Golden Age of Spain, the portraits of Ferdinand and Isabella, Charles V. and Philip II., contemporary with and immediately following the discoveries of Columbus. The palaces, the museums, the libraries, the churches, the monasteries, the armories, and the art galleries of Spain have been stripped of their choicest treasures relating to this period of Spanish prosperity and magnificence, and the collection is here displayed in chronological order, arrayed and installed with rare taste and ingenuity. The ancient families of the kingdom, whose magnificent collections of art and historical subjects are seldom shown to the public, have loaned them for the exposition and have made the display complete. Several important private collections have also been brought from France, and his Holiness the Pope has contributed many articles of rare interest and variety from the museum and library at the Vatican. Although many of the objects have been on public exhibition in the several cities of Spain, it is the first time that an attempt has been made to bring them together, and there is no country so rich in historical treasures. It is gratifying to know that the greater part of the exhibits of this exposition will be transferred to Chicago next spring, and will furnish one of the most attractive features of the World's Columbian Exposition."

AN AUTOGRAPH LETTER FROM GLADSTONE

Upon the next page we give a fac-simile of a letter written by Mr. W. E. Gladstone to Douglas Campbell, the author of *The Puritan in Holland, England, and America*. The text of the letter, omitting the address, is as follows:

"HAWARDEN CASTLE, CHESTER, *October* 17, '92.

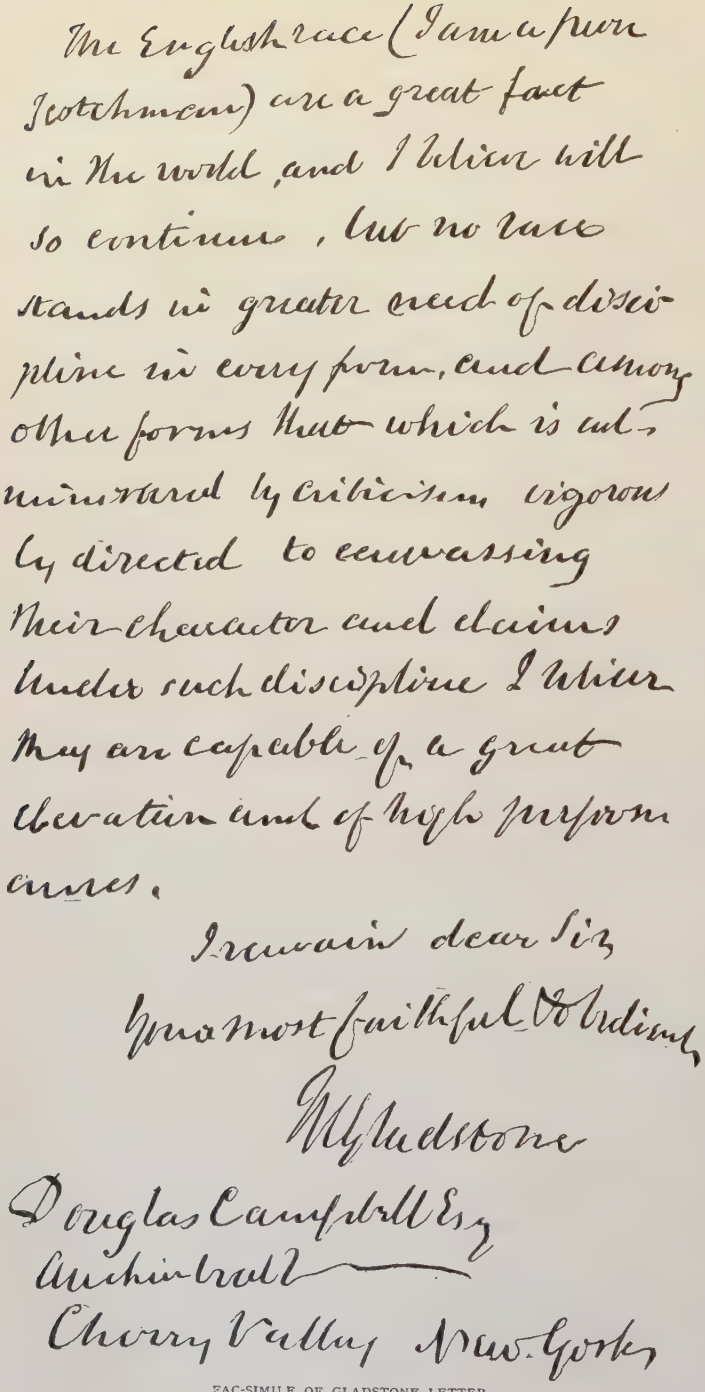
MY DEAR SIR,—It happened that I opened your work and read the deeply interesting Preface before I had seen your letter, and ascertained to whom I owed the gift. Allow me now to offer you the special thanks it so well deserves.

The English race (I am a pure Scotchman) are a great fact in the world, and I believe will so continue; but no race stands in greater need of discipline in every form, and, among other forms, that which is administered by criticism vigorously directed to canvassing their character and claims. Under such discipline I believe they are capable of a great elevation and of high performances, and I thank you partly in anticipation, partly from the experience already had, for taking this work in hand, while I am aware that it is one collateral and incidental to your main purpose.

Puritanism, again, is a great fact in history, exhibiting so many remarkable and noble traits. It may, perhaps, be liable to the suspicion of a want of durability. During the last century it seems to have undergone in various quarters much disintegration; and it is difficult to connect it historically with the divorce law of Connecticut. But I am wandering into forbidden ground, which my qualifications do not entitle me to tread, and I will close with expressing my sense of the value and importance of a work like yours, and of the benefit which we in particular ought to derive from it. I remain, dear sir, your most faithful and obedient,

W. E. GLADSTONE."

The significance of this letter becomes apparent when we bear in mind the great age of the writer; far beyond his fourscore, his mind is as clear and as eager for new presentations of truth as when in the vigor of his days. We must also regard his position as prime minister of a great empire; the pressure of political problems of peculiar difficulty and delicacy. Great must be his interest in the historical questions brought to view by the volumes under discussion if, amid



The English race (I am a pure Scotchman) are a great fact in the world, and I think will so continue, but no race stands in greater need of discipline in every form, and among other forms that which is administered by criticism rigorous & directed to canvassing their character and claims. Under such discipline I think they are capable of a great elevation and of high services.

I remain dear Sir
Your most faithful Obedient
W. Gladstone

Douglas Campbell Esq
Archibald
Cherry Valley New York

FAC-SIMILE OF GLADSTONE LETTER.

all this pressure, he can sit down and write this letter with his own hand, and even direct the envelope himself. Added to this is the fact of his boldness in thanking the author for his vigorous criticism of the English race, and of their claim to be the civilizers of the modern world. The book is a republican one, hostile to monarchies and aristocracies, opposed to the combination of Church and State, to the land system of England, to its system of education, and, in short, to the whole theory of the organization of its government. That the prime minister of England should write thanking the author for producing such a book, adding that it is just the thing needed by the English people, is a matter of great significance.

EDITORIAL NOTES

Paul Du Chaillu has just completed an historical novel, the scene of which is laid in Scandinavia in the third century. It will appear during the present publishing season.

The new volume of the Hakluyt Society contains a reprint of two old MSS.: *The Visit of Master Thomas Dallam to the Sultan in* 1599, and the *Story of a Sojourn at Constantinople by Dr. John Covel, Chaplain to the Embassy*, 1670–1677.

A book on Maryland, *Early Maryland, Civil, Social, and Ecclesiastical*, by the Rev. Dr. Gambrall, of Baltimore, is announced as in press by Thomas Whittaker. The same publisher is bringing out J. F. Rowbotham's *Private Life of the Great Composers*.

An Edinburgh correspondent, under date of January 10, writes to the editor that the Scottish History Society have sent to each of their subscribers Clerk of Penicuick's *Memoirs;* also, that *Blackwood's Magazine* has changed its shape, having adopted a larger page and wider margin.

Our Philadelphia correspondent is informed that Mr. Gladstone took office as premier in April, 1880, and held office till June, 1885; Lord Salisbury, from June, 1885, till January, 1886; Mr. Gladstone, from January till July, 1886; Lord Salisbury, from July, 1886, till his recent resignation.

His troops of friends at home and abroad will regret to hear that the Hon. John Jay, ex-president of the American Historical Association, has been confined to his house for several weeks. Mr. Jay has never fully recovered from the accident that he met with some two years since at a street crossing.

All communications connected with the editorial department of the MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY should be addressed to 98 Bible House, New York City. Articles on historical subjects, not available, will be returned by the editor, if accompanied by the requisite stamps to cover postage.

The second of the series of facsimiles of valuable manuscripts, to appear in the March issue, will be an unpublished letter written by General Grant to President Lincoln, just previous to the surrender of General Lee. Others of equal historical interest and value will follow in every future number of the MAGAZINE.

The series of monographs on the most important libraries of the United States, accompanied by illustrations, will appear regularly during the present year; those on the Congressional Library of Washington and the Public Library of Boston, following Mr. Saunders's sketch of the Astor Library in the present number.

A correspondent writes from the University of the South to the editor, under date of January 21st: "It may interest you to know that a complete edition of Timrod's poems, with a thorough sketch of his life, is contemplated by Professor C. H. Ross, of Alabama. If from your stores of literary information you can aid him, he will, I am sure, appreciate it."

The chairman of the committee having in charge the noble statue of Columbus, by Sunol, to be erected in the Central Park in April, 1893, has just been informed from Madrid that the Spanish government will send the statue to New York in one of the ships of war that have been ordered to attend the great naval review in New York harbor in April next.

Dr. James C. Willing, president of the Columbia University of Washington, D. C., has just published an exhaustive and valuable monograph on the subject of the Behring Sea arbitration, which we can cordially commend to historical students and others interested in the subject of his brochure, which is one of the series of Columbian University studies.

The third volume of the *Memorial History of the City of New York* will be issued about the fourth of February. It brings the history of the metropolis down to the close of the year 1892. The fourth and concluding volume, containing exhaustive monographs on commerce, churches, hospitals, libraries, music, theatres, New York authors, and many other subjects, will appear in April or May.

Mr. George Augustus Sala, with his wonderful store of odd facts, tells us that hundreds of years ago the old-world printers used to chain copies of their books outside their offices, and reward peripatetic scholars who might detect errors with prizes graduated according to the seriousness of the slip—a cup of wine for a broken letter; a cup of wine and a plate of meat for a wrong font or a turned letter, and so on in proportion.

Dr. Sir John W. Dawson, in his *Geography of Canada*, remarks that while many Indian names have been preserved they have undergone a change in pronunciation. In general, the Indian names are descriptive of the locality. Thus, Quebec means "a strait" or "an obstruction." Toronto "a tree in the water," Winnipeg "muddy water," Saskatchewan "rapid current." Niagara, we may add, was originally Oniagahra, "thunder of the waters."

The miseries of the long-distance ride between Berlin and Vienna are not yet at an end, for

deaths are still being announced of the exhausted horses. One enthusiastic officer is making a collection of the shoes worn by the competing animals. Meanwhile the Italians are bent upon a similar ride from Rome to Vienna, but the course presents so many difficulties that the organizing committee cannot complete the arrangements, for which fact all lovers of animals must feel gratified.

There is still preserved an interesting memento of the friendship which for many years existed between Carlyle and Robert Browning. This relic is a copy of the original edition of *Bells and Pomegranates* (now a considerable rarity), given by the poet to the historian, and having upon the wrapper of part viii. (containing "Luria" and "The Soul's Tragedy") the following autograph inscription: "Thomas Carlyle, Esq., with R. B.'s affectionate respect and regard." This treasured volume was purchased by its present owner shortly after Carlyle's death in 1881.

At one of the last conversations held with the venerable historian George Bancroft, he expressed to the writer the wish that the government might become the possessor of his library, and particularly of his large collection of MSS., including the Samuel Adams papers. By a letter to the editor, dated Washington, January 23d, it is learned that the government will probably pass a bill during the present session for the purpose of purchasing Mr. Bancroft's manuscripts, and that they will be added to the valuable collection in the library of the State Department.

The recent gift of Miss Julia S. Bryant, of nearly one thousand selected volumes from the library of her father, William Cullen Bryant, to the trustees of the Tilden library, has been accepted "with gratitude" by the trustees, and will be sent forthwith to Mr. Tilden's home in Gramercy park, New York. Stephen A. Walker, one of the trustees, says: "We have no permanent headquarters as yet, but are not entirely homeless, as we are occupying Mr. Tilden's house, where we have our offices. We have ample room there for all the gifts that anybody will be kind enough to make to the library."

The printed volume of Liber I, Suffolk Deeds, used in the preparation of the article on "La Tour and Acadia," was kindly furnished to the writer by the Historical Society of Dedham, Mass. It contains some of the most curious of old colonial records. At a very early date it was ordered by the Massachusetts General Court, "To record all men's houses and lands, being certified under the hands of men of every towne." The printed volume was published by the city of Boston, and Mr. William Blake Trask, an eminent antiquary, thoroughly conversant with colonial history, was selected for the difficult task of making an accurate copy for the printer.

The sudden and lamented death of Mrs. Lamb, so long associated with the MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY as editor, has made a change in the conduct of the journal inevitable. The just tribute due this remarkable woman will be found elsewhere in these pages. The MAGAZINE has now passed into other hands, but into hands which, it is believed, will hold the mission of the journal in the same reverent estimation. We request the cordial support, and will gladly welcome suggestion and criticism, from every friend of the MAGAZINE, with a view to making it the most perfect vehicle which can be devised in the great field which it occupies. The publisher's prospectus will be found on another page.

A valuable collection of manuscripts of Richard Wagner, made by a certain Herr Oesterlein, of Vienna, was lately in danger of being sold to the United States, to the detriment of German research concerning the *maestro* in question. This peril has (says the Berlin correspondent of the *Standard*) now been averted by a certain Dr. Götze, who has, in the name of the German Wagner Society, bought the whole collection as it stood on the 1st of June last for eighty-five thousand marks, ten thousand being paid down as a deposit at once. The remainder has to be paid by the 1st of April, 1895, and five thousand marks more if the society pleases to buy the additions which may be made in the meantime.

The question has been raised in the newspapers throughout the country whether "cousin" was used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries for nephew or niece. Professor Rolfe, of Harvard, the Shakespearean commentator, says "that Shakespeare applies it so at least nine times to a nephew, seven times to a niece, twice to an uncle, once to a brother-in-law, and four times to a grandchild. He also uses it eight times as a title given by princes to other princes and noblemen. In 'Much Ado,' i. 2, 25, where Leonato says: 'Cousins, you know what you have to do,' it is used loosely for relatives in general; and in Luke i. 36, 58, it is evidently equivalent to kinswoman. A good example of its application to a niece is in 'As You Like It,' i. 3, 44, where Rosalind says to Duke Frederick: 'Me, uncle?' and he replies: 'You, cousin.'"

A Chicago correspondent, under date of January 23d, writes to inquire if the statement is true, which has been made by some of our contemporaries, that "there are no direct descendants of Napoleon, Wellington, Washington, and Walter Scott." This is certainly not true in regard to the hero of Waterloo, or the illustrious Scottish poet and novelist, whose dearly loved Abbotsford is now owned and occupied by his

great-granddaughter, the Hon. Mrs. Maxwell Scott, daughter of James Hope, who married Miss Lockhart; while a grandson of the "Iron Duke" is the present possessor of the title and estates, having, in 1884, succeeded his childless uncle, the second Duke of Wellington. Another grandson, the Hon. Arthur Wellesley, brother of the present duke and youngest son of Lord Charles Wellesley, is major of one of the three battalions of the Grenadier Guards.

The following letter on the subject of the present discussion concerning the relations of authors and publishers will perhaps be of interest to historians and other literary workers. It is addressed to the editor, and dated January 9, 1893: "Thinking it just possible that the inclosed conclusive article [a newspaper extract] may not meet your eye, I inclose it. Since 'Mr. Cody' is not known as an author, it seems very much as if he has written this article in the pay of some publishing house. At any rate, he seems rather hasty in his conclusions, when he decides that nothing whatever can be done by authors to obtain their proper rights. The man who insists that all publishers are honorable and honest is just as silly as he who should insist that all merchants, politicians, lawyers, and mechanics are honest and honorable. Every day's printed records of the world's occurrences prove that this is not true. There is no law by which only especially *honest* men may become publishers; men enter that business, as they enter others, simply to make money. We all know that, as a rule, they *do* make money, while, as a rule, authors and writers are poor. The fact is patent that publishers really have a better *chance* to cheat without being detected than do *any* other class of business men. Every man and woman who has ever fought this world for a living knows that the average man will get the best of a bargain whenever he *can;* and since we know that the publisher *can*, every time, manage the bargain to suit himself, we *must* suppose him far more honorable than the ordinary man, if he fail to take advantage of his opportunities. It is all very well for the optimist—who, I notice, is generally some fortunate and sheltered individual who has been protected from hard knocks—to preach about the excellence of human nature, the prevalence of honesty, the high standard of the century, and so on; at the same time, we all know we would not put uncounted diamonds into any broker's hands to sell; we would not place unreckoned rouleaux of gold coin in the possession of any bank official; we would not allow any tradesman or dealer to take from our purse what he chose to say was his due. Yet we do precisely this with the publisher of our books. We never *know* what he takes; we only know what he leaves. It seems amazing to me that writers have for so many years submitted to such treatment, and I hope fervently that they will not be discouraged from all effort against it by the clamor of the newspapers."

QUERIES

Can any of your readers give me the date of the oldest dwelling-house (if preserved) erected within the limits of the state of New York? Was it built of stone, brick, or wood? And by whom and where? I claim that the Sayre house of Southampton, L. I., is the oldest.—It is still standing in a fair state of preservation, and was built in 1648.

C. H. GARDINER.

BRIDGE HAMPTON, N. Y.

REPLIES

To the Editor, MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY: The statement that Tom Thumb killed Poor Haydon has a great deal more truth than poetry in it. In 1846, Haydon, who had been for some time in embarrassed circumstances financially, exhibited two pictures, the last painted by him, in the Egyptian Hall, London. They were the "Banishment of Aristides," and "Nero Playing the Lyre during the Burning of Rome." In the same hall, in another room, Tom Thumb was being exhibited, and to the intense irritation of Haydon, the celebrated dwarf drew immense crowds, while Haydon's pictures did not draw at all, the artist closing his exhibition with a loss of over five hundred dollars. It is one of the most pitiful things extant to-day, to read his diary just before his suicide. April 13, 1846, he says: "They rush by thousands to see Tom Thumb. They push, they fight, they scream, they faint, they cry help and murder! and oh! and ah! They see my bills, my boards, my caravans, and don't read them. Their eyes are open, but their sense is shut. It is an insanity, a rabies, a madness, a furor, a dream. I would not have believed it of the English people."

Again on April 21, he says: "Tom Thumb had twelve thousand people last week, B. R. Haydon one hundred and thirty-three and a half (the half a little girl). Exquisite taste of the English people!" In just about two months after this entry (June 22, 1846), with the pathetic quotation from King Lear, "Stretch me no longer on this rough world," the end came, both of the diary and his life. DAVID FITZGERALD.

WASHINGTON CITY.

NOTES FROM THE HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY—The society held its annual meeting, Friday evening, January 13th, at Berkeley Lyceum, 23 West Fourty-fourth street. General James Grant Wilson, president, was in the chair. Dr. William T. White, James J. Goodwin, Edmund Abdy Hurry, and Samuel Burhans, jr., were elected trustees. An interesting paper was read by J. Collins Pumpelly; subject: "Some Huguenot Families of New Jersey." This valuable paper and a fine steel portrait of Elias Boudinot, the eminent New Jersey Huguenot, will appear in the April number of the society's *Record*. At the annual election held on Wednesday, January 18th, General Wilson was reëlected president; Dr. Samuel S. Purple, first vice-president; James J. Goodwin, second vice-president; William P. Ketcham, treasurer; Thomas G. Evans, secretary; and Garrit H. Van Wagenen, librarian.

THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY met in regular session at St. Paul, January 9th. Mr. Langford, from the committee on publication, reported that Vol. VII. of the society's collections had just been issued from the press, and distributed copies. This volume is entitled *The Mississippi River and its Source*, and is written by Professor J. V. Brower, who was commissioned in 1889 by the society to make an exhaustive survey of the basin of Lake Itasca, and report the exact facts regarding the true source of the river. The work is ably written, and shows conscientious labor. It is illustrated by numerous maps, many of them copies of the oldest ones known relating to the Northwest, and over fifty engravings of scenery on and around Lake Itasca. The report is very severe on Captain Glazier, who, several years ago, claimed to have found the true source of the Mississippi in another lake than Itasca, and procured its naming for himself. Judge Flandrau, from a special committee, reported a draft of a memorial to the legislature asking an appropriation from the state for one hundred and fifty thousand dollars for the purpose of building a fire-proof building for the society. The memorial was approved and a committee appointed to press its passage.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC—The annual meeting of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec was held on January 11th, in the library of the society. Cyrille Tessier, Esq., the president, submitted the annual report of the society for the past year, in which he referred with pleasure to the extension of the society's sphere of usefulness, and mentioning that twenty-eight new members had joined. He spoke of the precious relic on view in the society's rooms—namely: the original wooden model of the steamship *Royal William;* and told how Mr. Archibald Campbell, in order to indicate the honor of Quebec in having built and sent to sea the first ocean steamship, gathered all the information possible relating to the matter and had it published in the society's proceedings, and that the Royal Naval Exhibition of Chelsea, England, had awarded a diploma therefor. The librarian reported the addition of three hundred and fifty-seven volumes during the year, among the donations being a valuable collection of the works of the Egypt Exploration Society, presented by the Dean of Quebec. The treasurer's report was read, and an election of officers for the ensuing year was held, Mr. Tessier being reëlected president.

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The annual meeting was held on Tuesday evening, January 3d. The reports of the treasurer, librarian, and executive committee were read. The society has no debts, no mortgage on its building or collections. The committee recommended that the sum of $350,000 be procured to erect a building on one half of the site purchased by the society on Central Park West. The receipts of the society were $13,212.04 and the expenditures $9,915.33; the invested funds amounted to $84,215.37. During the year there have been added to the library 3,988 volumes of books, 2,541 pamphlets, 43 volumes and 502 numbers of rare newspapers, and 93 volumes of cuttings; 3 volumes of, and 73 separate maps; 11 volumes and 47 separate engravings, 6 photographs, 131 broadsides; 50 volumes of, and 79 separate manuscripts; also a collection of several thousand manuscripts preserved by the De Peyster and Watts families and presented by General J. Watts de Peyster. To the museum 376 articles were presented in 1892. The gallery of art was increased by the following portraits: Benjamin Franklin, painted in 1784, by Joseph S. Duplessis; Hon. John A. King, president of the society, painted by Robert Hinckley; Maximilian and Carlotta, as emperor and empress of Mexico; Zachary Taylor, as colonel of infantry; Rear-admiral Samuel L. Breese, painted by Daniel Huntington; and Myron

Holley; also a medallion in marble of Dr. Fordyce Barker, by Verhagen.

The following board of officers were elected for the ensuing year: president, John A. King; first vice-president, John A. Weekes; second vice-president, John S. Kennedy; foreign corresponding secretary, John Bigelow; domestic corresponding secretary, Edward F. de Lancey; recording secretary, Andrew Warner; treasurer, Robert Schell; librarian, William Kelby.

THE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN AUTHORS held its first meeting of the year at the Bible House, New York, on January 4, at four P.M. The meeting of the executive committee took place half an hour earlier.

General Grant Wilson presided in the absence of Colonel T. W. Higginson, and Mr. E. H. Shannon filled the position of secretary temporarily, Mr. Charles Burr Todd, the secretary, being absent in Europe, in part in the interest of the association. A brief and pleasant review of the late meeting in Boston, and the courtesy tendered by Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, was followed by the consideration of the mooted "stamp" plan—by which it is purposed to secure to authors definite returns of the actual sale of their productions—as well as to obtain the coöperation of the publishers, in this or any other equally desirable plan. New instances of injustice at the hands of unscrupulous publishers were recited by several of the authors present. The discussion of the subject was both animated and practical. General Wilson instanced the indifference or opposition of some publishers, who know that such a system would result in the cutting off of many of their perquisites—and he spoke of the difficulty of bringing the publishers to agree upon any universal rule. They complain of the trouble, especially in the case of a large sale, of affixing the needed stamps. Dr. Flagg, who in leaving for a brief southern trip spoke of the necessity of agitating the matter through the press, volunteered to write a series of brief articles on the subject, and others coincided in the suggestion, especially in reference to city journals. Dr. Coan, of the New York Bureau of Revision, gave a very succinct statement of some of his literary clients and their tribulations. The general outcome of the discussion seemed to be that the objections of publishers were hardly valid—the curtailing of their perquisites being the great objection. The initiative of one reputable publisher in adopting our views would be an incentive to others to follow.

The proposition to substitute a die (to be a part of the binding) for the stamp met with an objection in the case of unsold copies. Gail Hamilton's "Battle of the Books" was mentioned as a brilliant and effective protest against the publisher's injustice in many instances.

It was suggested that the association be organized into committees for examining questions and conferring with publishers in our large cities—one or two such committees in each city—as well as to search for the legal standing as to authors' rights. On motion of Mr. W. C. Hudson, the chairman was authorized to appoint a committee to examine into the above subjects, and with the idea of forming an opinion among the publishers favorable to the stamp plan. It was suggested that this action would commit the association to the stamp plan. The matter was left with the chairman to take such action as he deemed proper. It had been hoped that a proof of the contract for authors would have been submitted at this meeting, but it was missent, and will be shown at the next meeting, to take place in the Managers' hall of the Bible House, on Wednesday, February 8, at four P.M.

General Wilson appointed the committees as follows: on legal rights, Messrs. Mathews, Hudson, and De Lancey; on stamp plan, Messrs. Coan, Rodenbough, and Shannon. A large number of new members were elected, representing seven different states.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY—A stated meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society was held January 12, the president, Dr. George E. Ellis, in the chair. After the reading of the record and of the list of donors to the library, the president said: "In the routine of preliminary business at the opening of our last meeting the usual call was made for the report of the cabinet keeper, Dr. F. E. Oliver. There was no response. Unknown to us his honored and useful life had just at that hour come to a sudden close from a brief illness. We lose in him a highly esteemed associate, faithful, earnest, and helpful in his service to this society, endeared to many of us by his affability and courtesy, his personal dignity, his refinement, and accomplishments. For thirteen of the sixteen years of his membership here he has had the charge of our precious cabinet, an office which engaged his zeal and intelligent interest in identifying and disposing the rich relics and gatherings of a century: portraits, gems, coins, weapons, trophies, and miscellaneous historical memorials. A recent vote of the society had recognized its high appreciation of his services. His donations to us began before his election to membership.

"After that we owe to him the gift of the missing portion of the manuscript of *Hubbard's History* and of Increase Mather's family Bible. He was the medium of procuring for this country copies of the publication in England of the *Diary and Letters of Governor Hutchinson* after

he had left in sorrow his home and country. Dr. Oliver printed for private circulation the *Diaries of the Two Chief Justices Lynde*, father and son, of Massachusetts, and the *Diary of William Pynchon*, of Salem, during the war of the Revolution. His annual reports to us as cabinet keeper contain matter of interest. He came of a family identified with this colony from its settlement. If I am not in error, that family in all its generations here shows a peculiarity in that its many members have followed educated and professional rather than mercantile occupations; at one period of storm in sympathy with the mother country, Dr. Oliver was greatly cherished and esteemed in his domestic, social, professional, and religious fellowships." The president then presented from J. C. Rogers, of this city, an original letter from Rev. Dr. Bentley, of Salem, written in 1804, in acknowledgment of his appointment as chaplain of the United States house of representatives. Robert C. Winthrop, jr., read an unpublished letter from Mrs. John Adams to James Bowdoin, written the day before the battle of Bunker Hill and communicating news from the continental congress; also a letter to Bowdoin from Thomas Cushing, written a few days later and giving an interesting description of George Washington; also a letter to Bowdoin from John Hancock, complaining of the overseers of Harvard college. These three letters, with numerous others of the same period, have recently come to light in a long-forgotten chest which had been supposed to contain only probate accounts and land titles. Mr. Winthrop stated his intention of placing the greater portion of this new material at the service of the society.

W. P. Upham said that he had recently found in the state archives a copy in shorthand of the instructions given to Captain Daniel Henchman in May, 1676, when placed in command of the forces raised against the Indians. These instructions he had deciphered with considerable difficulty, and they will be printed for the first time in the proceedings of the society.

Justin Winsor read an elaborate and very interesting paper on the voyages and explorations of North America between the voyage of Columbus in 1493 and the voyage of Cartier in 1534, with a full exposition of the gradual modification of the theories which led to them.

OBITUARY, JANUARY, 1893

BROOKS, PHILLIPS, Bishop of Massachusetts, and among the most eminent preachers of the Episcopal Church, died in Boston, 23d January, aged fifty-eight years.

BUTLER, GENERAL BENJAMIN F., lawyer and soldier, died in Washington, D. C., 11th January, aged seventy-five years.

HAYES, GENERAL RUTHERFORD B., ex-President of the United States, died at Fremont, Ohio, 17th January, aged seventy-one years.

KEMBLE, MRS. FRANCES ANNE, actress and author, died in London, England, 16th January, aged eighty-two years.

LAMAR, LUCIUS QUINTUS CINCINNATUS, Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court, died at Macon, Ga., 23d January, aged sixty-eight years.

LAMB, MRS. MARTHA J., editor MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY, died in New York City, 2d January, aged sixty-three years.

We are not always able to agree with Mr. Froude as an historian; but as a writer of modern English he has few equals, and a tale told as he can tell it ought to be read, if only to let younger readers more clearly understand the capabilities of their mother tongue.—*Athenæum.*

An interesting feature of the January number of *The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review* is a pæan in Persian and Arabic, entitled "Ave Kaisar-i-Hind!" followed by an Urdu prize translation of the National Anthem. Persian and Arabic invocations take the form of chronograms; that is, the numerical value of all the letters both in the Persian and in the Arabic verses make up the date 1893. January 1, 1893, is the seventeenth anniversary of the Queen's assumption of the imperial title Kaisar-i-Hind. The letters representing the date in Persian make up the words which are translated: "May the festival-day of the Kaisar-i-Hind ever be blessed! By the name of Victoria may it ever be blessed!" The words of the Arabic chronogram are rendered in English—"Victoria, helped by God, is the Kaisar of India, may her good fortune ever continue!" The National Anthem will not seem to English ears to be improved as retranslated from the Urdu prize translation. Here is the first stanza:

May Kaisar remain lasting,
May keep upon us standing (enduring)
God, the Kaisar,
Keep always victorious
Happy and pleasanter
A sovereign ruler upon us,
God! the Kaisar.

MISCELLANEA

Nothing Carlyle wrote is quite worthless; because he had the high ideal of artistic duty. He spared no labor to get at the facts of his case; he was equally diligent in arrangement and expression; for no profit would he stoop to hackwork. Like every one else, he was unequal; but he wisely left all manner of fragments unpublished and uncollected. Would that others had followed so brave an example!—*National Observer.*

Among her contemporaries, Mary Stuart, even if a murderess, is conspicuous for her charm, her courage, her loyalty to her faith and her friends. She was no sour, bloodthirsty fanatic, no pedant, no hypocrite; and if she was guilty (with many of her lords) of knowing that Darnley was to be killed, she still remains the most human, the most winning of those astonishingly unscrupulous gangs, the Scotch and English politicians of the age.—*Andrew Lang.*

M. Pasteur is a reminder that France still possesses the best guarantee of greatness in a nation, the capacity to produce great men. He is the representative of both a long and crowded line of intellectual ancestors and a pretty numerous family of contemporaries worthy of himself. M. Pasteur belongs to an age which has produced a Charcot, a Berthelot, and a Lesseps, as well as Renans, Hugos, Taines, Gounods, Meissoniers, Thiers, MacMahons. —*Speaker.*

The severe Puritan Sunday has gone far towards undermining the healthy observance of Sunday. The teetotal superstition has done as much to injure the cause of temperance as the love of morbid excitement itself. The extravagant language used against harmless and useful amusements has done at least as much to inspire scorn for the cry against gambling in consequence of its overstraining of the truth, as the delight in sudden windfalls of luck itself. —*Spectator.*

Under the caption "Briton" are included English, Scotch, Welsh, and Irish. Looking at each division of the same folk separately, in their own country they rank, in point of earnings and standard of life—first, the Scotch; secondly, the English; thirdly, the Welsh; fourthly, the Irish. In America the order is changed; the Scotchman retains the supremacy, but next comes the Irishman, then the Welshman, and finally the Englishman.—*Contemporary Review.*

The most accurate criticism, perhaps, in the concrete kind that can be pronounced on Mr. Whittier is that he was in reality just the kind of poet that hasty and uncatholic judges have often pronounced Mr. Longfellow to be. When Longfellow was at his least good and Whittier at his best, they walked pretty closely side by side; but Whittier never reached the upper slopes of Parnassus, on which Longfellow, if he could not climb its summits, often trod.—*Saturday Review.*

The character of Columbus is not easily gauged; he seems to have been a man of many moods, and there is abundant evidence that he possessed an ardent and impetuous nature. Imaginative and sensitive, he could be by turns magnanimous and cruel; and if there was, perhaps, more to admire than to censure in his personal character, his attitude towards others was sometimes not merely high-handed, but vindictive. He had, in short, the faults of his quality and his age; but no one can seriously question his claim to rank amongst the world's heroic men of action.—*Speaker.*

The history of philosophy is the true philosophy in its evolution—that is Hegel's theory at once of philosophy and of the history of philosophy. It is often supposed that the principle of evolution first appeared in its application by Darwin to the facts of biology, and that its extension to the domain of mind was an afterthought. As a matter of fact, the far more pregnant application to history, and art, and philosophy, and religion, had been systematically carried out by Hegel long before Darwin; and not even Hegel can claim the credit of its invention.—*Spectator.*

The National History Company, of this city, has just acquired the MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY, formerly edited by Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, who died suddenly on the morning of January 2. This company already publishes *The National Magazine*, formerly *The Magazine of Western History.* Beginning with the February issue, these two historical journals will be combined, and the name of the older MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY, now in its twenty-ninth volume, will be retained for the new periodical. The magazine will be at once enlarged and the price reduced to four dollars a year.

General James Grant Wilson will edit the new periodical. General Wilson is well known as an editor, and especially in the historical field. He has been a frequent contributor to leading English and American periodicals, and is the author of several well-known historical and biographical works. He is editor of the series of *American Commanders*, now being issued by Appletons. Since 1885 he has been president of the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, is a member of the American Historical Association, and an honorary member of other American and foreign historical societies.—*New York Tribune.*

RECENT HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

THE MEMORIAL HISTORY OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK FROM ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT TO THE YEAR 1892. Edited by JAMES GRANT WILSON. With maps and illustrations. Vols. I., II., III. Royal 8vo, pp. 654. New York History Company. 1891–93.

The appearance of the third volume of this exhaustive history of the city of New York will cause a renewed interest in a work which was stamped as the standard story of the great metropolis when its first volume was given to the public nearly two years ago. The promises then made have been faithfully kept; the system of co-operative contributions by well-known writers has been continued, and the perfection of the mechanical part of the work has not deviated in the slightest degree from the original design. The second volume met with as flattering a reception as was accorded the first, and a single glance sufficed to show that no deterioration either in literary worth or artistic excellence had been permitted. Steel portraits, vignettes, autographs, views of historic buildings and places, fac-similes of rare papers, and interesting maps were introduced with profusion. It was universally admitted that the undertaking was in competent hands, and it received the highest encomiums from the press. In the present (the third) volume, the same earnest research and industry on the part of the writers contributing the several chapters are again evinced, the same editorial care and painstaking supervision are again apparent, and upon perusing its contents the possessors of the initial volumes will experience the satisfaction of owning a great work "excellently well done."

Inasmuch as this new volume brings the relation of events up to the close of 1892, it is appropriate, within the limits at our disposal, to notice very briefly the ground covered by the whole work. The first volume of the *Memorial History* begins with a thorough discussion of the explorations along the coast of North America previous to and including Henry Hudson's voyage. The stories of the voyages of the Northmen, of the brothers Zeno, of Sebastian Cabot, of Ayllon, and of the Spaniards Verrazano and Gomez, from whose time (1525) the situation of the bay of New York was known, are told in a most entertaining manner. The tale of the founding of the great commercial emporium of the west is unfolded, from the days of the Indian dwellers on Manne-hata down through the several administrations of the colonial governors. In successive chapters are described the acts and times of the Dutch governors, Peter Minuit, Walter Van Twiller, William Kieft, and Peter Stuyvesant (1647–64), the last of the New Netherlands representatives. These are followed by accounts of the administrations of the English governors, Richard Nicolls, Francis Lovelace, Sir Edmund Andros, and Thomas Dongan, and also of Jacob Leisler, to the time of Benjamin Fletcher (1692–98) and the rise of piracy in New York. The volume closes with two chapters devoted respectively to a *résumé* of the constitutional and legal history of New York in the seventeenth century, and to the state of the art of printing during the same epoch. In volume second a similar assignment of periods is made, and the chapters embrace "The Earl of Bellomont and the Suppression of Piracy," "The Administration of Lord Cornbury," "Lord Lovelace and the Second Canadian Campaign," "Robert Hunter and the Settlement of the Palatines," "The Administration of William Burnet," "The City under Governor John Montgomerie," "William Cosby and the Freedom of the Press," "George Clinton and his Contest with the Assembly," "Sir Danvers Osborn and Sir Charles Hardy," "The Part of New York in the Stamp Act Troubles," "The Second Non-importation Agreement," "Life in New York at the Close of the Colonial Period," and "New York during the Revolution (1775–83)"; closing with a review of the constitutional and legal history of New York in the eighteenth century.

We cannot fail, however, in opening the present volume, to entertain at once a livelier curiosity in its pages, for the easily understood reason that it deals mainly with events which have happened within the recollection of many persons now living, with a period concerning which most of us can lay claim to some personal knowledge. And it therefore appeals more forcibly to the reader's interest than do those volumes—entertaining as they may be—which rehearse the social and political life and times of a hundred and fifty or two hundred years ago. Familiar names and faces greet us from the outset, a lavish display of illustrations is again apparent, and the eye rests contentedly on admirable paper and printing, while the mind absorbs the literary treasures presented. Six fine steel engravings enrich this volume, in conformity to the preceding ones, the subjects selected being portraits of Alexander Hamilton, Robert

R. Livingston, Mrs. John Jay, DeWitt Clinton, John Jacob Astor, and John Adams Dix; the autographs of the mayors are continued up to 1893, making the series complete for more than two hundred and fifty years! The introductory chapter is devoted to "New York City under American Control (1783–89)," and is followed by "New York as the Federal Capital." A chapter succeeds these, one which will be eagerly read, on "Society in New York in the Early Days of the Republic," and the fourth chapter witnesses the close of the eighteenth century. The editor writes about the opening of the nineteenth century, and the following period, 1807–12, is given to the "Beginning of Steam Navigation." The exciting days of the "Second War with Great Britain," and the "Return of Peace, and the Completion of the Erie Canal," are next treated of; these are succeeded by a description of the "Beginning of New York's Commercial Greatness," and "Ten Years of Municipal Vigor" (1837–47), when the city had firmly asserted her claim to be more than a mere ordinary town, and had begun her giant strides toward the high position she has held, for over half a century, as the western metropolis. A detailed relation of the "Telegraphs and Railroads and their Impulses to Commerce" is followed by an interesting chapter on the "Premonitions of the Civil War"; then "New York in the War for the Union" will prove most instructive, and will revive recollections of the early days of the war. The next period (1865–78) is on the "Recovery from War; Speculation and Reaction, and the Tweed Ring." The concluding chapter (1878–92) rounds out fittingly a volume of unusual interest. The customary review of the New York laws up to the present day finishes the third volume.

The fourth volume, which will be issued in the spring, will be made up of monographs on special subjects, such as the authors of New York, commerce, churches, museums, clubs, theatres, hospitals and other charities, music, newspapers, currency, public and private libraries, Staten Island and other suburbs, slavery in New York, statues and monuments, the military, seats of learning—all illustrated; and, in addition, it will contain a complete index to the four volumes. W. S. W.

THE COLONIAL ERA. By GEORGE PARK FISHER, D.D., LL.D. With maps. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1892.

This neat and readable little volume, though almost intended for elementary purposes only, is from the hand of a master in the art of historical writing. But it is presumably a pretty generally accepted maxim that a master of his art—or rather, in this case, a head full of information on a subject—will be most successful in condensing his information when it is called for in brief form.

We do not know what has excited our admiration most as we perused this admirable compendium of our colonial history—the brevity of the statement, or the fulness of the information furnished in spite of that brevity. In a few sentences, sometimes in a paragraph, we are given a survey of the events of several years, from which are by no means excluded the proper observations which shall keep within our view the political significance of the events. Yet in this swift glance even minute occurrences will find some mention. It is like the momentary flash of the lightning at night, which none the less in its instant of time gives us the trees, farm-houses, barns, fences, hills of the landscape. Thus in the recital of the Plymouth settlement we do not fail to see the doughty Samoset come in with his "Welcome"—"the Englishmen" of the usual tradition being duly omitted as not warranted by history. And in the account of New Netherland, Domine Michaelius is seen in his proper place, nor are the preceding "consolers of the sick" forgotten.

Dr. Fisher reduces the somewhat chaotic character of our colonial history to intelligent order and logical sequence by the sensible division of his topic. He treats the separate colonies individually, of course, but stops with each at 1688, and then begins over again with each until 1756, the beginning of the "French and Indian War," the struggle that first unified them. He says, in explanation of his principle of division: "The English revolution of 1688 is so important a landmark that it appeared to me advisable to break the narrative into two parts. By this arrangement the attention is not kept fastened on each colony by itself through the entire course of the history, while the others are in the main left out of sight. It also seemed a little more conducive to unity of impression to take up the several colonies in a different order in the second part, from that adopted in the first." We find that Professor Fiske has also recognized the importance of the English revolution of 1688 as a turning point in our colonial history, for his *Beginnings of New England* takes us up to that epoch, concluding with the pregnant remark: "In the events we have here passed in review, it may be seen so plainly that he who runs may read, how the spirit of 1776 was foreshadowed in 1689."

It is announced that this useful little volume is the first of a series of four, which are to be distinct in authorship, and each complete in itself, but yet are designed to afford a brief and connected history of the United States from the discovery of America to the present time. We shall look for the forthcoming of the other volumes, if this furnishes a specimen of the excellence that is to distinguish them all.

THE GREAT COMMANDER SERIES: GENERAL TAYLOR. By Major-General Oliver Otis Howard, U.S.A. 12mo. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1892.

The above volume represents the second installment of this attractive series of brief biographies, the preceding issue having been devoted to the life of Admiral Farragut, written by Captain A. T. Mahan, U.S.N. This series of the lives of our great commanders is likely to attract the instant attention of the reading public. The period covered extends from Washington to Sheridan, and the aim of the editor has been to furnish a valuable and impartial source of reference to the student of our military and naval history. A high order of excellence has been sought for and obtained in producing these biographies; each life has been intrusted to a specially competent writer, and will be brief and comprehensive. The following volumes are in preparation: General Washington, by General Bradley T. Johnson; General Greene, by Captain Francis V. Greene; General Sherman, by General Manning F. Force; General Grant, by General James Grant Wilson; General Scott, by General Marcus J. Wright; Admiral Porter, by James Russell Soley, Assistant Secretary of the Navy; General Lee, by General Fitzhugh Lee; General Johnston, by Robert M. Hughes, of Virginia; General George H Thomas, by Dr. Henry Coppée, late U.S.A.; General Hancock, by General Francis H. Walker; and General Sheridan, by General Henry E. Davies. Each volume will contain from three hundred to four hundred pages, and will include a steel portrait and maps. The series is printed on superb tinted paper, exquisitely bound in pale green vellum cloth, with gilt tops. The third volume of the series is the *Life of General Jackson*, which was the last literary work of the late James Parton.

MISCELLANIES, RELIGIOUS AND PERSONAL, AND SERMONS. By the Rev. George W. Nichols, D.D. Bridgeport, Conn. 12mo, pp. 379.

This pleasant volume, by a well-known writer, who has published several books of interest, contains many historical and biographical reminiscences of value, including recollections of Chief Justice Jay and General Andrew Jackson, and of events occurring when the writer was a student at Yale and at the Episcopal Theological Seminary in this city, some sixty years ago.

Can we suppose that the fortunes of ancient Rome, and of modern civilization, would have been exactly what they were, and are, if some mad freak of Cæsar's in his youthful days had recoiled fatally on himself? Or that Luther, by almost a single act, has not left a mark on the pages of religious history which seems unlikely to be ever quite obliterated? Or that the stream of literature would have run precisely the course it has run if Shakespeare had been knocked on the head some dark night in Sir Thomas Lucy's preserves?—*Contemporary Review.*

Having recently seen a paragraph in *The Stationer* to the effect that a perfect book has never yet been printed, I should be glad to hear what the readers of "N. & Q." have to say upon the subject. By perfect is meant free from any mistake. The notice stated that a Spanish firm of publishers once produced a work in which one letter only got misplaced through accident, and this is believed to have been the nearest approach to perfection that has ever been attained in a book. It further stated that an English house had made a great effort to the same end, and issued proof-sheets to the universities with an offer of fifty pounds if any error was discovered in them; but in spite of this precaution several blunders remained undetected until the work issued from the press.—*Notes and Queries.*

The statement recently made in a dispatch from Hartford that ex-President Pynchon, of Trinity College, had obtained the copy of William Pynchon's book, which lately belonged to H. S. Sheldon, of Sheffield, is interesting to antiquarians. That copy is the best of those now existing. Next to this is the copy in the Congregational Library in Boston. The only other copy, so far as I know, is the one in the British Museum, which I examined some years ago. The scarcity of the copies is due, not to the fire in the Boston market-place (for that consumed but a small number of copies), but simply to the lapse of time. The book, entitled *The Meritorious of Price of Our Redemption*, was published in London in 1650. The edition was a small one, and it is not surprising that, after the lapse of two hundred and forty years, it is a rare book. It is not true that Mr. Pynchon recanted, or that he fled to Connecticut. He sent a communication to the general court, which may be found in *The Andover Review* of September, 1886, and remained a year or two in Springfield, waiting the action of the court. Then he settled up his business and departed for England, where he lived for two years, employed in literary pursuits. His book was a very able one, and casts a flood of light upon the state of opinion in Massachusetts twenty years after the settlement of Boston.—Rev. E. H. Byington, in *Boston Herald.*

THE FIRST PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON.

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. XXIX MARCH, 1893 No. 3

GREAT CITIES IN THE CIVIL WAR

I.—NEW YORK

BY GENERAL T. F. RODENBOUGH

IF the city of New York was conspicuous as the centre of operations during the war to establish the unity and independence of the colonies, it was no less prominent as the principal base of supplies in the struggle to preserve the Union. An ancient writer has said, "It sufficeth not to the strength of the armes to have flesh, blood, and bones, unless they have also sinewes, to stretch out and pull in for the defense of the body; so it sufficeth not in an army to have Victuals, for the maintenance of it; Armour and Weapons for the defense of it; unless it have *Money* also, the *Sinewes of Warre*."[1] The financial records of the time bear convincing testimony to the effective manner in which the merchants and bankers of the Empire City supplied the federal government with the "sinewes" needed "to stretch out and pull in for the defense of the body" of the nation in its great peril. Before a shot had been fired, two important expeditions, designed to succor beleaguered garrisons, were fitted out at this port; after the capture of Sumter, a movement to the front of men and means furnished by New York began, and did not end until the surrender at Appomattox.

It is a notable fact that whenever the country has been threatened with danger to its form of government, the city of New York has declared

[1] Ward's *Animadversions of Warre*, London, 1639.

its position only after due reflection and careful consideration of the question involved. It was this tendency that delayed its final decision to take up arms against the mother-country at the opening of the Revolution; it was this feeling that induced some of its leading citizens to join in an effort to dissuade the South from secession. One of the last efforts to bring about a peaceful solution of the grave problem was called "the Pine street meeting." It was held under the auspices of leading citizens. Charles O'Conor presided, and resolutions, fraternal yet firm and dignified in tone, were unanimously passed.

Early in January, 1861, President Buchanan appointed John A. Dix secretary of the treasury, who signalized the closing days of that administration by a memorable and patriotic act. Within three days after the new cabinet minister had entered upon his duties he sent a special agent to New Orleans, Mobile, and Galveston, to save, if possible, the revenue cutters stationed at these ports. On January 29, Secretary Dix was advised by wire that the commanding officer of the McClelland, at New Orleans, refused to obey his orders. Immediately on receipt of this information, and without consultation with any one, he penned the order which has become historic, and which is here published in fac-simile. Although the secretary's action was decided upon without a moment's hesitation as to its spirit, the language received due consideration, as we are told [1] in a letter from General Dix to a friend long after the occurrence:

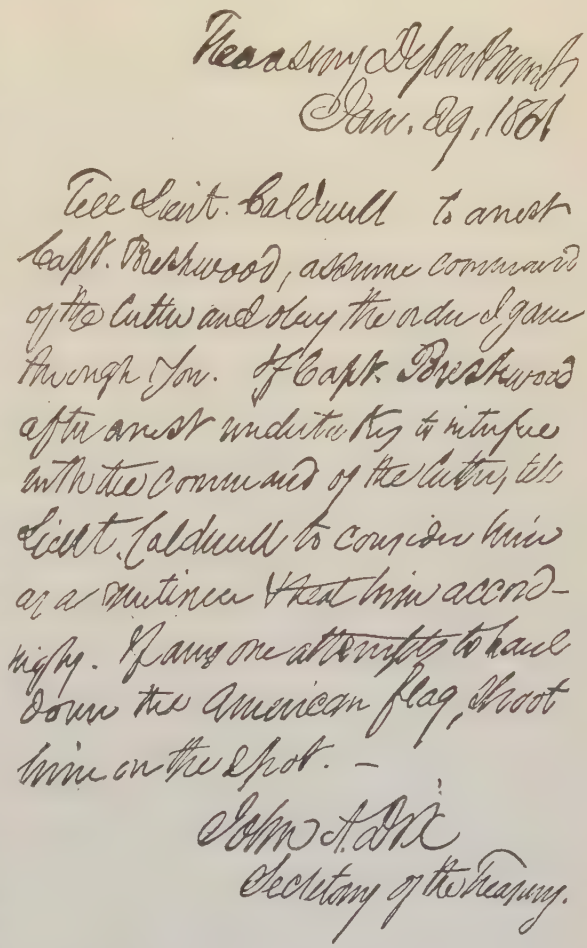
"Not a word was altered; but the original was handed to the clerk charged with the custody of my telegraphic dispatches, copied by him, and the copy signed by me and sent to its destination. Before I sent it, however, a question of military etiquette arose in my mind in regard to the arrest of Captain Breshwood, and I took a carriage and drove to the lodgings of Lieutenant-General Scott, to consult him in regard to it. Mr. Stanton was then attorney-general. My relations with him were of the most intimate character; and as he resided near General Scott's lodgings, I drove to his house first, and showed the dispatch to him. He approved of it, and made some remark expressing his gratification at the tone of the order. General Scott said I was right on the question of etiquette, and I think expressed his gratification that I had taken a decided stand against southern invasions of the authority of the government. I immediately returned to the department and sent the dispatch. General Scott, Mr. Stanton, and the clerk who copied it were the only persons who saw it. . . .

I decided when I wrote the order to say nothing to the president about it. I was satisfied that, if he was consulted, he would not permit it to be sent. Though indignant at the course of the southern states, and the men about him who had betrayed his confidence —Cobb, Floyd, and others—one leading idea had taken possession of his mind—that in the civil contest which threatened to break out, the North must not shed the first drop of blood. This idea is the key to his submission to much which should have been met with

[1] *Memoirs of John A. Dix*, by Rev. Morgan Dix, D.D., New York, 1884.

prompt and vigorous resistance. During the seven weeks I was with him he rarely failed to come to my room about ten o'clock, and converse with me for about an hour on the great questions of the day before going to his own room. I was strongly impressed with his conscientiousness. But he was timid and credulous. His confidence was easily gained, and it was not difficult for an artful man to deceive him. But I remember no instance in my unreserved intercourse with him in which I had reason to doubt his uprightness.

Tuesdays and Fridays were cabinet days. The members met, without notice, at the president's house in the morning. My order was given, as has been stated, on Tuesday evening. I said nothing to the president in regard to it, though he was with me every evening, until Friday, when the members of the cabinet were all assembled, and the president was about to call our attention to the business of the day. I said to him, 'Mr. President, I fear we have lost some more of our revenue cutters.' 'Ah!' said he, 'how is that?' I then told him what had occurred down to the receipt of the dispatch from Mr. Jones informing me that Captain Breshwood refused to obey my order. 'Well,' said he, 'what did you do?' I then repeated to him, slowly and distinctly, the order I had sent. When I came to the words, 'shoot him on the spot,' he started up suddenly, and said, with a good deal of emotion, 'Did you write that?' 'No, sir,' I said; 'I did not write it, but I telegraphed it.' He made no answer, nor do I remember that he ever referred to it afterward. It was manifest, as I have presupposed, that the order would never have been given if I had consulted him.


Treasury Department
Jan. 29, 1861

Tele Lieut. Caldwell to arrest Capt. Breshwood, assume command of the Cutter and obey the orders given through Jon. F Capt. Breshwood after arrest undertake by intrigue with the Command of the Cutter, tele Lieut. Caldwell to consider him as a Mutineer & treat him accordingly. If any one attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot. —

John A. Dix
Secretary of the Treasury.

It only remains for me to say that the order was not the result of any premeditation—scarcely of any thought. A conviction of the right course to be taken was as instantaneous as a flash of light; and I did not think, when I seized the nearest pen (a very bad one,

as the fac-simile shows) and wrote the order in as little time as it would take to read it, that I was doing anything specially worthy of remembrance. It touched the public mind and heart strongly, no doubt, because the blood of all patriotic men was boiling with indignation at the humiliation which we were enduring; and I claim no other merit than that of having thought rightly, and of having expressed strongly what I felt in common with the great body of my countrymen."

"Such is the history of the famous dispatch. In concluding it I quote my father's words by way of explanation and justification of his language. He says, in his report to congress: 'It may be proper to add, in reference to the closing period of the foregoing dispatch, that as the flag of the Union, since 1777, when it was devised and adopted by the founders of the republic, had never until a recent day been hauled down, except by honorable hands in manly conflict, no hesitation was felt in attempting to uphold it at any cost against an act of treachery, as the ensign of the public authority and the emblem of unnumbered victories by land and sea.'"[1]

For many years the general-in-chief of the army had his personal residence and official headquarters in the city of New York. Although increasing infirmities warned General Scott that his days of active service were well-nigh spent, yet he failed not, before relinquishing his office, to call the attention of President Buchanan, as early as October, 1860, to the unprotected state of certain fortifications on the southern coast, expressing his "solemn conviction that there is some danger of an early act of rashness preliminary to secession," and urging their prompt occupation by suitable garrisons.[2] But the bewildered politician hesitated, and the opportunity was lost. As we recur in memory to that dark period of national history, we find it illumined by one ray of light, increasing in brilliancy as the years roll on. In striking contrast to the vacillation and timidity of the executive and the divided opinions of the cabinet, appear the firmness, simplicity, and patriotism of Robert Anderson. Believing that the South had been unjustly treated, having reason to think that his government had abandoned him, beset with temptations of kinship and friendship, surrounded with enemies ready to destroy him, the tempered steel of his nature was equal to the test. His duty, according to his simple code of

[1] *Memoirs of John A. Dix*, I. 373.

[2] "From a knowledge of our southern population it is my solemn conviction that there is some danger of an early act of rashness preliminary to secession, viz., the seizure of some or all of the following posts: . . . Forts Pickens and McRea, Pensacola harbor; Forts Moultrie and Sumter, Charleston harbor. All these works should be immediately so garrisoned as to make any attempt to take any one of them, by surprise or *coup de main*, ridiculous."—General Scott's *Memoirs*, New York, 1864.

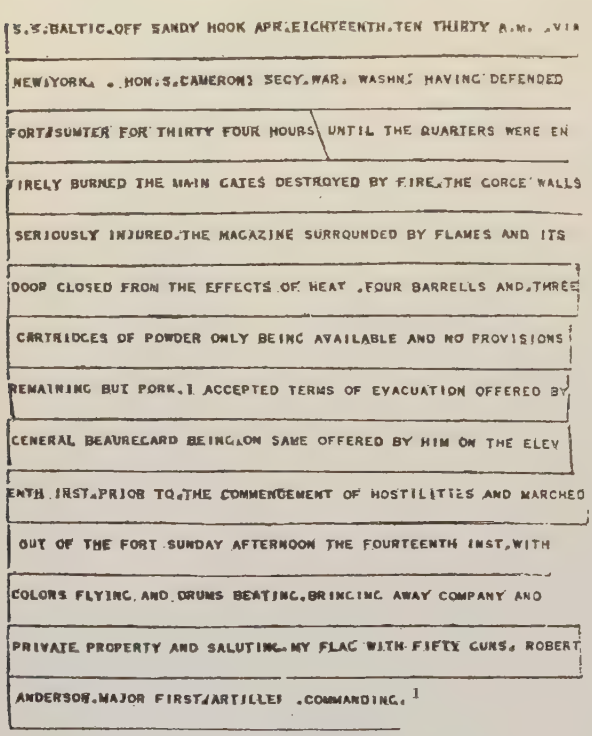
morals, was plain: like the Roman sentinel, he might be forgotten, but he would never voluntarily abandon his post. How unselfishly and gallantly Major Anderson and his little band of regulars acquitted themselves is a matter of undying fame. One member of the Buchanan cabinet—Secretary Black—wrote of Anderson's military movement from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter, that "he has saved the country, I solemnly believe, when its day was darkest and its peril most extreme. He has done everything that mortal man could do to repair the fatal error which the administration has committed in not sending down troops enough to hold *all* the forts."

With the change of administration the reins of government slipped from the nerveless hands of one president into the firmer if somewhat unskillful grasp of another. It cannot be said that order *promptly* emerged from chaos. The task before Mr. Lincoln was too colossal, and the means at his disposal too crude, to cause the machinery of government to work effectively at once. So, in the early attempt to provision Sumter and reenforce Pickens, the functions of cabinet officers and captains of the staff were curiously intermingled. The spectacle of a military engineer and a military secretary to the commanding general working in haste and secrecy, under the personal supervision of a secretary of state, to arrange the details of an important movement of the land and naval forces, without the knowledge of the ministers of war or navy; the perfunctory reference of their work to the general-in-chief for his official signature, and its final transfer by the president to the juniors aforesaid with *carte blanche* as to its execution, were hardly calculated to produce that "good order and military discipline" which were to prove essential factors in the restoration of the Union. The president, however, finding that his efforts to execute the laws by ignoring regulations and "cutting knots" resulted in confusion, returned to the system of making each department of the government responsible for details pertaining to it; and, thereafter, he generally observed this rule.

Robert Anderson

When Anderson's famous telegram announcing the fall of Sumter was published, the effect upon the people of New York was instantaneous. Politicians were silent in the face of the unanimity with which men of all parties were roused to action. As was well said: "The incidents of the last two days will live in history. Not for fifty years has such a spectacle been seen as that glorious uprising of American loyalty which greeted

the news that open war had been commenced upon the constitution and government of the United States. The great heart of the American people beat with one high pulsation of courage, and of fervid love and devotion to the great republic. Party dissensions were instantly hushed; political differences disappeared and were as thoroughly forgotten as if they had never existed; men ceased to think of themselves or their parties—they thought only of their country and of the dangers which menaced its existence. Nothing for years has brought the hearts of all the people so close together, or so inspired them all with common hopes and common fears and a common aim, as the bombardment and surrender of an American fortress."


S.S. BALTIC. OFF SANDY HOOK APR. EIGHTEENTH. TEN THIRTY A.M. VIA
NEW YORK. TO HON. S. CAMERON SECY. WAR. WASHN. HAVING DEFENDED
FORT SUMTER FOR THIRTY FOUR HOURS UNTIL THE QUARTERS WERE EN
TIRELY BURNED THE MAIN GATES DESTROYED BY FIRE. THE CORCE WALLS
SERIOUSLY INJURED. THE MAGAZINE SURROUNDED BY FLAMES AND ITS
DOOR CLOSED FROM THE EFFECTS OF HEAT. FOUR BARRELLS AND. THREE
CARTRIDGES OF POWDER ONLY BEING AVAILABLE AND NO PROVISIONS
REMAINING BUT PORK. I ACCEPTED TERMS OF EVACUATION OFFERED BY
GENERAL BEAUREGARD BEING ON SAME OFFERED BY HIM ON THE ELEV
ENTH INST. PRIOR TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF HOSTILITIES AND MARCHED
OUT OF THE FORT SUNDAY AFTERNOON THE FOURTEENTH INST. WITH
COLORS FLYING. AND DRUMS BEATING. BRINGING AWAY COMPANY AND
PRIVATE PROPERTY AND SALUTING MY FLAG WITH FIFTY GUNS. ROBERT
ANDERSON. MAJOR FIRST ARTILLERY. COMMANDING. [1]

ANDERSON'S TELEGRAM, APRIL 18, 1861.

President Lincoln's first call for aid was instantly responded to by the legislature of New York with an appropriation of three millions of dollars; the militia regiments of the city and vicinity hastened to offer their services; recruiting rendezvous were opened for new organizations; the Chamber of Commerce passed resolutions pledging substantial aid to the government, and urging the prompt blockade of southern ports; and a great wave of popular enthusiasm swept over the city.

The municipality of New York promptly passed the following resolutions, drafted by one who afterwards distinguished himself on many bloody fields—Daniel E. Sickles:

[1] The original dispatch was printed by Morse's telegraph, and the ribbon-like strips were pasted on a sheet of paper in order to be more convenient and for better preservation. The above illustration is made from a photograph of the original in the possession of General E. D. Townsend, U. S. A.

"*Resolved*, That we invoke in this crisis the unselfish patriotism and the unfaltering loyalty which have been uniformly manifested in all periods of national peril by the population of the city of New York; and while we reiterate our undiminished affection for the friends of the Union who have gallantly and faithfully labored in the southern states for the preservation of peace and the restoration of fraternal relations among the people, and our readiness to co-operate with them in all honorable measures of reconciliation, yet we only give expression to the convictions of our constituents when we declare it to be their unalterable purpose, as it is their solemn duty, to do all in their power to uphold and defend the integrity of the Union, and to vindicate the honor of our flag, and to crush the power of those who are enemies in war, as in peace they were friends.

Resolved, That a copy of the foregoing preamble and resolutions be transmitted to the President of the United States, and to the Governor of the State of New York."

In a recent address General Sickles said: "I well remember the words of President Lincoln when he referred to this action of our city government, a few days afterwards, when I called upon him for instructions touching the command I had undertaken to raise on the invitation of Governor Morgan. He said: 'Sickles, I have here on my table the resolutions passed by your common council appropriating a million of dollars toward raising men for this war, and promising to do all in the power of your authorities to support the government. When these resolutions were brought to me by Alderman Frank Boole and his associates of the committee, I felt my burden lighter. I felt that when men broke through party lines and took this patriotic stand for the government and the Union, all must come out well in the end. When you see them, tell them for me, they made my heart glad, and I can only say, God bless them.'"

Samuel J. Tilden

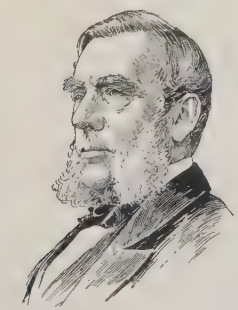
The march of the first New England troops through the city, to the defense of the capital, is graphically described by the Rev. Dr. Dix:[1]

"They came in at night; and it was understood that, after breakfasting at the Astor House, the march would be resumed. By nine o'clock in the morning an immense crowd had assembled about the hotel; Broadway, from Barclay to Fulton street, and the lower end of Park row, were occupied by a dense mass of human beings, all watching the front entrance, at which the regiment was to file out. From side to side, from wall to wall, extended that innumerable host, silent as the grave, expectant, something unspeak-

[1] *Memoirs of John A. Dix*, II. 10.

able in the faces. It was the dead, deep hush before the thunder-storm. At last a low murmur was heard ; it sounded somewhat like a gasp of men in suspense ; and the cause was that the soldiers had appeared, their leading files descending the steps. By the twinkle of their bayonets above the heads of the crowd their course could be traced out into the open street in front. Formed, at last, in column, they stood, the band at the head ; and the word was given, ' March ! ' Still dead silence prevailed. Then the drums rolled out the time—the regiment was in motion. And then the band, bursting into full volume, struck up—what other tune could the Massachusetts men have chosen ?—' Yankee Doodle.' I caught about two bars and a half of the old music, not more ; for instantly there arose a sound such as many a man never heard in all his life, and never will hear ; such as is never heard more than once in a lifetime. Not more awful is the thunder of heaven as, with sudden peal, it smites into silence all lesser sounds, and, rolling through the vault above us, fills earth and sky with the shock of its terrible voice. One terrific roar burst from the multitude, leaving nothing audible save its own reverberation. We saw the heads of armed men, the gleam of their weapons, the regimental colors, all moving on, pageant-like ; but naught could we hear save that hoarse, heavy surge—one general acclaim, one wild shout of joy and hope, one endless cheer, rolling up and down, from side to side, above, below, to right, to left ; the voice of approval, of consent, of unity in act and will. No one who saw and heard could doubt how New York was going."

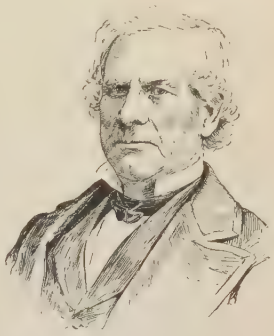
The resistance to the passage of the Sixth Massachusetts through Baltimore, on the 19th of April, fanned the public excitement to the verge of madness. The news that descendants of freemen who fell at Lexington had been slain, on the anniversary of that memorable fight, while marching to the defense of the capital, sent a thrill of indignation through the North.



E. D. Morgan

If the impending calamity of civil war found the government of the United States in a state of transition as regarded its *personnel*, it was met by New York with all the firmness and ability of a substantial state administration and the strength of a patriotic majority in the city. At Albany that sterling citizen, Governor Edwin D. Morgan, stood ready to second the new president ; he was aided in matters of detail by an efficient staff, of which Chester A. Arthur—the future chief magistrate—was an excellent type. The men of power and influence in the community, with true public spirit and patriotic impulse, rose *en masse*, and, exercising a characteristic American talent for organization, put themselves directly in touch with the federal executive. Through the channels of trade, manufactures, and the learned professions, popular subscriptions were made to a

fund for the equipment and temporary subsistence of troops hastening to the defense of the capital. In an inconceivably short time an immense sum of money was placed at the government's disposal, and the tramp of the Union legions was heard from Maine to California.[1] Among individuals who devoted themselves faithfully to the Union cause was the well-known Thurlow Weed. Famous as a political leader, he now came to the front as a philanthropist and counselor. He has left behind him interesting memoirs of the war time, which show how important were the services of men like Weed, Simeon Draper, and Henry W. Bellows, who, without glittering insignia or martial title, labored early and late for the cause, furnishing "Victuals," "Armour," and the "Sinewes of Warre." An example may here be related. Mr. Weed was summoned to the White House from New York by a telegram dated February 18, 1863. On the following day he called on President Lincoln, who said: "Mr. Weed, we are in a tight place. Money for legitimate purposes is needed immediately; but there is no appropriation from which it can be lawfully taken. I didn't know how to raise it, and so I sent for you." "How much is required?" asked Mr. Weed. "Fifteen thousand dollars," said the president. "Can you get it?" "If you must have it at once, give me two lines to that effect." Mr. Lincoln turned to his desk and wrote a few lines on a slip of paper. Handing it to Mr. Weed, he said, "Will that do?" "It will," said Mr. Weed; "the money will be at your disposal to-morrow morning." On the next train Mr. Weed left Washington, and before five o'clock that afternoon the slip of paper which he carried in his pocket bore fifteen names with one thousand dollars opposite each.



Thurlow Weed

One of the most important and immediate results of the popular agitation following the fall of Sumter was the organization of the "Union Defense Committee of the City of New York." It comprised some of the most prominent men in trade and the learned professions. It became the almoner of the municipality for the emergency, and a veritable Aladdin's lamp through which, at a touch, regiments were armed, equipped, and

[1] The *New York Herald*, April 29, 1861, makes up a table of voluntary contributions by cities, counties, and individuals in the North, "all $1,000 or over, which sum up to $11,230,000, of which New York city gives $2,155,000, and the New York state legislature $3,000,000 more. And all this has been subscribed since April 15."

transported to the nearest rendezvous; steamers of the largest size were chartered as transports, or, in some cases, as additions to the naval forces of the United States. The local facilities, the business training, and the unlimited credit of the committee, combined with a loyal enthusiasm, accomplished wonders. Nor was this patriotic zeal without its embarrassments. The committee, having turned on the stream of aid and comfort, undertook, in some cases, to direct the war department in its use, to urge the president to greater haste in crushing the rebellion, and inadvertently to usurp the executive functions of the governor. The federal authorities declined to move with undue haste, but their determination was conveyed to the committee in a way to strengthen rather than to impair the good feeling which it was important to maintain between the Union people and the government. Thenceforward their relations were mutually satisfactory. The Union Defense Committee was organized April 22, 1861, and adjourned *sine die*, April 30, 1862. During that period it disbursed more than a million dollars for the benefit of New York volunteers and the support of soldiers' widows and orphans.

Hamilton Fish

Soon after General Scott's retirement from active service a delegation from the Union Defense Committee, headed by Hamilton Fish, called upon the old hero at the Brevoort House to present an address embodying the sentiments of love and respect which all Americans, and especially the citizens of New York, entertained for him. Edwards Pierrepont also made appropriate remarks, comprising this extract: "The advents of true patriots and great men are always separated by long intervals of years; but few have ever appeared; and in the whole circuit of the sun scarce one who had the courage to resign his power until death called for his crown, his sceptre, or his sword. It will be the crowning glory of your honored life that, after remaining at the soldier's post until all imminent danger was over, . . . you had the wisdom from on high to retire at the fitting hour, and thus to make the glories of your setting sun ineffably more bright for the radiant lustre which they shed upon the young and dawning hope of your beloved land. . . ."

On April 17, General Sandford, commanding the First Division N. G. S. N. Y., received orders from Albany "to detail one regiment of eight hundred men, or two regiments amounting to the same number, for

immediate service." The detail fell to the Seventh regiment, and on Friday, the 19th, at 3 P.M., it marched down Broadway with nine hundred and ninety-one men, bound for the capital of the nation. More than three months previously the regimental board of officers had "resolved that, should the exigency arise, we feel confident in having the commandant express to the governor of the state the desire of this regiment to perform such duty as he may prescribe."[1]

The march to Cortlandt street was in the nature of a triumphal pageant. The entire city was present to wish the first regiment of the first city in the land God-speed. If in these days of militia reform the Seventh maintains its supremacy, in those times of local train-bands, when military efficiency of state troops was the exception, the regiment was, indeed, first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of its countrymen. Its successful movement to the defense of Washington, by way of Annapolis, under the wise leadership of Colonel Lefferts, is a matter of history. It will, perhaps, never be known how much those "one thousand of the flower of the city of New York" contributed by their presence to save the capital from hostile occupation. It was sufficient that President Lincoln could announce that "the Seventh regiment and the Massachusetts regiment are now in Washington. There was great need of re-enforcements, but Washington may be considered safe for the country and the constitution." The Union Defense Committee advised the president (April 21) that "On behalf of the committee of the citizens charged with the due attention to public interests, and invested with this power by the mass meeting of Saturday, we take leave respectfully to represent to the government at Washington that intense solicitude prevails here for the safety of the city of Washington, and that there is an earnest demand that a safe and speedy communication should be kept open between the seat of government and the loyal states. Whatever force of men or supply of means is needed to occupy and control the necessary points in the state of Maryland, can be furnished from or through New York. The energy, the enthusiasm, the power in every form, of our people, it is impossible to overrate. But their demands upon the action of all the public authorities are proportionate. The absolute obliteration of all party lines among our whole population, and their per-

[1] General Scott wrote from Washington, January 19, 1861, to General Sandford, with regard to this resolution: "Perhaps no regiment or company can be brought here from a distance without producing hurtful jealousies in this vicinity. If there be an exception, it is the Seventh Infantry of the city of New York, which has become somewhat national, and is held, deservedly, in the highest respect."

fect union in enthusiastic patriotism, make it, in our judgment, highly expedient that there should be present in this city persons who can, in case of emergency, represent the war, navy, and treasury departments in giving the authority of the government to movements of troops and vessels, the stoppage of steamers, the provision of arms, and the many steps which may need to be taken without an opportunity of communicating with Washington. We feel to-day that our government and the city of Washington are in a hostile country, with communication embarrassed and in danger of being wholly cut off. If disaster happens from this cause, the excitement of our people may lead them into strong expressions of discontent, and the present happy state of public sentiment in universal support of the administration may be succeeded by a reaction of feeling greatly to be deplored."

The great capitalist and steamship proprietor, Cornelius Vanderbilt, placed some of his finest vessels at the disposal of the government. When the terrible Merrimac threatened to destroy the Union fleet in the James river, the commodore fitted out his largest and strongest steamer, the Vanderbilt, to operate against the Confederate ram, and presented her to the government. In remembrance of this princely gift, congress subsequently voted a gold medal to the donor.

Closely following the men of New York came the action of her noble women. A circular addressed "To the women of New York, and especially to those already engaged in preparing against the time of wounds and sickness in the army," was published. It set forth the importance of system and concentration to effect the best results in the field.[1] It

[1] "*To the Women of New York, and especially to those already engaged in preparing against the time of Wounds and Sickness in the Army:*

The importance of systematizing and concentrating the spontaneous and earnest efforts now

was the germ of the most important auxiliary to the medical department of the Union armies which the war created—the Sanitary Commission. Out of this conference grew the "Woman's Central Association of Relief." Upon the advice of the Rev. Dr. Bellows a committee proceeded to Washington to confer with the war department as to the needs of the service, and the best method of supplying them. This committee represented the Woman's Central Association of Relief for the Sick and Wounded of the Army, the Advisory Committee of the Boards of Physicians and Surgeons of the Hospitals of New York, and the New York Medical Association for Furnishing Hospital Supplies in Aid of the Army. Out of their suggestions arose that wonderful institution for alleviating the horrors of war, known as the "United States Sanitary Commission."

"If pure benevolence was ever organized and utilized into beneficence, the name of the institution is the Sanitary Commission. It is a standing answer to Samson's riddle: 'Out of the strong came forth sweetness.' Out of the very depths of the agony of this cruel and bloody war springs this beautiful system, built of the noblest and divinest attributes of the human soul. Amidst all the daring and enduring which this war has developed, amidst all the magnanimity of which it has shown the race capable, the daring, the endurance, the greatness of soul, which have been discovered among the men and women who have given their lives to this work, shine as brightly as any on the battlefield—in some respects even more brightly. . . . Glimpses of this agency are familiar to our people; but not till the history of its inception, progress, and results is calmly and adequately written out and

STEAMER "VANDERBILT."

making by the women of New York for the supply of richer medical aid to our army through its present campaign, must be obvious to all reflecting persons. Numerous societies, working without concert, organization, or head—without any direct understanding with the official authorities—without any positive instructions as to the immediate or future wants of the army—are liable to waste their enthusiasm in disproportionate efforts, to overlook some claims and overdo others, while they give unnecessary trouble in official quarters by the variety and irregularity of their proffers of help or their inquiries for guidance. As no existing organization has a right to claim precedence over any other, or could properly assume to lead in this noble cause, where all desire to be first, it is proposed by the undersigned, members of the various circles now actively engaged in this work, that the women of New York should meet in the Cooper Institute on Monday next, at 11 o'clock, A.M., to confer together, and to appoint a general committee, with power to organize the benevolent purposes of all into a common movement."

spread before the public will any idea be formed of the magnitude and importance of the work which it has done. Nor even then. Never, until every soldier whose flickering life it has gently steadied into continuance, whose waning reason it has softly lulled into quiet, whose chilled blood it has warmed into healthful play, whose failing frame it has nourished into strength, whose fainting heart it has comforted with sympathy—never, until every full soul has poured out its story of gratitude and thanksgiving, will the record be complete; but long before that time . . . comes the Blessed Voice, 'Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.' An approximate estimate has been made from which it can be stated that the gifts of the women of the country, made through the Sanitary Commission, exceed in value the sum of seven million dollars, and the total cash received by its treasurer to October 1, 1863, was eight hundred and fifty-seven thousand seven hundred and fifteen dollars and thirty-three cents."

MRS. BOTTA.

The promptness and determination with which New York took her stand in the great trouble surprised and disappointed the South, which had counted upon at least a negative course by reason of mutual commercial interests. No longer resting under that delusion, the southern press poured forth vials of wrath after this fashion: "The insane fury of New York arises from purely mercenary motives. She is concerned about the golden eggs which are laid for her by the southern goose with the sword. Let us assure her we have more fear of her smiles than of her frowns. New York will be remembered with especial hatred by the South to the end of time. Boston we have always known where to find; but this New York, which has never turned against us till the hour of trial, and is now moving heaven and earth for our destruction, shall be a marked city to the end of time." Even before the great clash of arms, the newspapers of both sections had opened fire with the most bitter word-weapons and the most startling war rumors conceivable. It was to be their harvest-time—to reap while others sowed.

The severe strain to which republican institutions were about to be

exposed in America became the subject of great interest to our European neighbors, and the leading British newspapers did not fail to appreciate its value. Therefore a new order of Bohemian made its appearance, simultaneously, in New York, Washington, and Richmond. As a rule, the foreign war correspondent wrote with comparative impartiality. Now and then a superior sort of person, like "Bull Run Russell," appeared upon the scene and essayed to make his portfolio carry weight with the credentials of an envoy extraordinary, but, lacking ordinary tact, contrived to have himself recalled early in the strife. A more discreet ambassador was, apparently, the representative of the *Illustrated London News*. It is interesting, after many years, to see ourselves as an intelligent stranger saw us then. Writing in the last days of May, 1861, he says:

I could easily believe myself to be in Paris, or some other city devoted to military display, instead of New York, the commercial emporium of the North. From morning to night nothing is heard but the sound of the drum or the martial strains from trumpet and bugle, as regiment after regiment passes on its way to the seat of war through streets crowded with a maddened population. All trade is at a stand-still. Store after store down Broadway has been turned into the headquarters of Anderson's Zouaves, Wilson's Boys, the Empire City Guard, and hosts of corps too numerous or too eccentric in their names for me to recollect. Verily, a cosmopolitan army is assembled here. As one walks he is jostled by soldiers dressed in the uniforms of the Zouaves de la Garde, the Chasseurs à Pied, Infanterie de la Ligne, and other French regiments—so great, apparently, is the admiration of our cousins for everything Gallic. I must confess I should like to see more nationality. In justice, however, to the men, I cannot do otherwise than express my unqualified approval of the material out of which the North is to make her patriot army. Many of those I have seen marching through the streets appear already to have served in the field, so admirably do they bear themselves in their new rôles. The very children have become tainted with the military epidemic, and little, toddling Zouaves, three and four years old, strut, armed to the teeth, at their nurses' apron-strings. As I write I have a corps of chasseurs, composed of all the small boys in the hotel, exercising and skirmishing in the corridor outside my room. . . . There is not a house that does not display Union colors of some kind; there is not a steeple ever so lofty that is not surmounted by a star-spangled banner; there is not a man nor woman in the city that does not wear a patriotic badge of some kind. It is a mighty uprising of a united people determined to protect their flag to the last.

"Early in the summer of 1861, when things were rapidly developing toward the rebellion, a new power, not hitherto exercised in this country, was exerted for the public safety. Persons were arbitrarily arrested and confined under military guard on evidence satisfactory to the general government that they were guilty of acts of a disloyal and dangerous character. It devolved upon the secretary of state in the first instance to indicate who should be thus put in confinement. He made the arrests through his

marshals, and they were turned over to General Scott, who held them at Fort Lafayette, in New York harbor."[1]

One of the earliest duties devolving upon the president was to counteract, as far as practicable, the strong influences brought to bear by the South upon the governments of Great Britain and France to recognize the Confederacy, or at least to break off the friendly relations with the United States which existed at the outbreak of secession. He determined to ask three eminent citizens—Archbishop John Hughes of New York, Bishop Charles P. McIlvaine of Ohio, and Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott, then abroad—to represent the general government. Archbishop Hughes accepted the invitation of the president, with the condition that his friend Thurlow Weed should be included in the commission, in an advisory capacity. Thus the powerful combination of church and state, of war and diplomacy, made it an ideal embassy. These wise men established themselves alternately at London and Paris, mingled with the leaders of the people, and cultivated the society of the royal and imperial premiers. They happened to be in the right place when the irritating episode of the Trent occurred, and war between England, France, and America seemed imminent. It was averted by only a hair's-breadth, and in the light of later developments as to the inside history of the rebellion, it would seem that the American people owe President Lincoln's peace commission a heavy debt of gratitude.

+ John Abp of N Y

The third year of the civil war was marked in the city of New York by the most protracted and bloody riot in her history. The northern states had responded nobly to the president's various calls for volunteers, but as the great struggle continued, voluntary food for powder became scarce, and the government was forced to resort to compulsory enlistment. In most of the states there was little difficulty in enforcing the draft. In New York there was hesitation on the part of Governor Seymour to aid in a measure extremely unpopular among a certain class in the community. His reluctance to co-operate with the general government encouraged the worst elements in the city to open rebellion. The merits of the question are clearly set forth in a work by the (then) provost-marshal-general of the United States.[2] From this and other reliable sources it appears that on

[1] *Anecdotes of the Civil War*, E. D. Townsend, New York, 1884.

[2] *New York and the Conscription*, James B. Fry, New York, 1885.

July 2, 1862, the president issued a call for three hundred thousand volunteers—his final effort to suppress the rebellion by voluntary military service. On August 4, following, he called for three hundred thousand nine-months militia. In September the war department issued instructions under which some of the governors commenced a draft.

In a letter dated August 4, 1862, to Count de Gasparin, President Lincoln said: "Our great army has dwindled rapidly, bringing the necessity for a new call earlier than was anticipated. We shall easily obtain the new levy, however. Be not alarmed if you shall learn that we have resorted to a draft for part of this. It seems strange even to me, but it is true, that the government is now pressed to this course by a popular demand.[1] Thousands who wish not to personally enter the service are nevertheless anxious to pay and send substitutes, provided that they can have assurance that unwilling persons similarly situated will be compelled to do likewise."

J. L. WORDEN.

In his annual report, dated December 31, 1862, Adjutant-General Hillhouse said: "There was nothing of that eagerness to enter the service which had been manifested at various periods, and it appeared as if the people had fallen into an apathy from which only an extraordinary effort could arouse them." He further said that the state was deficient twenty-eight thousand five hundred and seventeen men in volunteers furnished since July 2, 1862, and of these eighteen thousand five hundred and twenty-three belonged to the city of New York, adding that "the credit to the city and county of New York is based on the

[1] "There is only one way to remedy our fatal error: that is, for the president at once to establish a system of conscription, by which, instead of three hundred thousand, *at least* five hundred thousand men should be called under arms. . . . Instead of levying new regiments commanded by inexperienced officers of their own choosing, and who, for a year to come, would barely add anything to our efficiency in the field, the raw recruits ought to be collected at camps of instruction, in healthy localities East and West, where, under the direction of West Point graduates, they should be drilled and disciplined. From thence, as they are fit for active service, they should be furnished to the army, to be incorporated into the old regiments."—August Belmont to Thurlow Weed, July 20, 1862.

actual returns filed in this office, but it is believed that it is less than the volunteers furnished." The necessity for a general conscription was set forth in the public utterances of war democrats and republicans alike. "Senator McDougall (democrat) said: 'Now, in regard to the conscription question, I will say for myself that I regretted much, when this war was first organized, that the conscription rule did not obtain. I went from the extreme east to the extreme west of the loyal states. I found some districts where some bold leaders brought out all the young men, and sent them or led them to the field. In other districts, and they were the most numerous, the people made no movement toward the maintenance of the war; there were whole towns and cities, I may say, where no one volunteered to shoulder a musket, and no one offered to lead them into the service. The whole business has been unequal and wrong from the first. The rule of conscription should have been the rule to bring out men of all classes, and make it equal throughout the country; and therein the North has failed.'"[1]

General Fry, the provost-marshal-general, said: "It was of great importance to the people of the state as well as to the general government that a correct enrollment should be made. The Adjutant-General of New York, when speaking, in his report of December 31, 1862, of the principle of compulsory service, said to the governor: 'Nor is it less a matter of interest to the states. Whatever may be the plan adopted, the force required must be drawn from their population liable to military duty, on which the one million of volunteers hitherto sent to the field has already made serious inroads. They have, moreover, a common interest with the general government in such an application of their military resources as will render them most effective for the purposes in view with the least possible waste, and with as little hardship as possible to the community.' The Enrollment Act was approved March 3, 1863. Section nine required that the enrollers '*immediately* proceed to enroll' and report the result 'on or before the first day of April' to the Board of Enrollment, and the board was required by the act to consolidate the names into one list and transmit the same to the provost-marshal-general 'on or before the first day of May.' There was, it is true, a proviso that if these duties *could not* be done in the time specified, they should be performed as soon thereafter as practicable; but neither the intention of the law, nor the manifest necessity under which it was enacted, permitted delay; or, as President Lincoln expressed it in his letter to Governor Seymour, dated August 7, 1863, 'We could not waste time to re-experiment with the vol-

[1] *New York and the Conscription.*

unteer system, already deemed by congress, and palpably, in fact, so far exhausted as to be inadequate; and then more time to obtain a correct decision as to whether a law is constitutional which requires a part of those not now in the service to go to the aid of those who are already in it; and still more time to determine with absolute certainty that we get those who are to go in the precisely legal proportion to those who are not to go.' 'My purpose,' the president added, 'is to be in my actions just and constitutional, and yet practical in performing the important duty with which I am charged, of maintaining the unity and the free principles of our common country.'"

The political campaign of 1862 in New York was hardly less exciting than the military operations in Virginia. The republican standard-bearer was that gallant soldier and unselfish patriot, James S. Wadsworth; his democratic opponent, the eminent lawyer, Horatio Seymour. The first stood on a radical platform—one of its planks being the prosecution of the war by "all the means that the God of Battles has placed in the power of the government." The other candidate was put forth by a more conservative constituency, favoring "all legitimate means to suppress the rebellion," and leaning to a milder policy. Seymour was elected by a majority of ten thousand seven hundred and fifty-two. "On January 1, 1863, the outgoing administration of Governor Morgan turned over to the incoming administration of Governor Seymour the revised state enrollment, the government's order to draft the militia, and the deficiency of New York heretofore mentioned."[1]

Preparations for the proposed draft were rapidly pushed forward by the war department. Those affecting the city comprised the appointment of a provost-marshal for each congressional district, and an assistant provost-marshal-general to supervise their work, for the cities of New York and Brooklyn; this officer was Colonel Robert Nugent, Sixty-ninth New York volunteers, a gallant soldier, a discreet officer, an Irishman, and a democrat. As early as April 24, 1862, Governor Seymour and Mayor Opdyke were informed of this. The first order for making a draft in the state under the Enrollment Act was issued July 1. Notwithstanding the knowledge which the municipal authorities possessed, that an unpopular public measure was about to be put into execution within the city limits, it does not appear that any unusual precaution was taken to preserve the peace. Indeed, the force available for that purpose, outside of the police, was limited to a handful of regulars in the harbor garrisons, and a few disabled men of the Invalid corps. The local militia regiments

[1] *New York and the Conscription.*

had been summoned to repel the threatened invasion of a neighboring state in co-operation with the armies in the field, leaving their own homes open to an enemy in the rear more to be dreaded than the soldiers of Lee. Nevertheless, the police department comprised numerous resolute, experienced, and able officers, especially its president, Thomas Acton, and its superintendent, John A. Kennedy.

The morning of Saturday, July 11, had been selected for the commencement of the draft in the city, and the day passed without much interference with the officers charged with its supervision; and the local authorities felt encouraged to think that the remainder of the work would be completed without serious opposition. The following day being Sunday, was undoubtedly seized by those intent upon obstructing the provost-marshals in the discharge of their duty to foment trouble among the ignorant or reckless element that abounds in every large city. On Monday morning a few policemen were sent to the enrolling offices at 677 Third avenue and at 1190 Broadway. At the last-named place the mystic wheel was set in motion, and the drawing of names was continued without interruption until noon, when the provost-marshals suspended operations as a measure of precaution. Up to ten o'clock in the morning the city had been comparatively quiet. At that hour Superintendent Kennedy, while upon a tour of inspection, without escort, and in plain clothes, was attacked by a mob at the corner of Forty-sixth street and Lexington avenue, and, after being severely beaten, barely escaped with his life through the intervention of an influential friend. He was disabled for some days, and the immediate command of the police devolved upon Mr. Acton. That officer established himself at police headquarters in Mulberry street, and, with the advantage of a complete telegraphic system centring there, practically directed the operations of the campaign which ensued. The entire police force of the city had now been assembled at its respective station-houses, and for the next three days was constantly employed in stamping out the sparks of insurrection which were flying about and at times breaking out into sheets of flame that threatened the existence of the city. From the Cooper Institute to Forty-sixth street, Third avenue was black with human beings, who hung over the eaves of the buildings, filled the doors and windows, and packed the street from curb to curb. Small bodies of police were driven away or

C. M. Kirkland

trampled under foot, houses were fired, stores looted, and a very carnival of crime inaugurated. Negroes became especially obnoxious, and neither age nor sex was regarded by the white brutes in slaking their thirst for blood: from every lamp-post were suspended the victims of their blind fury. With one accord several thousand rioters swooped down upon the Colored Orphan asylum, then occupying the space from Forty-third to Forty-fourth street on Fifth avenue. The two hundred helpless children were hurriedly removed by a rear door while the mob rushed in at the front; the torch was applied in twenty places at once, and despite the heroic efforts of Chief Engineer Decker and other firemen to save the structure, it was burned to the ground. Emboldened by the progress they had made in lawlessness, the principal body of the rioters, numbering some five thousand men, moved upon the citadel of the oppressor, as they considered the central office of the police in Mulberry street.

To meet this threatening demonstration President Acton detailed Sergeant (afterward Inspector) Daniel Carpenter, a man of great courage and ability, and placed under his command about two hundred policemen who had been held in reserve at that point. It was a duty of supreme importance, and well was it executed. Without unnecessary delay, Carpenter moved his column down Bleecker street to Broadway, at the same time sending a detachment up the nearest parallel streets to the east and west, to strike the flanks of the infuriated mass bearing down upon his front. At the proper moment a combined charge utterly demoralized the undisciplined horde, which, sinking under the well-planted blows of the police, fled in every direction. The street looked like a battlefield, broken heads were countless, and the spoils of war included the stars and stripes and a banner inscribed "No Draft."

As the night closed in, it became evident that the disturbance was too wide-spread and deep-seated to be controlled by clubs, and that re-enforcements must be called for. To this end Mayor Opdyke called for troops upon General Wool, commanding the Department of the East, and General Sandford, of the National Guard. General Wool directed Brev.-Brig.-General Harvey Brown, Colonel of the Fifth U. S. Artillery, commanding the troops in the harbor, to report with his available force to General Sandford of the state militia for duty. General Brown declined to obey what he considered an illegal order, but finally yielded to the solicitations of certain prominent citizens, and agreed to waive a part of the question in dispute, stipulating that he should personally direct the operations of the troops drawn from the military posts under his command, according to his previous assignment by the war department.

General Brown established his headquarters at the central office, remaining there, in active co-operation with the police board, during the continuance of the riot. General Sandford did not attempt to control the operations of the regular troops, but, at the head of some seven hundred men of the militia, temporarily absent from their regiments, proceeded to occupy the state arsenal at Seventh avenue and Thirty-fifth street.

The second and third days were marked by fresh outbursts and much bloodshed: bayonets and bullets were substituted for policemen's billies. The territory of the disturbance had extended to Harlem, and westward beyond Sixth avenue. Evidences of able leadership among the bands of marauders were visible. The roofs of houses became vantage-ground, from which stones were hurled and shots fired at the police and troops in sight. Detachments composed of mixed civil and military forces were sent out from Mulberry street to disperse the more formidable bodies of law-breakers. In one of these encounters Colonel O'Brien of the Eleventh New York volunteers (then on recruiting service in the city), although not assigned to duty with the troops, was conspicuous in opposing the mob near the corner of Second avenue and Thirty-second street. With a disregard of ordinary prudence, he ventured shortly after, alone and in uniform, to return to the same locality. With fiendish glee the roughs seized him, and, after beating him unmercifully, dragged him up and down the street, and finally, after subjecting him to every conceivable abuse, tossed him, covered with filth, into his own back yard, where he expired after lingering without relief for several hours. Among his most cruel persecutors were women, who emulated the worst deeds of the most brutal Indian squaw. Although the insurgents received some salutary checks during the second day, the disorder was far from losing strength. Driven from one section, it quickly made its appearance in another. It gradually crept over to the North river. Public buildings were threatened. The *Tribune*

GENERAL WINFIELD SCOTT.

building received a large share of sinister attention, and the residences of the mayor and other citizens obnoxious to the mob were often in peril. In the meantime the general government had taken precaution in the way of placing gunboats at various points in the waters surrounding the city, and at the Navy yard, to co-operate with the weak land force available. Orders were issued to the Seventh and other city regiments to return home, and quite a large force was under orders in the Army of the Potomac and at Washington to move to New York at a moment's notice. But the admirable arrangements of General Brown and President Acton, and the excellent discipline of the force under their direction, finally prevailed against the unorganized army of anarchy and misrule, and by midnight of the third day the wires reported "All quiet." The backbone of the beast was broken, but nevertheless all good citizens drew a breath of relief when, shortly after, it was known that the Seventh had returned to aid in defending home and fireside.

On the fourth day proclamations were issued by the governor and mayor, the one setting forth the prevalence of insurrection, the other announcing the practical close of hostilities. It became necessary during the day to break up two or three murderously inclined bands, who succumbed only to a free use of canister. In these affairs Captains Franklin and Putnam [1] and Lieutenant Wood of the army distinguished themselves.

[1] "Early on the morning after the battle of Bull Run I started with wine, fruit, and other articles suited to the condition of invalids, and visited the different hospitals about Washington, relieving as far as I could the wounded of our own state. As I was leaving the hospital at Georgetown the surgeon invited me to see a patient who had shown extraordinary endurance. I found a young man upon a cot. The surgeon removed some lint from a musket-ball wound. He then asked the young man to raise himself, so that, while resting upon his elbow, I saw that the ball had passed through his body, avoiding any vital spot. The patient, the surgeon informed me, had, after being the last to leave the field, re-formed the thinned ranks of his company and marched at their head from the battle-ground to their former encampment near Washington, and then reported himself as a wounded officer. Notwithstanding this fearful wound, he was calm and hopeful. He came, as he informed me, from Minnesota, and was in command of a company in a Minnesota regiment. He gave me his name, and I left strongly impressed with the idea that, if his life was spared, he was destined for future usefulness. I went directly to the secretary of war, who directed a commission to be issued for my *protégé*. I went from Secretary Cameron to President Lincoln, who not only cheerfully approved the commission, but was only prevented by pressing duties from taking it over to Georgetown himself. In less than three hours after I left him, Captain Putnam of the Minnesota volunteers found himself designated as Captain Putnam of the United States army. . . . During the sanguinary riots of July, 1863, I was in New York. . . . When sitting at Police Headquarters a United States officer came in who had been directed to disperse the rioters who had murdered Colonel O'Brien. Our recognition was mutual, as was the surprise and the gratification. . . . Captain Putnam, as I learned from the commissioners, continued active and vigilant, making thorough work wherever he went, until the riots were over."—Thurlow Weed, in *Galaxy*, IX. 837.

It was announced by the mayor that the draft had been suspended, while the common council appropriated two million five hundred thousand dollars toward paying six hundred dollars each for substitutes for the poor who might be drafted. In the afternoon the Sixty-fifth and One hundred and fifty-second New York volunteers arrived, and joined the force at Police Headquarters in Mulberry street.

One of the most satisfactory features of the terrible experience through which the city passed at this time was the mutual respect and confidence which existed between the regular troops and the police force combined to preserve law and order. In the final report of the police commissioners a grateful tribute was paid the soldiers, and General Brown, in relinquishing his command to General Canby, said that "having during the present insurrection been in immediate and constant co-operation with the police department of this city, he desires the privilege of expressing his unbounded admiration of it. Never in civil or military life has he seen such untiring devotion and such efficient service."

Order having been restored, the draft was resumed and completed without further interruption, Governor Seymour having issued a proclamation warning the people against disorders, and saying: "I again repeat to you the warning which I gave to you during the riotous proceedings of last month, that the only opposition to the conscription which can be allowed is an appeal to the courts." General Dix, commanding the Department of the East, in a letter to the governor at this time said: "The recent riots in this city, coupled as they were with the most atrocious and revolting crimes, have cast a shadow over it for the moment. But the promptitude with which the majesty of the law was vindicated, and the fearlessness with which a high judicial functionary is pronouncing judgment upon the guilty, have done and are doing much to efface what, under a different course of action, might have been an indelible stain upon the reputation of the city. It remains only for the people to vindicate themselves from reproach in the eyes of the country and the world by a cheerful acquiescence in the law. That it has defects is generally conceded. That it will evolve cases of personal hardship is not disputed. War, when waged for self-defense, for the maintenance of great principles, and for the national life, is not exempt from the sufferings inseparable from all conflicts which are decided by the shock of armies, and it is by our firmness and our patriotism in meeting all the calls of the country upon us that we achieve the victory and prove ourselves worthy of it and the cause in which we toil and suffer." General Fry thus tersely sums up the situation: "The real cause of the riot was that in a commu-

nity where a considerable political element was active in opposition to the way the war was conducted, if not to the war itself, and where there was a strong opinion adverse to the principles of compulsory service, certain lawless men preferred fighting the government at home, when it made the issue of *forcing* them by lot to fight its enemies in the field."

Among the sensational incidents of the spring of 1864 may here be noted the despicable attempt to use the misfortunes of the country for stock-jobbing purposes. It was just after the bloody affair of Cold Harbor, when Grant and Lee, having locked horns in the Wilderness, were taking a breathing spell, and the public suspense was at its height. It was very early in the morning of May 18, 1864, and "steamer-day" in the city, when an unknown messenger appeared at the door of the press-room of the *Journal of Commerce* with what purported to be the telegraphic "copy" of a proclamation by the president. A similar document was handed in to the men in charge of the offices of all the other principal papers. It was an hour calculated to favor the designs of the reckless promoter, but the fraud was discovered in time by all except the *Journal of Commerce* and the *World.* The proclamation was to the effect that "in view of the situation in Virginia, the disasters at Red River, the delay at Charleston, and the geenral state of the country," it seemed expedient to appoint a day of fasting and humiliation. At the same time

SOLDIERS AND SAILORS' MEMORIAL ARCH, BROOKLYN, N. Y.[1]

[1] The beautiful memorial arch here shown was dedicated in Brooklyn, October 21, 1892, to the soldiers and sailors who fought between the years 1861 and 1865. The ceremonies were held immediately after the parade in honor of the four-hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus, the date of the Brooklyn celebration of that event having been set on the date chronologically correct. The arch was designed by John H. Duncan, the architect of the Grant Monument now being erected on Riverside drive.

the emergency required of the president to call for another four hundred thousand men, to be raised within a specified time, by a forced draft if necessary. Immediate and strenuous efforts were made to discover the author of the forgery. The war department ordered the arrest of the editors of the two newspapers mentioned, although upon due representation of the facts by General Dix, commanding the Department of the East, the order was promptly revoked. The final disposition of the matter is stated in a report made by General Dix:

"HEADQUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE EAST,
NEW YORK CITY, *May* 20, 1864.

HON. E. M. STANTON, *Secretary of War:*

I have arrested and am sending to Fort Lafayette Joseph Howard, the author of the forged Proclamation. He is a newspaper reporter, and is known as "Howard, of the *Times*." He has been very frank in his confessions, says it was a stock-jobbing operation, and that no person connected with the press had any agency in the transaction except another reporter, who manifolded and distributed the Proclamation to the newspapers, and whose arrest I have ordered. He exonerates the Independent Telegraphic Line, and says that the publication on a steamer-day was accidental. His statement, in all essential particulars, is corroborated by other testimony.

JOHN A. DIX, *Major-General.*"

An event of great local importance opened the year 1864. It was the Metropolitan Fair in aid of the United States Sanitary Commission. Like the fairs in other large cities, it was a recognition of the labors of those disinterested men and women who had already sacrificed health and substance in the Union cause by the bedside of sick and wounded soldiers. Large buildings in Fourteenth street and on Union square were filled to overflowing with the rich treasures of art, science, literature, and the varied industries represented in the metropolis, tastefully arranged and classified, and offered for sale to those who, prevented by circumstances from serving in the field, might in this way render aid and comfort to the great cause. The ceremonies of inauguration were impressive, and comprised a parade of all the troops in the city, regular, volunteer, and militia —more than ten thousand men—headed by Generals Dix and Sandford. The main building in Fourteenth street was thrown open to an immense throng on the evening of April 4, 1864, with an address by Joseph H. Choate, and an "Army Hymn," by Oliver Wendell Holmes. The hymn was sung by a chorus composed of the members of the principal church choirs of the city. For three weeks a stream of humanity poured through the entrances to the fair, leaving the rich man's gold and the widow's mite to swell the generous tribute of the Empire City toward the

restoration of the Union. The receipts from the Sanitary Fair at Chicago were sixty thousand dollars; from the fair at Boston, one hundred and forty thousand dollars; from the fair at Cincinnati, two hundred and fifty thousand dollars; and the doors of the Fourteenth street and Union square bazaar closed upon a military chest of more than a million dollars.

In the month of April, 1865, bright with the promise of the season and the achievements of our arms, came that terrible shock, like a thunderbolt out of a clear sky, the assassination of President Lincoln. For the third time in the history of the country a day in April had dawned on the citizens of New York with news of dread import. Lexington—Baltimore—Washington! On the morning of the 15th the people swarmed into the streets, and by common consent sought the government business centre in Wall street. An immense crowd gathered in front of the custom-house; the greatest agitation prevailed; grief at the national loss struggled with indignation at the assassin. The collector of the port, Simeon Draper, with much forethought, and in the interests of law and order, organized an impromptu mass meeting, and several speakers addressed the people. It is an interesting reminiscence, that among those who thus gave expression to the emotions of the hour was one who in after years, and holding the same great office, was to fall a victim to the assassin's bullet—James A. Garfield. Well did he express the universal feeling of his auditors: "The spirit of rebellion, goaded to its last madness, has recklessly done itself a mortal injury, striking down with treacherous blow the kindest, gentlest, tenderest friend the people of the South could find among the rulers of the nation." All business was by common consent suspended. The newspaper and telegraph offices were surrounded by thousands, eager for details of the tragedy which threatened to involve the lives of three officers of the government; the governor and the mayor issued proclamations; the bishop of the diocese directed special services to be held in the Episcopal churches. The day (April 20) which had been set apart by the executive of the state for rejoicing over recent victories, was designated as a time "to acknowledge our dependence on Him who has brought sudden darkness on the land in the very hour of its restoration to union, peace, and liberty."

On the morning of the 21st the funeral cortége started from the Capitol on its sorrowful journey of nearly two thousand miles to the tomb of our country's greatest martyr. After lying in state for a day in historic Independence Hall, the body of the late president was borne to New York, where it was received with the deepest solemnity and the most sincere demonstration of love and grief. The arrangements for the lying in

state at the City Hall were of the most complete character, and for twenty-four hours a continuous procession of men and women, gentle and humble, side by side, passed sadly by the bier. On the second day a pageant of enormous extent attended the transfer of the mortal remains of the "savior of his country" to the train waiting to convey them to their final resting-place. More than sixty thousand soldiers and citizens formed the escort, and more than a million people lined the route. Nothing before or since transpiring in the city can be compared to the universal and personal sorrow manifested by every soul of that mighty host.

Jas. S. Wadsworth

One of the brightest pages in the history of the city and state of New York is that on which are inscribed the names and deeds of their sons and daughters during the war for the Union. A passing reference to a few of the quarter of a million of those who fought for their principles is all that is possible here. First of all, perhaps, stood the noble Wadsworth. His patriotism was unimpeachable; he had vast wealth, high social position, ripeness of years, and gallant sons to represent him in the field. Yet he spared not of his abundance, used his influence to raise and equip troops, led them to battle, and at the head of his division laid down his life in the service of his country. That his worth was appreciated, the following extract from resolutions adopted by the Union Defense Committee fully testifies:

"When we consider that, from the very beginning of this war, General Wadsworth, a wealthy, cultured, and honored gentleman, impelled by a high sense of duty and of right, left his home of beauty, of luxury, of affection, and of love, to sacrifice every pleasure, to devote his every hour, to spend the weary winter in the frontier camp, to soothe and cheer the homesick, dying soldier, to waste much of his private fortune, to imperil his own health, and finally to offer up his willing life in his country's cause, we can find on the roll of history no record of a braver, truer man, or of a more devoted patriot."

At the suggestion of General Dix, the secretary of war was asked to have one of the forts in the harbor named "Wadsworth" in honor of "one eminently endeared to the people of this state." The fort at the Narrows called Fort Tompkins was eventually designated by the war department as Fort Wadsworth.

Among other sacrifices on the altar of the constitution and the Union,

we recall the gentle and scholarly Winthrop, the dashing Corcoran, the Highlander Cameron, the youthful, fearless Ellsworth, and Mrs. Caroline M. Kirkland. This charming woman and gifted writer, by her tireless and sincere devotion to the work of the Sanitary Fair, give up her life to the cause of her country as completely as the soldier who fell at the cannon's mouth.

Another great New Yorker, worthy of a place by the side of Wadsworth, has been frequently mentioned in this chapter. None during the serious time of the civil war performed his part with greater resolution, sterner justice, truer dignity, and more unblemished honor than John Adams Dix. The civic robe and the army uniform alike became him.

From the brief sketch given here it will be seen that the Empire City sent forth the last appeal for a peaceful solution of the sectional problem in 1861; that from her gates was forwarded the first relief for beleaguered federal forts; that at the first alarm, her best household regiment marched, with her neighbors of New England, to defend the national capital; and that to those troops, exclusively, was assigned the duty of protecting the White House—the Ark of the Covenant—from threatened danger. Her money was lavishly given, her best blood freely shed; her noblest women hourly strove to restore the Union to its original strength and power; and now, after many years of peace, prosperity, and unity throughout the land, it may truly be said that her labor was not in vain.

FORT LAFAYETTE.

DO WE KNOW GEORGE WASHINGTON?[1]

By Leonard Irving.

In his introduction Mr. Lodge quotes Professor McMaster's rather ungracious sneer: "General Washington is known to us, and President Washington; but George Washington is an unknown man." In nothing does the criticism on the author of the *History of the People of the United States* we have somewhere encountered find such illustration or confirmation of its correctness as in these two sentences. Mr. McMaster has given us a brilliant, a vivid account of men's manners and opinions in the period of which he treats, beginning with 1783. But he accomplishes this mainly by reproducing upon his pages, as the result of infinite industry and a wonderful memory, the contemporary expressions or descriptions found in the newspapers of the day. We do, indeed, get a little wearied and confused at the conflicting sentiments which greet us from time to time, and we need to look closely to see just when he shifts the kaleidoscope from one journal or set of opinions to another. Nevertheless, we get a living picture of the days and years of old with their events, and the people moving athwart them. But—and now we come to our critic's remark—our author is lost whenever he ventures away from his kaleidoscope and treats us to an opinion of his own. He then gives us either "something true that is not new, or something new that is not true," and exhibits a woful lack of ordinary or historic judgment.

This is what is the matter with his judgment of Washington. He departs from the region of clear and undoubted facts. He hints and insinuates at possibilities of ugly discovery. He infers great evils from the half dozen occasions when Washington swore deep oaths, which we take leave to say, with a deep abhorrence of habitual profanity, seem to us simply evidences of the vigorous (and none the less Christian) manhood of Washington; for there are moments in such a life as his when the volcanoes of human nature must find an eruption in some such way. Mr. McMaster sneeringly refers to the fact of his refusing a salary, contrasting it with the story of his extorting a few shillings from a poor stone-mason's widow. Now all this is exceedingly disingenuous. Either Mr. McMaster

[1] George Washington. By Henry Cabot Lodge. In 2 vols. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1891. (*American Statesmen Series.*)

should have said a great deal more, and related fully circumstances to corroborate his insinuations, or he should have said nothing at all. The bare innuendo is not at all historical. And neither is it historical to give half a fact or tell half a story. We are glad to see that Mr. Lodge gives the whole of the story about the mason's widow; and it turns out neither to be, nor to indicate by any means, what Professor McMaster would lead us to believe.

The towering excellence and nobility of George Washington is too much for some people. The Athenians, as Mr. Lodge reminds us, grew very tired of the "just" Aristides, and worked the "oyster-shell" scheme to get him out of their sight. "Men who are loudly proclaimed to be faultless," our author justly remarks, "always excite a certain kind of resentment. It is a dangerous eminence for any one to occupy." And so like the vulture, quick to scent carrion, many persons are eager to discover a fault in Washington, and are unduly excited and hurry to conclusions ahead of those the facts will warrant. It is silly to suppose or maintain that Washington was faultless. He was a splendid, healthy-natured man, and no goody-goody prig. But it is mean to be anxious to show that he possessed traits of meanness. The story of the mason's widow half told shatters our idol far worse than twice as many oaths uttered on suitable occasions. Were it really so, a noble nature would hang his head in sorrow; but before hanging the head, such a man would want to know the whole truth. The iconoclast, however, has not time to read the whole story, but is ready with his innuendo at once.

And it is certainly significant, very encouraging to the honest admirers of Washington, and to those nobler natures who rejoice in a character that towers far above them, that one and another of these "bad" stories, as they come to be thoroughly read in all their details, fail after all to throw any real discredit upon our hero. The latest case in point is culled from the daily press at the very time of this writing. A paper was read at a woman's club by a lady; and the report went forth that this lady had proved by Washington's own letters, that he denied his mother's request to visit him or live with him at Mount Vernon, on the ground that he would be ashamed of her before his distinguished guests, and would not take the trouble to have her meals sent to her room by the servants. Now this looked pretty black. The buzzards who like to feed on ruined reputations were delighted, and fastened on this happy revelation at once. One shouted forth his satisfaction in this wise: "If the document is genuine, and its veracity has not been questioned, it would appear that the hero of the hatchet story was not unlike the generality of sons." But

a little caution in receiving, and a little care in investigating, on the part of those who did not quite so much enjoy the odor of carrion, revealed an entirely harmless state of affairs. In the first place, the authoress of the paper read before the woman's club had not drawn the dreadful inferences attributed to her. "She simply meant to illustrate," says one who asked her the question, "the enormous social pressure in those days of which we are prone to think as times of primitive simplicity." And then a perusal of the letter of Washington itself discovers that there is no rude, unfeeling denial of a request, but the most tender solicitude for the comfort, the bodily and mental ease of the aged and devoutly revered parent. Of course, if one has an evil eye, the evil thing may be read in this very letter. But the natural conclusion of the unbiased, well-balanced mind will be such as will leave unsullied the fair reputation of Washington.

And here again, as in the case of Columbus, Irving must come in for his share of the flings from the modern scientific historian. It is a mortal offense for him to have had any admiration for the characters whose life-story he has so charmingly told us. The genial, gentle, noble-minded, pure-hearted gentleman could not but feel an admiration for his heroes. But these qualities are not scientific, exclaim the critics. Perhaps not; but it is quite as undeniable that Irving was also a truth-loving gentleman, and he had science enough to get at the facts as far as it was possible in his day. He had no special faculty for evil interpretation of facts, but he seems to have had some for a right interpretation. At any rate, this latest book on Washington, written by no contemptible historical scholar, leaves the impression of a character quite as grand and lofty as Irving gave us.

If there is one thing which we gain by the reading of Mr. Lodge's volumes, it is the answer to the question suggested by Mr. McMaster's sneer, "Do we know George Washington, as distinct from General and President Washington?" We arise from their perusal with a very clear idea of the real man throughout the entire career, beginning with early youth and manhood, and ending with the years of retirement which preceded death. It is a pity Mr. McMaster could not have read these volumes earlier; but as many of the facts and incidents upon which Mr. Lodge's presentations of the "man" turn are not absent from Irving's earlier pages, it is somewhat surprising that our brilliant historian should have stood in such helpless distress before the real character of Washington, unable to fathom it, troubled with suspicions of coldness and hardness, haunted by possibilities of unutterable meannesses in private, in contrast with splendid generosity in public.

We shall not need, of course, in these pages to tell the story of a life

so familiar as that of Washington. Our aim will be to take our cue, in treating of it at all, from the book under consideration, but with special reference to an attempt to get before our minds George Washington the man, as his personality reveals itself in the great dividing periods of his life: in early youth and manhood; as soldier and general; and, very briefly, as statesman and president.

Of the earlier years of his life little is known, but much has been invented. The cherry-tree business we have all heard about *ad nauseam.* For all this mythology about Washington the world is indebted to Parson Weems. The audacity of this man's lying has immortalized himself, and has immortalized a Washington of Weems, hardly now to be dissevered in any mind from the Washington of reality. Mr. Lodge perhaps wisely has devoted several pages to an elaborate and "premeditated" attempt to kill this Weems as a biographer, but we doubt whether any one book can successfully extinguish the stories which this clergyman has scattered abroad. "To enter into any serious historical criticism of these stories," says Mr. Lodge, "would be to break a butterfly." A whole battery aimed at a butterfly would not be apt to hurt the creature greatly; it would merely be pushed gently out of the way by any current of air pressed on in advance of the heaviest cannon ball that succeeded in crossing its flight. Mr. Lodge's artillery of criticism we are afraid is doomed to the same disappointment. Weems' cherry-tree story still lives.

When Washington is sixteen years of age, and is entrusted with his first serious task—a man's work, even at that early age—we begin to get a more definite idea of who he is. This task was the result of an estimate of Washington by an English nobleman, a thorough man of the world, not easily imposed upon by appearances. And what had Lord Fairfax found in this young man? "A high and persistent courage, robust and calm sense, and, above all, unusual force of will and character." Another glimpse of the real George we obtain before he is twenty years old. His brother Lawrence, from whom he inherited Mount Vernon, being very ill with consumption, he accompanied him on a trip to the West Indies, and they spent some time at Barbadoes. Already had George Washington formed the habit of noting down the happenings of the days as they pass, and these notes unmistakably reflect the writer's character: "All through these notes," our author remarks, "we find the keenly observant spirit, and the evidence of a mind constantly alert to learn. We see also a pleasant, happy temperament, enjoying with hearty zest all the pleasures that youth and life could furnish. He who wrote these lines was evidently a vigorous, good-humored young fellow, with a

quick eye for the world opening before him, and for the delights as well as the instructions which it offered." Thus, on the whole, George Washington appears quite like some one we can understand. There is nothing mythical about him; he is quite a "human" being, like the rest of us, only a little better and stronger than the most of us. Along these lines he will develop as the years go by.

We confess we like such a "human" view of Washington in youth better than the goody-goody myth of Weems. We prefer it even to the well-meant picture of a greater romancer than Weems, but who was such professedly and honestly. Thackeray, in "The Virginians," probably more from a study of the subsequent great man than from an actual knowledge of the facts of his younger days, gives us a fine, but a somewhat priggish and unnatural youth: "Mr. Washington had always been remarked for a discretion and sobriety much beyond his time of life. . . . Himself of the most scrupulous gravity and good breeding, in his communication with other folks he appeared to exact, or, at any rate, to occasion, the same behavior. His nature was above levity and jokes; they seemed out of place when addressed to him. He was slow of comprehending them. His words were always few, but they were always wise; they were not idle as our words are, they were grave, sober and strong, and ready on occasion to do their duty." We can imagine a man like Lord Fairfax taking pleasure in the society of such an oppressively proper young man! It is by no means strange that George Warrington in the novel conceived an intense antipathy to such a model youth; we rather suspect many of us would have done the same ourselves.

But we need not distress our minds with the thought that such was the real George Washington. We get another glimpse of him from Irving's and Lodge's pages, which represents him—so sober, so proper, so simple, etc.—in the light of a *dude;* and we declare we very much like that lighter view, offset as it is by so much that is solid and worthy. Once when he was commander-in-chief of the Virginia colonial troops, or militia, he found his operations for the defense of the frontier interfered with by a captain of the regular army, who, by virtue of the king's commission, refused to obey a field officer who bore but a governor's commission. He commanded all of thirty men, but Washington should not command him. So Washington determined to take a trip north and interview General Shirley at Boston, in order to settle the relations between regular and colonial officers. His fame on account of his conduct at Braddock's defeat had gone before him, and he resolved to make his personal appearance worthy of that fame. His observant eye had noticed the gay dress

of the young officers from England, and he took pains to be as gayly bedight as any of them. He sent to London for "horse furniture with livery lace," a fashionable "gold laced hat," two "complete livery suits for servants," and two "silver laced hats for servants," and other fine belongings for his own accoutrement. He was received with much enthusiasm at Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. At New York he nearly met his fate in the person of the beautiful and rich Mary Philipse, descendant of patroons Frederick and Adolphus Philipse, Dutch colonial magnates for a hundred years past. Upon this whole incident Mr. Lodge comments as follows: "How much this little interlude, pushed into a corner as it has been by the dignity of history, how much it tells of the real man! How the statuesque myth and the priggish myth and the dull and solemn myth melt away before it! Wise and strong, a bearer of heavy responsibility beyond his years, daring in fight and sober in judgment, we have here the other and the more human side of Washington. One loves to picture that gallant, generous, youthful figure, brilliant in color and manly in form, riding gayly on from one little colonial town to another, feasting, dancing, courting, and making merry. For him the myrtle and ivy were entwined with the laurel, and fame was sweetened by youth. He was righteously ready to draw from life all the good things which fate and fortune, then smiling upon him, could offer, and he took his pleasure frankly, with an honest heart."

So much for the George Washington of earlier days. Now, then, do we know him as George Washington during his career as general? Mr. McMaster says he was cold of heart; yet he complains of his occasional oath. As we have already intimated, such outbursts betray the presence of fire somewhere, however well kept under. As Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll (a good authority, doubtless) remarked the other day: "There are times when swearing may be regarded as a virtue, when it is the blossom of indignation. *There are times when volcanic words burst from the crater of the heart.*" George Washington was a man of violent passions, held in magnificent control, liable to break out at critical moments, while the habitual restraint of them necessarily gave him the appearance of "collectedness," perhaps coldness. Says Mr. Lodge: "Let us look a little closer through the keen eyes of one who has studied many faces to good purpose. The great painter of portraits, Gilbert Stuart, tells us of Washington that he never saw in any man such large eye-sockets, or such a breadth of nose and forehead between the eyes, and that he read there the evidences of the strongest passions possible to human nature. John Bernard the actor, a good observer, too, saw in Washington's face, in 1797, the signs of an

habitual conflict and mastery of passions, witnessed by the compressed mouth and deeply indented brow."

This characteristic temper of the man made of him first of all a splendid soldier, a fierce fighter with an ineffable contempt of danger. It was the passionate George Washington who was prepared to fight rather than surrender at Fort Necessity, although the odds were fearfully against him; and the very boldness of his front made the surrender possible on honorable terms. It was the same George Washington who retrieved, at least for himself, a glorious fame out of an infamous defeat in Braddock's campaign. It was the passionate George Washington who rode up alone into the face of the British troops landing at Kip's bay, New York city, when two or three patriot battalions played the poltroon. It was the same old spirit, dating from Braddock's day and earlier, which bade George Washington as man and soldier ride in between the fire of his own troops and that of the enemy at Princeton, until his aid-de-camp could bear his anxiety no longer, and hid his face in his hat to prevent seeing him fall. And it was just this same fierce fighter who burst out in flaming wrath and angry words against the fool Charles Lee at Monmouth, because he shrunk from giving a hard blow at the enemy at the critical moment, when a hard blow must be successful. This was no time for mincing words; but that it was a time for action, and that a failure to act then was almost treasonable cowardice, is shown by the fact that the day was recovered, even at that unfavorable crisis, by a few prompt soldierly dispositions under the very fire of the enemy. So, last of all, it was still George Washington the soldier, the man of passionate fighting impulses, who broke out into words of anger, that frightened poor private secretary Lear, when General St. Clair, deliberately disregarding the President's latest caution, had allowed himself to be surprised by Indians, so that hundreds of brave men were uselessly slaughtered. It is evident, indeed, that Mr. McMaster does not know George Washington, when he makes this latest of Washington's outbursts of passion the text of his homily on the wickedness of swearing; or, what is worse, the occasion for sly hints as to the possibilities of baseness hidden under publicly known excellences as general and president.

For right here, too, we learn to know the man George Washington further, as most tender-hearted. There is no real brave man, however fierce a fighter when it is time for his blood to be up, who is not also most kindly in his feelings. For let us read all he said when the news of St. Clair's defeat reached him: "To suffer that army to be cut in pieces, hacked, butchered, tomahawked, by a surprise, the very thing I guarded him against! O God! O God! he's worse than a murderer! How can he

answer it to his country? The blood of the slain is upon him, the curse of widows and orphans, the curse of heaven!" Now we do not dare assert that in what Mr. Lodge has to say in comment on this he means to aim a severe blow at Mr. McMaster. He speaks in complimentary terms of him in the introduction. Yet no words could have hit that historian more squarely between the eyes than these: "The description of this scene by an eye-witness *has been in print for many years*,[1] and yet we find people who say that Washington was cold of heart and lacking in human sympathy. What could be more intensely human than this? What a warm heart is here, and what a lightning glimpse of a passionate nature bursting through silence into burning speech!"

But this is all of a piece with the man George Washington long before he was either general or president. While still a young man, commanding on the Virginia frontier, he was harassed by the apathy of the legislators, who contemplated the desolations of Indian warfare with perfect equanimity at a safe distance. Then he wrote: "The supplicating tears of the women and moving petitions of the men melt me into such deadly sorrow that I solemnly declare, if I know my own mind, I could offer myself a willing sacrifice to the butchering enemy, provided that would contribute to the people's ease." And Mr. Lodge eloquently remarks: "This is one of the rare flashes of personal feeling which disclose the real man, warm of heart and temper, full of human sympathy, and giving vent to hot indignation in words which still ring clear and strong across the century that has come and gone." It would seem that Mr. McMaster's study of contemporary newspapers, including those of the notorious Freneau and Bache, has been so exhaustive that there was no time left for him to consult Washington's own letters. These might have dissipated some of those chilly suspicions awakened by hostile and unscrupulous assailants, *paid* to make assaults upon a character too overwhelmingly great and towering to be quite endurable to such infinitesimal creatures of the dust.

To know the man George Washington as distinct from the general and president, we need perhaps also to get a view of him as a thinker. There have been as wrong impressions as to what he was capable of revolving in his mind as there were regarding his heart and temperament. To know George Washington we must know something of his mind. As to mental equipment he is supposed to occupy a very mediocre place. And it is true that he was not very learned. The classic and the modern languages were unknown to him. Yet he had been a good reader, was well acquainted with history, and understood the force of its examples.

[1] Italics are ours.

But above all learning he had an excellent head; and, as Matthew Arnold truly says: "The valuable thing in letters, that is, in the acquainting oneself with the best which has been thought and said in the world, is the judgment which forms itself insensibly in a fair mind along with fresh knowledge." And this result of letters or reading, which depends entirely upon the excellency of the mind that addresses itself to them, and not upon the amount of learning acquired, was eminently present in the man George Washington. "If you speak of solid information or sound judgment," said Patrick Henry at one time, "Colonel Washington is unquestionably the greatest man in the congress."

This power of mind shone forth both in his generalship and statesmanship. He could see occasions of great and critical importance, when all must be risked if all was not to be lost, and could seize the moment when such occasions became ripe. He could retreat, be a true Fabius, refuse to fight when all the soldier within him burned to fight, and play a skillful game of fence with an antagonist superior in numbers. Thus he withdrew through New Jersey before Cornwallis. But then at the right instant he struck the blows at Trenton and at Princeton. "Moreover," as Mr. Lodge observes, "these battles show not only generalship of the first order, but great statesmanship. . . . By Trenton and Princeton Washington inflicted deadly blows upon the enemy, but he did far more by reviving the patriotic spirit of the country, fainting under the bitter experience of defeat, and by sending fresh life and hope and courage throughout the whole people." And he adds: "To the strong brain growing ever keener and quicker as the pressure became more intense, to the iron will gathering force as defeat thickened, to the high, unbending character, and to the passionate and fighting temper of Washington, we owe the brilliant campaign which in the darkest hour turned the tide and saved the cause of the Revolution."

George Washington's generalship again shone brightly in the campaign which included the two battles of the Brandywine and Germantown. Both were defeats; but the force of the enemy was overwhelming and their appointments perfect, while Washington's army was small and wretchedly equipped. It was the wonder of European military men such as Frederick the Great, that such an army as Washington's after the defeat at Brandywine should have been ready to take the offensive at Germantown, and so nearly snatch victory. While, besides all this, the Fabian policy was deliberately laid aside with a far-seeing purpose: it was necessary to keep Howe from going to the aid of Burgoyne. It was incredible to Washington that he should have gone off on the expedition to Philadelphia at that

juncture. But being there, he saw the necessity of keeping him busy, and he did it, and thus indirectly Burgoyne's surrender was made possible by the operations of the commander-in-chief. And as for skill and promptness in combination, the power of bold and rapid striking, as well as that of seeing the vital point where to strike and crush, the whole campaign issuing in the surrender of Yorktown affords a clear example. "It was a bold stroke to leave Clinton behind at the mouth of the Hudson," says Mr. Lodge, commenting on this campaign, "and only the quickness with which it was done, and the careful deception which had been practiced, made it possible. Once at Yorktown, there was little more to do. The combination was so perfect, and the judgment had been so sure, that Cornwallis was crushed as helplessly as if he had been thrown before the car of Juggernaut. There was really but little fighting, for there was no opportunity to fight. Washington held the British in a vice, and the utter helplessness of Cornwallis, the entire inability of such a good and gallant soldier even to struggle, are the most convincing proofs of the military genius of his antagonist."

Even before the career of the general was quite finished, George Washington begins to loom upon the vision as an enlightened, far-seeing, practical, patriotic statesman. He rose above his surroundings, the true sign of a great mind, whether it have learning or not. While men all around him—men even like Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry—were bursting with sectional jealousies, and paralyzing the confederation by the narrow-minded assertion and the more mischievous application of the principle of states' rights, Washington's clear eye was already fixed upon a national existence. Cherishing himself a truly national spirit, he saw far ahead the need of a strong national government. Taking farewell of the several governors as commander-in-chief of the army he wrote: "If a spirit of disunion, or obstinacy and perverseness, should in any of the states attempt to frustrate all the happy effects that might be expected to flow from the union, that state which puts itself in opposition to the aggregate wisdom of the continent will alone be responsible for all the consequences. . . . It is indispensable to the happiness of the individual states that there should be lodged somewhere a supreme power to regulate and govern the general concerns of the confederated republic, without which the union cannot be of long duration, and everything must very rapidly tend to anarchy and confusion." This voice of warning was unheeded, the anarchy and confusion came, and then at last the people learned to see the wisdom of George Washington. Then came the Constitution, and after it the government. And constantly the mind of Washington penetrated to the

necessities of each situation as it arose, and by the clearness of his vision was enabled to start the United States upon a career of national being and prosperity which still very closely follows the lines laid down by him, or with his intelligent approval.

Mr. Lodge apologizes at the close of his volumes for their generally eulogistic tone—"a tone of almost unbroken praise." "If this be so," he says, "it is because I could come to no other conclusions, . . . and although my deductions may be wrong, they at least have been carefully and slowly made." These deductions cannot be so very wrong, when we contemplate, in conclusion, the words in which Mr. Lecky, the English historian, speaks of Washington in his latest book: "In civil as in military life, he was pre-eminent among his contemporaries for the clearness and soundness of his judgment, for his perfect moderation and self-control, for the quiet dignity and the indomitable firmness with which he pursued every path which he had deliberately chosen. Of all the great men in history he was the most invariably judicious, and there is scarcely a rash word or action or judgment recorded of him. . . . In the dark hour of national ingratitude, and in the midst of the most universal and intoxicating flattery, he was always the same calm, wise, just, and single-minded man, pursuing the course which he believed to be right, without fear or favor or fanaticism; equally free from the passions that spring from interest, and from the passions that spring from imagination. . . . He was in the highest sense of the words a gentleman and a man of honor, and he carried into public life the severest standard of private morals."

Other men have been made great by position or success. George Washington was great before he reached these, in the simple majesty of his splendid, symmetrical manhood. He was General Washington, and he was President Washington; but he was George Washington before either. And it is as George Washington that the world *knows* him, and, *knowing him*, admires and loves.

As illustrating the keen appreciation by Washington of the patriotism of men in every section of the country, and how he could pour forth unstinted praise of it wherever found, we present the letter of which a facsimile in part appears on the following page. The occasion of its writing was the receipt of a letter from a number of New York gentlemen, dated November 26, 1783—or the day after the evacuation—expressing their gratification at being once more restored to their city, and attributing that restoration, under Providence, to his "Wisdom and Energy," and

Gentlemen, I thank You sincerely for yours affectionate Address, and entreat You to be persuaded that Nothing could be more agreeable to me than your polite Congratulations: Permit me, in Turn, to felicitate You on the happy Repossession of your City. Great as your Joy must be on this pleasing Occasion, it can scarcely exceed that which I feel, at seeing You, Gentlemen, who from the noblest Motives have suffered a voluntary Exile of many Years, return again in Peace & Triumph to enjoy the Fruits of your virtuous Conduct

. . . . . .

May the Tranquility of your City be perpetual — May the Ruins soon be repaired, Commerce flourish Science be fostered, & and all the civil and social Virtues be cherished, in the same illustrious Manner which formerly reflected so much Credit on the Inhabitants of New York In fine, may every Species of Felicity attend You Gentlemen & your worthy fellow Citizens.

G. Washington

assuring him: "that we shall preserve with our latest breath our gratitude for your services, and veneration for your character." The full text of Washington's reply (of which one paragraph is omitted from the facsimile) is as follows:

GENTLEMEN, I thank you sincerely for your affectionate Address, and intreat You to be persuaded that nothing could be more agreeable to me than your polite Congratulations: Permit me, in Turn, to felicitate you on the happy Repossession of your City. Great as your joy must be on this pleasing occasion, it can scarcely exceed that which I feel, at seeing you, Gentlemen, who from the noblest Motives have suffered a voluntary Exile of many years, return again in Peace & Triumph to enjoy the fruits of your Virtuous Conduct.

The Fortitude and Perseverance which you and your suffering Brethren have exhibited in the Course of the War, have not only endeared You to your Countrymen, but will be remembered with Admiration and Applause to the latest Posterity.

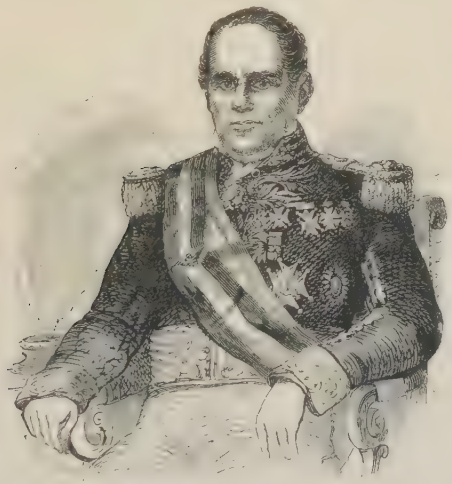
May the Tranquility of your City be perpetual. May the Ruins soon be repaired, Commerce flourish, Science be fostered, and all the civil and social Virtues be cherished, in the same illustrious Manner, which formerly reflected so much Credit on the Inhabitants of New York. In fine, may every species of Felicity attend You Gentlemen, & your worthy fellow Citizens.

G° WASHINGTON

THE STRUGGLE OF TEXAS FOR INDEPENDENCE

By William H. Mayes

The history of the various states of the Union is so blended with that of the nation that characteristic individuality is largely lost, but Texas has a history peculiarly and distinctly its own. The weird story of the brief struggle of the early pioneers of Texas for independence from Mexican oppression seems more like a chivalric romance of the early times than a true record of stern realities of the present century. The Texas campaign of 1836 furnishes one of the most interesting and remarkable chapters in American history, yet, strange to say, the great masses of the people know but little of its tragic defeats and resplendent achievements.



GENERAL SANTA ANNA

The permanent settlement and colonization of the territory of Texas by Anglo-Americans dates from July 16, 1821, the day on which Stephen F. Austin first entered the wilderness with thirteen hardy pioneers and selected the rich valleys of the Brazos and Colorado rivers for the occupancy of his colony, after having made, as he thought, all the necessary preliminary arrangements with the territorial governor at San Antonio. Arriving with his colony the latter part of the year, he learned that it would be necessary for him to visit the City of Mexico to secure the sanction of the newly inaugurated republican government. Leaving the colony in charge of Josiah H. Bell, Austin proceeded to the City of Mexico, but the unsettled state of Mexican affairs made it necessary for him to remain a whole year to secure the passage of satisfactory colonization laws. So favorable were these that numerous colonial grants were applied for; settlements were rapidly opened, and the pioneers enjoyed a brief era of prosperity, only interrupted by occasional depredations of roving bands of Indians. The government of Mexico was at first very friendly to the Austin colony. For six years it was exempted from taxation, duties, and customs, while many other liberal concessions were made in the grants.

The first revolt against Mexico followed a decree of April 6, 1830, issued by President Bustamente. It prohibited any further emigration from the United States to Texas, directed that Mexican convicts should be transported to Texas (thus converting the province into a penal colony), and ordered the opening of custom-houses and the collection of onerous taxes and duties. The military sent to enforce these orders was successfully repulsed and driven from the territory. Santa Anna had engaged about this time in a civil war with Bustamente for the restoration of the Mexican republican constitution of 1824, and there was great rejoicing in the colony when he assumed the presidency in March, 1833.

The republican government of Mexico consisted of several quasi-independent states, and the province had been attached as a territory to Coahuila "until Texas possessed the necessary elements to prove a separate state of herself." The legislature of Texas was composed of ten deputies from Coahuila and two from Texas, and all legislation became decidedly unfavorable to the colonists. The latter prepared a memorial, setting forth the reasons why Texas should be separated from Coahuila, and have a state government of her own. Austin was delegated to convey the proposed constitution to the City of Mexico and to urge upon the government the admission of Texas into the Mexican confederacy. When he arrived in the city, Santa Anna was in the midst of his plans for changing the form of government from a republic to centralized despotism, and already several states had been reduced to submission.

He was alarmed at the rapid progress Texas had made in so short a time, and to more effectually place the territory at a disadvantage, Austin was arrested and incarcerated in a foul dungeon, without books or writing material, "where for many months he never saw a ray of sunshine nor the hand that gave him food." The Mexican dictator was alarmed by the superior industry, thrift, enterprise, and invention of the colonists, and regretted that they had been invited to Texas, preferring that, if occupied at all, it should be occupied by savages, who would effectually cut off all communication and intercourse with a people who seemed to love hardships, and who possessed such restless energy that they prospered under the severest reverses. While he was confident of his ability to subjugate the Mexican states he began to fear that the progress and civilization of these people would make a reign of despotism difficult, and that it might eventually blot out of existence his own barbarous government.

Austin's petition was refused, and an army of four thousand men ordered to Texas on a pretense of protecting the coast and frontier, but in reality to carry forward a war of extermination. The uncalled-for incarcer-

ation of Austin, and the sending of military forces, as the only response to the request for separate state government, served to kindle the flame that had long been smoldering; and when Santa Anna issued an order commanding the people to surrender their private arms, thereby exposing their wives and children to the mercy of unfeeling savages, as well as to the horrors of starvation (many being dependent on wild game for their daily food), the final stroke of despotic tyranny had been delivered. The will of the oppressed subjects refused longer to bow to that of so merciless a ruler, and Texans unitedly resolved on freedom from Mexican misrule. The same spirit of independence that had been instilled in the breasts of the early settlers of the United States had found a warm place in the bosoms of these descendants of a hardy race of pioneers.

It was a desperate measure, but the colonists saw in it their only hope of saving themselves and families from further oppression, and their country from the despotic sway of tyrannical monarchism; therefore, with a total citizenship of scarcely two thousand able-bodied men, Texas, in convention, on March 2, 1833, formally declared her independence of Mexico —a country with a magnificent array of trained warriors. Santa Anna, now having subdued in turn each state of the republic, had already invaded the province in person with a well-equipped army of eight thousand men, to reduce to subjection and chastise these self-willed subjects, and thereby perfect his right to the self-styled appellation, the "Napoleon of the West."

THE ALAMO.

The Texas army having captured San Antonio, the Mexican seat of government, in December, and having driven the Mexican forces from the city and taken possession of the fort of the Alamo, Santa Anna first directed his attention to retaking San Antonio, and atoning for the disgraceful defeat of the Mexican army.

He came upon the town February 23, and the garrison, under command of Colonel W. B. Travis, at once withdrew to the Alamo, a structure fortified soon after the Spaniards settled that part of Texas, and used as a place of safety for the settlers and their property in case of Indian hos-

tility. It had neither the strength, arrangement, nor compactness of a regular fortification. The chapel was seventy-five feet long, sixty-two wide, twenty-two and a half high, surrounded by walls of solid masonry four feet thick. It was one story in height, with upper windows, underneath which were platforms for mounting cannon. There was a barrack, one hundred and eighty-six feet long, connected with the church, and another one hundred and fourteen feet in length. These were eighteen feet high, and, like the chapel, built of solid masonry. The fortifications were manned by fourteen guns, but they were so situated at the windows that they were of little use for a close engagement.

On Sunday, March 6, a little after midnight, the Mexican army, four thousand strong, marched to their assigned places for the final attack. At four o'clock the bugle sounded. The Mexican forces rushed upon the fort and were met by a shower of grape and rifle-balls. Twice the assailants fell back in dismay. Santa Anna put himself in front of his men, and with shouts and oaths led them to the third charge. Above the clash of arms and the roar of battle could be heard the assassin notes of DeQuello, "No quarter!" When they reached the foot of the wall ladders were placed in position, and the Mexican officers forced their men to ascend them. Man after man, column after column, made the attempt to scale the walls, only to fall to the ground, stabbed or shot down by the Texans. But the feeble garrison, worn out by sheer exhaustion, could not long withstand the assault of such overwhelming numbers; a breach was made, the defense of the outer wall was abandoned, and the garrison took refuge in the chapel, where further retreat was impossible, and where each group of brave men fought and died on the spot where it was brought to bay.

Travis, Crockett, Bowie (names that will be ever honored in history), together with the entire band of one hundred and eighty-three, were cruelly slaughtered after the most bitter resistance. Mrs. Dickinson, her infant child, and a negro servant were the only ones spared, every combatant being put to the sword. "Thermopylæ had its messenger of defeat, but the Alamo had none." The bodies of the Texans were collected in a huge pile and burned, and as the Sabbath sun sank in the west, the smoke from that funeral pyre of heroes ascended to heaven.

General Urrea had advanced along the Texas coast simultaneously with Santa Anna's march on San Antonio. He proceeded by way of San Patricio to Goliad, where Colonel J. W. Fannin was in command of about four hundred men, mostly of the Georgia battalion. Fannin was taken by surprise at the approach of Urrea's army, and realizing the folly of resisting so large a force, made a retreat, but was intercepted at Colita creek.

Two assaults were successfully repulsed by the little army, but the desperate condition of the forces compelled them to surrender, which they did, on condition that they should be treated as prisoners of war in civilized countries and be sent at once to the United States. The prisoners were taken back to Goliad, where, on the morning of March 27, without previous warning and under pretext of starting them home, they were marched out in four companies, strongly guarded, and when a short distance from the walls were halted and shot. Those who were not instantly killed were dispatched with sabres, except a few who made their escape. History furnishes no record of a more cruel massacre. Santa Anna offered no excuse, for there was none.

SIEGE OF THE ALAMO, MARCH 6, 1836.

When Santa Anna learned that the capture of the Alamo had been followed by the massacre of Fannin's entire force, he thought the conquest of Texas effected, and was preparing to return to his capital and leave his two trusted generals to complete the reorganization of the government of the conquered province. But hearing that Houston, with a considerable army, was encamped on the Colorado river, he concluded to remain and complete his conquest and return to Mexico in martial style, the hero of the continent, the "Napoleon of the West."

The slaughter at the Alamo and the massacre at Goliad stirred to the very depths the blood of every Texas citizen. They saw that Santa Anna's policy was one of extermination, and that he did not hesitate to undertake any form of cold-blooded barbarity. The army was now reduced to less than eight hundred able-bodied men, but they determined to risk their lives for Texas independence, sharing, if need be, the fate of their brave comrades under Travis and Fannin. The women and children of Texas were dependent on this little force of soldiers for their lives, and this was inspiration enough to make the Texans feel that they could meet and conquer on the battlefield any host of Mexicans that could be arrayed against them. The remaining army was hastily gathered together, and the women and children placed under the protection of the soldiers. A hasty march was

made to the junction of Buffalo Bayou with the San Jacinto river, where a suitable position was selected to intercept Santa Anna's army, then advancing upon San Jacinto. Vince's Bridge furnished the only means of escape from the country for a vanquished army. This, at best, was a very insecure exit for retreating troops, but the Texans thought only of victory in front of them, protection for their families, and revenge for the loss of their countrymen. The little army was drawn up on the banks of the river in a beautiful live-oak grove, and eloquently addressed by General Sam Houston, the sturdy and beloved commander, who at the close of an impassioned appeal gave them, as the battle-cry, "Remember the Alamo!" The words were at once taken up by every man in the army, and one unanimous shout pierced the very vault of heaven, "Remember the Alamo! Remember the Alamo!" while the green island of prairie trees echoed and repeated the cry, "Remember the Alamo!" They did not have long to wait. Their eloquent leader had scarcely concluded his address when the scouts came flying into camp and announced that Santa Anna's army was approaching. This was at ten o'clock on April 20. The remainder of that day was spent in skirmishing, and it was not until three o'clock the next afternoon that decisive action was taken. The conscious disparity in numbers served only to increase the enthusiasm and confidence of the Texas forces and heighten their anxiety for the conflict.

GENERAL SAM HOUSTON.

The moment had come for victory or defeat, for independence or death. The war-cry was sounded, and the shout of an united army rent the air with the inspiring words, "The Alamo! The Alamo!" General Houston, riding in front, called out, "Come on, my fearless braves, your general leads you!" At this moment Deaf Smith dashed along the lines, swinging an axe over his head and shouting, "I have cut down Vince's Bridge! Now fight for your lives and remember the Alamo!" The Texas army advanced to within sixty paces of the Mexican lines, when a storm of bullets went flying over their heads. The volley was not answered until a shower of lead was poured into the bosoms of the Mexicans. The Texans

charged with the fury of madmen, and were soon engaged in a hand-to-hand conflict, using their guns as clubs, and with bowie knives literally carving their way through the lines of living flesh.

The Mexicans were overcome by the very fierceness of their foes, and in fifteen minutes the battle was ended and independence was won. Only eight Texans had lost their lives and but thirty had been wounded. Nearly seven hundred Mexicans had perished on the battlefield, three hundred had been wounded, and eight hundred captured, by an army scarcely exceeding seven hundred. Santa Anna was captured and was held a prisoner of war for several months.

Scarcely in the world's history is there a record of such disastrous defeats, followed so closely by so renowned a victory; seldom has a successful war for independence terminated so soon after its inception, and never elsewhere has so grand a victory been achieved under such unfavorable circumstances. On the one side was arrayed a paid military, well clothed, armed with all the military equipments of the age, trained to warfare, and encouraged by the personal command of their ruler; while on the other were a few desperate pioneers, poorly clad, half starved, without suitable arms, disheartened at the loss of their countrymen at the Alamo and at Goliad, but fighting with all the determination that could be inspired by unjust oppression, the slaughter of relatives and friends, the perilous situation of the country, and the threatened destruction of their homes and their helpless wives and children.

Heaven could not but smile on so noble a warfare, and enter the decree, "Justice has won and the victory is yours."

TEXAS

Up the hillside, down the glen,
Rouse the sleeping citizen;
Summon out the might of men!

Like a lion growling low,—
Like a night-storm rising slow,—
Like the tread of unseen foe,—

It is coming,—it is nigh!
Stand your homes and altars by;
On your own free thresholds die.
. . . . . .
Whoso shrinks and falters now,
Whoso to the yoke would bow,
Brand the craven on his brow!

—WHITTIER

Hymn of The Alamo

air. "Marseillien."

"Rise, man the wall, our clarion's blast,
Now sounds its final reveillé;
This dawning morn must be the last
Our fated band shall ever see.
To life, but not to hope I are wells;
Yon trumpets clang, and cannons peal,
And storming shout and clash of steel
Are ours but not our country's knell.
Welcome the Spartan's death —
'Tis no despairing strife —
We fall, we die, but our expiring breath
Is Freedom's breath of life."

"Here, on this new Thermopylæ
Our monument shall towker on high,
And "Alamo" hereafter by
In bloodier fields the battle cry!"
Thus Travis from the rampart cried,
And, when his warriors saw the foe
Like whelming billows more below,
At once each dauntless heart replied,
"Welcome the Spartan's death —
'Tis no despairing strife —
We fall, we die, but our expiring breath
Is Freedom's breath of life."

They come — like autumn's leaves they fall;
Yet, hordes on hordes, they onward rush,
With gory tramp they mount the wall
Till numbers the defenders crush,
Till falls their flag when none remain.
Well may the ruffians quake to tell.
How Travis and his hundred fell
Amid a thousand foemen slain!
They died the Spartan's death,
But not in hopeless strife —
Like brothers died and their expiring breath
Was Freedom's breath of life.

With the authors compliments to Judge Bell

William M. Potter

THE REVOLUTIONARY TROUBLES AND COMMERCE

By John Austin Stevens

The capture of Montreal by General Amherst on September 8, 1760, completed the conquest of New France in America. The capitulation of Vaudreuil included all Canada, which was said "to extend to the crest of land dividing branches of Erie and Michigan from those of the Miami, the Wabash, and the Illinois rivers."

William Pitt, the master spirit of the war, was not satisfied with this partial subjection, and looked to English domination in the West Indies, as well as on the mainland. The sugar islands, as they were called, were a prolific source of trade and wealth. Angered by information of a special convention between France and Spain, which, concluded in secret on August 15, 1761, threatened war in the coming spring, the great minister resolved to seize the remainder of the French West India islands, especially Martinique, and to capture Havana. These conquests were to be followed by that of Panama, and of the Philippine islands. The Spanish monopoly in the New World was to be forever destroyed. The cabinet refusing to support his war measures,—which were, to withdraw the British ambassador from Madrid, and, by intercepting the Spanish treasure-galleons, to cripple the resources of Spain,—Pitt resigned the seals, October 6, 1761. But the diplomacy of Choiseul, inducing Spain to join with France in a demand upon Portugal to break off alliance with Great Britain, compelled a declaration of war by England, which was formally proclaimed on January 4, 1762. The desires of Pitt were shortly fulfilled by the capture of Martinique from the French on February 14, 1762, by an armament from New York under General Robert Monckton, governor of that province, supported by Admiral Rodney with a British fleet; and on July 30 following, (1762), of the city of Havana from Spain by an army sent from England under command of the Earl of Albemarle (under whom Carleton and Howe served), aided by Admiral Pococke with a powerful fleet. The first of these conquests was of Pitt's planning. Its reduction was followed by that of its dependent islands, comprising Grenada and the Grenadines, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Tobago—which included the possession of all the Caribbee isles. To recover something of their prestige, and at least to maintain a claim on the fishing banks, the French attacked and reduced St. John's, the capital of Newfoundland; but were soon dis-

lodged by an expedition under command of Lord Admiral Colville and Colonel Amherst, ordered thither by Sir Jeffrey Amherst.

With these acquisitions England dictated the terms of peace, and remodeled the political state of America at her will. Spain gave up the Floridas, which completed the English possession of the Atlantic coast from Cape Breton to the Gulf of Mexico, and in compensation France ceded New Orleans to Spain, with Louisiana west of the Mississippi. As to the West India captures, England restored Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Marie Galante to France, and Cuba with Havana to Spain. Spain abandoned and France retained rights on the northern fisheries. Preliminaries for peace on these bases, between France and Spain on the one side, and England and Portugal on the other, were signed at Fontainebleau on November 3, 1762; and the definitive treaty, known as the Treaty of Paris, received signature at that city on February 10, 1763. Had Pitt remained in power, not a vestige of European power, other than the British, would have remained on the North American continent.

In every one of these conquests, even in that of Havana, the colonies had taken an active, in some a decisive, part. They had been the mainstay of Pitt's policy, and had voted men and money without stint at his call, in full faith in his purpose and his power. His fall from power was the shadow which fell upon their triumph at the peace. The fact is a familiar one, that the war had enormously increased the national debt of Great Britain, and the matter next in order was how to raise the money to pay it, or at least its interest. Upon this pressing question and the manner of answering it hinged the issue of events during the next score of years.

Lord Halifax, and the other gentlemen of the Board of Trade and Plantations, to whom was intrusted the direction of affairs in the colonies, had matured, even while the war was in progress, a scheme for governing America and of raising a revenue in the colonies. Their plans were interrupted by the death, in October, 1760, of George the Second. The enforced retirement of Pitt followed the next October, 1761. The plan of the Board of Trade was to lower and collect the duties prescribed by the Sugar Act of 1733. By this act there was laid a tariff on the products of the islands—rum, sugar, and molasses—imported into any of the English colonies, and a drawback on all sugars refined in and exported from Great Britain, over and above all previous drawbacks and bounties; a provision which, apparently for the benefit of the English, and probably instigated by the Scotch refiners, struck a blow at this now thriving business in the New York colony.

The encroachments of the home government on the chartered rights and the unchartered liberties of the colonies, reached every branch of government. It is difficult, therefore, to measure the discontent with each, but an effort will be made to confine this study to the Acts of Trade. Massachusetts opposed the writs of assistance to officers of the customs; New York, the assumption of the crown to appoint the judiciary; Virginia, the attempt to enforce upon her a continuance of the traffic in slaves, which England had monopolized by one of the conditions of the Treaty of Paris. All alike, having seaports, resisted the enforcement of the Acts of Trade by the court of admiralty, which, by its nature, was independent of the provinces and answerable only to the king.

The restrictions of the Acts of Trade applied not only to the colonies, but also to Ireland, and in that application injured the colonies. No ship from its harbors could cross the Atlantic, nor could it send any of its products or manufactures except these were in English bottoms. The navigation acts of Charles II. were strictly prohibitive of export: of woolens, by that of William III., and later by statute of George II., 1732. Export of linen was permitted by Anne, 1704, and again by George II., 1715. Importation could only be made of colonial produce through or from England. The Sugar Act of George II., 1733, just quoted, by its first section forbade this importation except from Great Britain only.

The existing duty on the trade of the colonies with the French and Spanish islands was prohibitory from its excess, but was regularly evaded by connivance between the merchants and the British officials, from governors to customs officers. In March, 1763, Charles Townshend, First Lord of Trade, and charged with the administration of the colonies, formulated the long-meditated plan of reducing this duty and enforcing its collection. Parliament was anxious for it, as it was known that the collection of less than two thousand pounds revenue in America cost the British customs establishment between seven and eight thousand pounds a year. In the same month George Grenville, then First Lord of the Admiralty, supplemented this bill with one giving authority to employ the ships and officers of the navy as custom-house officers, guards, and informers. It is not probable that the Americans would have revolted against these or any other customs regulations. They would have evaded them. They did evade them, and quarreled with the modes of their enforcement, but they did not deny the right to Parliament to levy its customs and to collect them. But the revenue from the custosm, with the restricted trade and the lowered duties, was insufficient for the support of the British military establishment.

In this dilemma the Lords of the Treasury, in September, 1763, ordered the draft of a bill to extend the stamp duties to the colonies. In the interim between this first design of the Stamp Act and the royal assent by commission, George the Third being then retired in a fit of insanity (March 22, 1765), stringent measures were taken to enforce the acts of navigation. The American illicit trade with the sugar islands and the Spanish main, which, in the mild language of Bancroft, "custom had established in the American ports [as] a compromise between the American claim to as free a trade as the English, and the British acts of restriction," was very large: it being estimated that of one million and a half pounds of tea consumed each year in the colonies, not more than one-tenth part came from England.

Passing over the familiar subjects of the non-importation agreements, the action of the inhabitants of Boston, New York, Charleston, and other cities, in regard to the tea ships, and the initial events of the Revolutionary war—a matter of great interest and of special bearing on the present study is that of privateering during the war, both on the part of the English and the Americans.

The British naval service had become so irksome and distasteful to the sailors that Admiral Arbuthnot had to resort to extreme measures to keep his vessels manned. As a final resort he laid an embargo on all shipping. In September, 1779, on assuming command, he had declared by proclamation: "That in future for every seaman or seafaring man that may desert from the king's ships or transports, I will press man for man out of the privateers and merchant vessels." This continued as a standing notice, and was published in all the newspapers at New York.[1] The merchants, distressed by the embargo and anxious to be relieved from the daily expense accumulating on ships and goods, applied to Sir Henry Clinton, the commander-in-chief. Colonel William Tryon, who had been colonial governor, and continued to serve in the British army after the outbreak of the Revolution, also plainly set forth to Admiral Arbuthnot that his proclamation, however well intended or proper for the prevention of desertion

[1] There were three newspapers in New York in 1772: *The New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, printed by Hugh Gaine, printer and bookseller and stationer, in the Bible and Crown, in Hanover Square (established August 3, 1752, discontinued October 13, 1783); *The New York Journal, or The General Advertiser*, "containing the freshest articles both Foreign and Domestick," printed and published by John Holt, on Hunter's Quay, Rotten Row (established May 29, 1766, discontinued in 1785); *The New York Gazette or Weekly Post Boy*, "containing the freshest Advices Foreign and Domestick," established by James Parker in January, 1742–3—August 27, 1770. Samuel Inslee and Anthony Carr published this paper and continued it two years.—Isaiah Thomas, *History of Printing in America*.

from the king's ships, could not fail to damp the ardor of the merchants and the privateers. These demonstrations resulted in the relief desired. Not long after, Governor James Robertson, who was the Governor of New York province, so far as he could govern it during the war—advised Lord George Germaine that he was "in hopes soon to be able to revive the spirit of privateering."

It was necessary that the system so effective on the American side, should be set off by an equally effective one on the side of the British. As Governor Robertson wrote: "The obstructions to their trade had given the rebels but too many opportunities lately of carrying into their ports many of our ships and great numbers of their own." Insurance also had risen greatly. From the beginning of the war the rates had been high, but now were extreme. On February 17, 1778, the Duke of Richmond stated in Parliament: "The price of insurance to the West Indies and North America is increased from two to two and one-half, and five per cent., with convoy; but without convoy and unarmed the said insurance has been made at fifteen per cent. But, generally, ships under such circumstances can not be insured at all."

Privateers in large numbers issued constantly from the harbors of New England. But the successes of this class of patriotic fighters were not confined to the exploits of the vessels fitted out in New England. One of the boldest achievements of the war took place in May, 1780. On the 24th, four American privateers, three of which were from New London, caught sight of the Carteret packet from Falmouth, and giving chase, ran her on shore at Sandy Hook, although she was armed with twenty-two nine-pounders. Captain Newman of the packet barely escaped with his mail, being pursued in his row-boat for several leagues. The packet's remains were sold at auction in July. The Chamber of Commerce generously rewarded Captain Newman with a piece of plate of twenty guineas' value, with their arms thereon, for his "attention and prudence in saving and bringing at all hazards his mail to New York," all of which was duly engraved. A short time after this daring feat the Mercury packet, Captain Dillon, was captured and taken into Philadelphia, and the cutter of the Hon. Major Cochrane was attacked off the Hook. Again, in the early part of June the Comet and the Hawk, cruising in company, were chased by a British warship. The Hawk was driven on shore on Long Island and stranded. The Comet burned her wreck, took off or spiked her guns, and continuing her cruise off Sandy Hook about two miles, cut out three schooners and five sloops, all of which Captain Kemp brought safe into Philadelphia, with twenty-eight prisoners.

As the war went on another class of privateers appeared. These were the New York whale-boat men, led by Captain Hyler, the first captain of the Whaling Company, whose business had been arrested by the war. The shallow waters about New York bay afforded safe harbor and refuge to those light craft. The Shrewsbury river was the favorite resort of Captain Hyler. From these waters, which are a continuation of Sandy Hook bay, he watched the fisheries on the Shrewsbury banks, which were a main source of supply for the New York market, and pounced upon the fishing smacks as a fish-hawk on its prey, at his pleasure. His habit was to capture the vessels, seize their cargoes, let them go free for a ransom of one hundred dollars, and recapture them if they appeared again. He neither allowed commutation nor granted passes.

The exploits of the regular privateers, as well as of these whale-boat men, gave rise to a rather sharp interchange of opinions between the Chamber of Commerce and Admiral Arbuthnot. In a memorial addressed to him they advise that "a couple of fast-sailing frigates constantly cruise between Delaware and Block Island, and making the light house at Sandy Hook once or twice a week as the winds might permit, would effectually protect the trade of this port from all invaders." They state also the importance of the fishery upon the banks of the Shrewsbury to the New York garrison, and say that "unless a proper armed vessel can be appointed daily to protect the fishermen from the gun and whale boats that are preparing upon the adjacent shores to attack them, they will find it impracticable to pursue that business." The Americans had found the fault in the armor of the supposed invulnerable foe.

To this representation Arbuthnot replied from his flagship, the Royal Oak, off New York, that his frigates had been constantly cruising off the bar, and between the points named by the chamber; but that so limited was his force, that it had not been in his power to "station a single frigate for the protection of the trade bound to Halifax, a port not inferior to any in America." Referring to the second topic, he added: "With respect to the protection of the fishermen employed on the banks of the Shrewsbury for supplying your market, I cannot help mentioning to you that early after I took command on this station I purchased a vessel mounting twelve carriage-guns; she was fitted out at a considerable expense; I requested that the city would man her, that I would pay the men, and that her services should never be diverted to any other purpose than giving such protection; my offer was received with a strong degree of coolness, and till now I have never had any further solicitation on this subject."

To this rather sharp retort the chamber answered disclaiming any purpose of giving offense in suggesting their "ideas of the mode (never hitherto altogether adopted) of affording *effectual* protection to this port." In the matter of the admiral's reference to the protection of Halifax, they scout the idea of comparison between the two ports (that and New York) as harbors for large ships, or as to the export and import trade of each. "Though most of the charts are marked with only three and one-half fathoms of water on the bar outside of Sandy Hook, yet the most experienced pilots declare they have always found the depth four fathoms. After getting over the bar the water deepens all the way to New York. Ships of war can go up the river through Hell Gate and the Sound, between Long Island and the continent, into the ocean. Sir James Wallace in the Experiment, of fifty guns, when chased by the French fleet off the east end of Long Island in 1777, came through the Sound, Hell Gate, and the East River, to New York. The tide flows up Hudson's or the North River one hundred and eighty miles. Before the Revolution ships went from London Bridge to Albany, which is one hundred and seventy miles up the river; only six miles below it, it was necessary to lighten them by taking out part of the cargo." [1]

To his remarks upon his offer to protect the fishing banks, they assure him that no application had ever been made to them on that subject, or "they would have taken it up with the same zeal which they doubt not your excellency will admit they manifested to procure volunteers for manning his majesty's ships under your command"; and they end with the engagement that if the admiral will be "so good as to furnish a proper vessel with provisions and ammunition to protect the fishermen on the banks of Shrewsbury for the benefit of this market, the Chamber of Commerce will cheerfully exert their endeavors, and they doubt not they will be able in a short time not only to procure as many men as your excellency may think sufficient for that purpose, but also to raise funds for paying them, provided protection from injuries can be granted by your excellency to the men, and that they shall be discharged as soon as the fishing season is over."

The admiral took no offense at the asperity of this communication. He reminded them that "offense to his majesty's enemies, as well as protection to the loyal part of the community, necessarily engaged a considerable part of his attention," and assured them that he would "always bear testimony to the ready and cheerful assistance which the city gave to raising

[1] *Political Magazine*, 1781.

volunteers." He made no further allusion to the protection of the fishing banks.

The Chamber of Commerce was furnished still another opportunity to express itself upon the subject of privateers; and this time they were those who were intended to serve on the side of the British. Admiral Digby, in command of the station after the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, addressed the following letter to Governor Robertson, which was referred by the latter to the Chamber of Commerce:

NEW YORK, *April* 3, 1782.

SIR:

There are already above one thousand men out in privateers, and four more ready, to man which will take above two hundred men. I must therefore beg your excellency will withhold granting any more commissions till the return of some of the large privateers whose cruises are expired, as there are two frigates now in port that cannot be sent to sea for want of men. At the same time I beg it may be understood that I mean to give all the encouragement to privateers in my power, whenever the king's service will permit. But I must beg leave to take this opportunity of informing your excellency that unless they are kept within bounds it will be impossible to carry on the king's service, and that the Perseverance, belonging to Messrs. King & Kemble, and commanded by Mr. Ross, has sailed without my pass, and returned to the Hook, and sailed again after bidding defiance to the guardship and king's boats, which, if suffered to pass unnoticed, must in the end prove a great detriment to my intentions. I have the honor to be your excellency's very obedient servant,

ROBERT DIGBY.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY, GOVERNOR ROBERTSON.

In a lengthy memorial replying to this letter, addressed to the governor, the chamber observed, among other things, that "past uniform experience abundantly justified them in observing that however difficult it may be to carry on the king's service unless privateers are kept within bounds, it will be found much more so if these bounds be reduced to too narrow a compass"; that due encouragement to privateers is, in other words, only to tempt both landsmen as well as seamen by the most powerful inducements, that of making it their interest to resort from all parts of the continent to this port, "nor has any maxim obtained more universal assent than that all wise governments should assiduously consult and attend to the temper and genius of the people; and *it is notorious that the genius of no people was ever more peculiar or conspicuous than that of the Americans for privateering.*" They therefore recommend, "to impress no man returning from captivity by cartel or escape, until their return to this port after performing one voyage—to impress no man on shore or from any outward bound vessels, but that this port should really and truly

be an asylum to all of the above description, except as is before mentioned on some grand emergency"; else, "rather than be liable to an impress on board men-of-war on their arrival here before they have made a voyage, experience has fully evinced they will enter on board merchant vessels and privateers among the rebels." That there was an underlying sympathy with the patriots among the American mariners is thus made to appear by the testimony of men loyal to the crown.

The grave difficulties encountered by the United States in establishing its freedom abroad as well as at home must not be overlooked. The interests of the states were not and have never been entirely homogeneous. Each foreign power endeavored, after the old-school diplomacy, to intrigue for its own interests in the American domain, and the policy of each towards the young republic was governed by political rather than economic reasons. But while the continental powers sought closer relations, Great Britain stood aloof, partly in the hope that dissatisfaction and distress would be caused in New England by the continuance of her old restriction on the West India trade, which had been the most profitable to those colonies of all their commerce. While under this policy the annual exports from Great Britain to the United States had decreased nearly £4,000,000, or ten per cent., this loss was partially compensated by an increase in her exports to the West Indies; and while the imports from the United States into Great Britain had decreased annually about eight hundred thousand pounds, or fifty per cent., the imports from the West Indies had increased seven hundred thousand pounds, or twenty per cent. The decrease in the imports from the United States is accounted for by the decreased quantity of rice and tobacco from the Carolinas which found foreign markets through Great Britain—a condition of trade which caused equal dissatisfaction in Virginia, because of the seclusion of her staple product, which, in fact, in a few years destroyed her commercial importance. On the whole, however, Great Britain managed to maintain the balance of trade with the United States in her favor, and was content to wait the course of events at home and abroad, under the system of provisional annual legislation which had prevailed since the war; and meanwhile rejected all American overtures for a commercial treaty.

AN INCIDENT IN THE LIFE OF WEBSTER

By W. I. Crandall

To go back fifty years in the life of an active man is a long stretch for the memory; but the incident to be related is an amusing one, and not easily to be forgotten. Half a century ago the agricultural and mechanical interests of the empire state acquired a new impetus, judging from the numerous organizations of county fairs which were instituted in every part of the state, and were maintained with enthusiasm for successive years; followed later in each autumn, by a state fair, to close the season's enterprise. Everything was considered worthy of exhibition, from a mouse-trap to a stage coach, or from a rabbit to the best breeds of imported stock; and, as a consequence, the state fair became the great annual event, and a rallying-point for all that was worth seeing or hearing, and to which the most intelligent and practical citizens of the country gathered. Railroading was limited in its scope in those days, but the Erie canal still retained its usefulness and great popularity, as the chief artery of inter-communication; so much so, that the cities and villages along its banks and branches would charter the canal boats to carry their products and themselves to this grand centre of display—the state fair—an event which grew in importance each year, the trip becoming a source of pleasure as well as profit.

There was honorable rivalry between the inland cities to secure the fair for the succeeding year. When that point was settled, however, all the auxiliary county societies vied with each other to excel in the display and make it a success; while the fortunate city holding the prize left nothing undone to eclipse the fair of the preceding year. Not only was lavish hospitality provided for the visitors, and the city decorated, but marked efforts were made to secure an eloquent orator of known ability and national reputation to deliver the address before the state association and the thousands who were sure to be present. To fail in this was an unpardonable sin. Usually a grand evening banquet closed the orthodox festivities, at which all the notables, far and near, were honored guests, and the toasts and responses were not the least part of the well-rounded entertainment.

In the fall of 1841 or 1842 the state fair was held in the city of Rochester, then the greatest emporium of wheat and milling in the United States, for St. Paul and Minneapolis at that time were not yet in existence. Its milling capacity and remarkable water power made Rochester a leading

attraction to the dominant agricultural interests, and the weather proving favorable, the numbers that came were very large. The canal and basins were blockaded with the boats arriving, and the broad streets were none too spacious to accommodate the crowds of eager visitors landing every hour. To explain this unusual attendance, it may be added that the state committee had secured the presence of Daniel Webster as the orator of the day, and this fact alone was an incentive to multitudes to come, anxious to see and hear the famous American whose eloquent orations were the admiration of the civilized world.

The writer was then a boy employed in the leading jewelry store on the corner of what were known as Exchange and Buffalo streets, whose proprietor, a strong whig, had been long in business, and was an especial admirer of the "god-like Daniel," as Mr. Webster was familarly known among his warm-hearted friends. Before noon on the day the address was to begin, the sidewalk in front of this store was thronged with people, chiefly strangers, who had gathered around two gentlemen engaged in earnest conversation. The principal one of the two, who seemed to be the cause of this concourse, was dressed in a blue swallow-tail coat with brass buttons, was stoutly built, had a massive head, and was quite dignified in his bearing. He seemed oblivious to his surroundings until the pressure of the throng annoyed him, when he and his friend pushed their way into the jewelry store, only to be crowded still more, as the populace followed and filled the place till it was oppressive.

Then Mr. C——, the proprietor, began to fidget and dance about behind his counters, glancing quickly at each of his clerks, as if to say, "Look sharp for thieves!" Though he, like others, had counted upon a large trade, this was evidently too much of a good thing in the way of customers. Meantime the two gentlemen continued their earnest conference, without noticing the eager spectators. Sometimes a sentence spoken a little louder would be heard, but not enough to make sense; as, "But you must confess this!" exclaimed the man in blue. "It is impossible," replied the other. "Why impossible?" queried the wearer of the brass buttons. "You know all the facts, and it should be done at once." "How can I?" said the other, "after my explanation to him?" "Tell him"— and here the voices dropped to indistinctness.

At this point Mr. C——, innocent in his way, thought he understood what was the matter, and became so excited that he pushed through in front, and, touching the arm of the one in blue, requested him very decidedly "to leave the store," as the best way to get rid of the crowd. The gentleman addressed, pausing, looked at Mr. C—— with marked surprise;

then he appeared to realize the state of affairs, and in a very gracious manner bowed and apologized for the inconvenience he had caused. "In truth," he said, "he had not observed how he was trespassing." He and his friend then returned to the sidewalk, and the people followed, leaving the store alone to Mr. C—— and his clerks.

How relieved the proprietor was as he rubbed his hands and drew in a long breath! "Well," said he, "that was well managed. The rascals! I hope nothing here has been stolen." Such an affair amused the clerks, of course, but what was their astonishment when Mr. A——, the horologer and watch repairer, a man who had seen much of the world, and who was showing a customer a watch at the time, began to laugh pleasantly, and asked Mr. C—— "if he knew whom he had just turned out of doors?"

"No sir," said Mr. C——, "except I'm positive the man in blue has had his pocket picked, and was trying to make the rogue confess."

"Indeed, you are much mistaken," said Mr. A——; "that 'man in blue,' as you call him, is the 'god-like' Daniel Webster whom you worship and have been so anxious to see for the last month, while the 'rogue' whom he would confess is a prominent personal friend of his on the state committee."

"Impossible," faltered Mr. C——. But as the truth began to enter his soul, the color fled from his face; he stood for several minutes completely dazed, too mortified and overcome to move or attempt reparation. When, however, he did recover his composure, he noticed a Rochester friend stop before the door and cordially shake hands with Mr. Webster as an old acquaintance, for the distinguished senator of Massachusetts was still conversing with the committeeman in front of the store. "Ah! there's a chance," said Mr. C——, and rushing out he button-holed the mutual friend, and begged an introduction to the "great expounder." The clerks curiously followed to the door to witness the last scene in the comedy in which so great a personage was the chief actor. The introduction was kindly given, and when Mr. C——, with many salutations, explained the episode in the store with humble apologies, a genial smile spread over the broad face of Webster, and grew into a jolly laugh so hearty and contagious, that the writer and his fellow clerks forgot their manners and joined in the laughter; while many spectators, imagining they understood the joke, increased the merriment, which mysteriously spread around the corner, for most of the people had not the slightest idea of what they were laughing at.

It took Mr. C—— several weeks to reconcile his conscience to the part he had acted, but finally he began to regard it as an excellent joke and worthy of remembrance.

THE GRAVE OF TAMENEND (TAMMANY)

By H. C. Mercer.

If one descends the Neshaminy creek along its right bank at Prospect Hill, in New Britain township, Bucks county, Pennsylvania, and coming out of the hemlock grove that overhangs the water, ascends the first rivulet that crosses his path, a walk of three or four hundred yards will bring him to its source: a small spring, half hidden by grass, in a hollow of the open hillside meadow. About fifty feet downward from the spring, close to the rill, we find, by pulling away some briars, an old stump much decayed, where forty years ago stood a large poplar, and just forty-seven feet below it some large saplings mark the former site of a chestnut tree. Between the two stumps stands a young cherry tree, and there a little nearer the rivulet, at the foot of the bank, eleven feet from the poplar and thirty-six from the chestnut (according to Aden H. Brinker), is the site of an Indian grave.

The spot is on the farm now owned by Enos Detweiler,[1] about a mile up Neshaminy creek from Godschalk's dam, and there is no doubt that about the middle of the last century an Indian chief was buried there by white men. The local tradition of the death and burial has been often referred to by antiquarians, notably in *Watson's Annals* (ii., 172), in a quoted letter written from Bucks county, by one E. M., in about 1842, to the editor; in Sherman Day's *Historical Collection* (p. 163); in *Harper's Magazine* (vol. xliv., p. 639); by W. J. Buck in the Doylestown *Democrat* for May 6, 1856; and by John Rodgers within a few years in the Doylestown *Intelligencer*. It was noted down by me last year, from the lips of Thomas Shewell, Esq., of Bristol, the oldest living male descendant—great grandson—of Walter Shewell (born 1702, died 1779), who superintended the burial about one hundred and fifty years ago.

A very aged Indian, too infirm to walk, so ran the story as he knew it direct from his ancestors, while being carried by younger followers to a conference with the proprietaries (probably at Philadelphia), halted near

[1] I traced back the ownership of the property in the Doylestown land records to about 1770. From that time (Deed Book 19, p. 76) it had come down through David Caldwell, William Forbes, William Dean, David Waggoner, Abram Moyer, John Moyer, Captain J. Robbarts, in 1822; (Deed Book 49, p. 139) to John Q. Adams Brinker and the present owner. I cannot learn that it was ever owned by the Shewells.

the above-mentioned spring.[1] There, tired of their burden, the young Indians built a hut for the old man, and leaving him in charge of an Indian girl,[2] suddenly, after night came on, abandoned him and went on to the rendezvous. So enraged and distressed was he, on waking, to find himself deserted, that he tried to commit suicide by stabbing himself; and when his weak, trembling hand could not thrust the knife with effect, at last set fire to his bed of leaves and threw himself upon it.[3] The other Indians, who had been refused a hearing by the proprietaries in his absence, and sent back to fetch him, on arriving at the hut found him dead, with a great hole burned in his side.

The affair was noised abroad, and Walter Shewell, Esq., of Painswick Hall,[4] the most prominent man in the neighborhood, and once sheriff of Bucks county, had the body buried in the presence of the Indians near the hut. All the common versions repeat the incident omitted by Mr. Shewell, that Walter Shewell's son Robert, then a little boy, wanted to go with his father to the funeral, but was forbidden. The Misses Shewell of Doylestown are very certain of the detail as forming part of their family tradition. But their cousin, my informant, doubts it. Not long after, the body of a son or descendant of Tammany, or Tamenend (for so all the traditions distinctly name the buried chief) was brought by Indians to the spring and there buried near the other grave, where Mr. Thomas Shewell, my informant, remembered seeing both grave-mounds with the stones and the two large trees, in about the year 1816.[5] Still later, two more dead Indians, supposed to have been descendants of Tamenend, were brought by the tribe to the spot for burial, and finally, for some reason unknown, interred in the old New Britain (Baptist) churchyard, where all trace of their unmarked graves has been lost.[6]

On January 31, 1892, I visited the spring and site of "Tammany's

[1] The common version and that of Sherman Day, taken from some member of the Shewell family about 1840 (*Hist. Coll.*, p. 163), says distinctly that the old chief fell ill on the road.

[2] The current versions describe the girl as his daughter.

[3] All the other versions say that he first tried to burn himself, but was prevented, and afterwards stabbed himself while the girl was at the spring.

[4] Painswick Hall named after an ancestral country seat of the Shewells in England. The old house recently sold by the Misses Shewell of Doylestown still stands on the left of the road leading from New Britain to Castle Valley, the first building on the left after crossing the road to Godschalk's mill. Early in the last century it belonged to an estate of five hundred acres. The Shewells were in New Britain in 1729.

[5] The Misses Shewell knew nothing of this grave.

[6] The Misses Shewell had not heard of these graves. Neither had the present sexton at New Britain. Eugene James, Esq., had an indistinct recollection of having heard them mentioned.

grave" in the company of the only two persons now living who probably could positively identify the spot—Aden H. Brinker of New Britain, and Edward Brinker, sons of John Quincy Adams Brinker, who had bought the Detweiler farm from Captain Robbarts and sold it to its present owner. Knowing the need of exactness in these facts, I took the greatest care in learning from the Brinker brothers that Captain Robbarts had been a particular friend of the Shewells and a frequent guest at Painswick Hall, scarcely a mile away; that through Nathaniel Shewell the then owner (uncle of Mr. Shewell of Bristol) and others of the family, he had been fully acquainted with the particulars of the tradition. That after his sale of the farm to the Brinkers, he had boarded at the house until his death, and had frequently shown the boys and their father the graves by the spring.

Aden H. Brinker was about fourteen years old when his father ordered him to remove the grave stones. They were flat, unhewn slabs of red slate, about three feet long and one and a half wide, with no marks upon them, standing at Tammany's grave, six or seven feet apart, and protruding about eight inches from the ground. Much less account was made of the second grave than of the first, but both brothers remember their father and Captain Robbarts pointing it out, about fifty feet away, across the gully. Thus the spot has changed much since the graves were visible. So much, that perhaps Mr. Shewell, who has not seen it for nearly eighty years, would not recognize it. The steep overhanging bank has been much graded down by plowing. The source, according to Mr. Brinker, has receded nearly one hundred feet from the poplar stump. The trees are gone and the hillside is bare.[1] Still, if there is any certainty in human evidence, we are here within a few feet of the historic grave. Here, no doubt, a rusty iron knife or hatchet, a few glass beads bought from white men, and possibly a brass medal, might be dug up to tell the tale of this memorable interment. It is to be hoped, however, that no relic hunter, for the sake of a few comparatively modern trinkets (since he need expect to find no implements of the stone age), will venture to disturb the spot.

There is no doubt, then, as to the burial of the Indian, and little doubt as to our having found the spot. The only remaining question is as to the identification of the chief. Was it Tamenend?

Sherman Day (*Historical Collections*, p. 163) answers the question in the negative, and adduces in proof an ingenious and, at first, a convincing

[1] Besides the two large trees referred to, a walnut and two other chestnuts on the slope just above the spring and opposite Tammany's grave, were cut down by the Brinkers for barn building at the same time, 1850–60.

argument. He fixes, and I think correctly, the date of burial after 1740; because Robert Shewell, the "little boy" who asked in vain (according to the common tradition) to go to the funeral, was born then.[1] Tammany, he thinks, could not possibly have been living so late and escaped the notice of the Moravian missionaries who explored the forks of the Delaware in 1742, and the Susquehanna soon after. But this is only a suggestion of Mr. Day's, and so is my answer to it. I suggest that Tamenend might have been living after 1740, unnoticed by white men, and for the following reasons:

First, Tamenend was present at a council in Philadelphia on July 6, 1694, when the Iroquois wanted the Delawares to attack the settlers (*Colonial Records*, i. 447), when he made this speech: "We and the Christians of this river have always had a free roadway to one another, and, though sometimes a tree has fallen across the road, yet we have still removed it again, and kept the path clear, and we design to continue the old friendship that has been between us and you." And, again, on July 6, 1697 (*Pennsylvania Archives*, i. 124), when with "Wehiland, my brother, and Weheequickhou, *alias* Andrew, who is to be king after my death," he again, for the third time, sells his land between Pennypack and Neshaminy creeks. This is the last official notice of him thus far discovered. If he was forty years old then, he would have been ninety-three in 1750; or if fifty, one hundred and three at the later date, which is in general accord with the Bucks county tradition of his great age; upon which tradition Cooper bases his description in the *Last of the Mohicans*.

Secondly, the lands lying between Pennypack and Neshaminy creeks constituted the particular territory of Tamenend himself, which he sold three times over to William Penn, in 1683, 1692, and 1697. Then and for

[1] But it is useless, I think, to assign, as he does, 1749, or the date of any known public conference, to the journey of the old man and his followers over Prospect hill. Examination of the signed treaties proves that no one chief, whatever his rank as sachem, was present at any of the land conferences which did not concern him personally. Tamenend, who was head sachem of the whole Lenape system until 1718, was not present at the Jersey land treaty of 1673, or the lower Bucks county sale in 1692, or the Chester and Pennypack sale in 1685, nor that for the Schuylkill and Pennypack lands in 1683, or Susquehanna and Delaware lands in 1683 (see *Colonial Records* and *Pennsylvania Archives*). When, in 1683, selling lands between the Neshaminy and Pennypack (*Pa. Arch.*, i., 62), Tamenend concerned himself with his own patrimony. A study of the deeds throws little light on the governmental system of the Lenape; we find appended to each a list of strange names, and the same tract sold several times by different individuals, with no hint of a general tribal supervision. Doubtless dozens of informal conferences were never recorded, to anyone of which Tamenend may have been called. The 1749 conference concluded a sale of lands beyond the Blue mountains. At that time Tamenend, if living, had been deposed from the office of chief sachem for thirty-one years.

years after the word Tamenend must have been identified with the region, and is it likely that the Shewells, who came there in 1729, only thirty-one years after the last sale, would have made a mistake in the name?

Third, there is some corroborative evidence for the tradition in a song composed in honor of the American saint, Tammany, in 1783, at one of the meetings of the then celebrated Tammany brotherhood in Philadelphia, beginning:

> "Of Andrew, of Peter, of David, of George,
> What mighty achievements we hear."

It must have been written later than the date of the first Philadelphia almanac that dubbed Tamenend a saint, about 1760–70. While its last verse—

> "At last growing old and quite worn out with years,
> As history doth truly proclaim,
> His wigwam was fired, he nobly expired,
> And flew to the skies in a flame—"

infers either that the composer had heard the story of his death on Neshaminy, or had, which is rather unlikely, confused him with the well-known Tedyuskung, who was burned to death in his wigwam, at Wyoming, in 1763, while intoxicated.

At one of the society's meetings in 1781, a delegation of Senecas visited the society's "wigwam" on the Schuylkill, where hung a portrait of "Tammany," on which occasion Cornplanter made a speech, and, pointing to the picture, poured a libation of wine on the ground, saying: "If we pour it on the ground, it will suck it up and he will get it." It was this merry-making brotherhood, founded in Philadelphia before the Revolution, who set in vogue the myth that the three white balls on Penn's coat of arms represented three dumplings which Tammany had cooked for him at the treaty tree. They adopted Indian names, and paraded in Indian dress on Tammany's day (the 1st of May).[1] They invented all manner of myths, stories, and sayings about the great Indian, and had him dubbed a saint by certain almanac makers. In short, they set going the word Tammany, so to speak, over the country, and gave rise to all the other so-called Tammany societies in the United States; among them the Independent Order of Red Men, and the New York political organization known as Tammany Hall, founded in Borden's City Hotel, in New York, in 1789. Thus also originated the name of Tam-

[1] The frequent elaborate Indian costumes still common at city parades in Philadelphia are unquestionably a relic of these processions.

manytown, Juniata county, Pennsylvania; of Mount Tammany, near Williamsport, Maryland; of Tamenend, Schuylkill county, Pennsylvania; of Tammany street, Philadelphia, now Buttonwood; of St. Tammany parish, Louisiana; of Tammany, Mecklenburgh county, Virginia, and of a hundred other places similarly designated.

But lastly, to return to our subject, there is no question that the three clans of the Lenape—the wolf, turtle and turkey—were in a vague way presided over by a head sachem, chosen from the turtle clan by the members of the two other clans (*Lenape and their Legends*, p. 47). Just what his powers were is not definitely known. He certainly had little or nothing to do with the land sales of his fellow chiefs to the whites. Loskiel says that "he arranged treaties and conventions of peace" and kept the wampum peace belt of the tribe (*Mission*, p. 135). He held his office during good behavior, and so generally until death. Such a chief was Tamenend, and the others—Allumpees (died 1747); Nutimus, probably Tatemy (died 1761); Netatawces (in the west) and Tedyuscung (in the east, died 1763)—who came after him until the removal of the Delawares from eastern Pennsylvania.[1] Such were the many who came before him if we are to believe the testimony of the *wallum olum*, or Lenape bark record, an historic song illustrated by mnemonic pictographs, and sung by medicine men at sacred occasions, recounting the tribal migrations. They appear also on the full list of head sachems, discovered by the eccentric antiquarian C. A. Rafinesque, and recently published by Dr. Brinton, (*Lenape and their Legends*, 170).

The *wallum olum* tells us that Tamenend, or "the affable," was not the first of his name, but that long before, counting back by the names of scores of rulers before the coming of the whites, there were two other Tamenends, the first, a celebrated head sachem in the far west before the tribe had migrated eastward. Taking this and Reichel's *Memoirs of the Moravian Church* as our authority, we learn that our Tamenend was preceded by Ikwahou, and probably succeeded by Allumpees or Sassoonan, who was made chief in 1718, and held the office till his death in 1747.

Here is an important date: the certain end of Tamenend's reign in 1718. If he died then, that is the end of our story. But that he did so is by no means certain. For some reason not thoroughly explained, the Iroquois at about this time obtained that curious moral and physical influence over the Delawares which has been the subject of much curious speculation. Then it was that governors were sent down from the Six

[1] These and many other interesting and uncollected data I find in an annotated edition of Reichel's *Memorials of the Moravian Church*, at the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

Nations to look after them, and they were referred to as "women" and "in petticoats," and took that position of a conquered people which they held down to the outbreak of the Revolution. What the details of this sudden decadence were, whether a defeat in battle or a weakening internal dispute, no one has as yet authoritatively learned. The Moravians did not come into the upper Delaware and Susquehanna region until 1742, and, as Heckewelder testifies, the Indians were very reticent on these subjects. Allumpees, made sachem in 1718, was a weak character, and died a drunkard in 1747. As the tool of the Iroquois he may have been elected by their powerful influence to supersede Tamenend, nor is it impossible to suppose that the latter, by a patriotic resistance to the majority of his people at the time of their degradation, had become distasteful to the Six Nations.

If it be not unfair to suggest this, we have a ready explanation of the several apparent contradictory facts, that he had a great reputation among his tribe, and yet that they said so little about him; that he lived until about 1750, and yet was unnoticed by early settlers and missionaries, and in public documents. Yet this is but supposition, and I have thus far tried in vain to sift to the bottom the stories that Tamenend once lived upon the site of Easton; was buried where Nassau Hall now stands at Princeton college; lived in the State of Delaware, or at the place in Damascus township, Wayne county, called by the early Connecticut settlers "St. Tammany's flat," in 1757.

SERGEANT LEE'S EXPERIENCE WITH BUSHNELL'S SUBMARINE TORPEDO IN 1776

COMMUNICATED BY PROFESSOR HENRY P. JOHNSTON

As to Captain David Bushnell, of the Revolutionary Army, sometimes mentioned as the father of modern submarine warfare, and who in Washington's recollection was "a man of great mechanical powers, fertile in inventions and master of execution," one must be referred for details of life and service to the monograph issued in 1881 by General Henry L. Abbot, of the United States Engineer Corps, who had gathered all the information then to be had respecting this comparatively obscure genius of '76. It is a graceful and valuable tribute from an accomplished branch of our military service to the American pioneer in the profession.[1]

In brief, Bushnell, while a student in college, during the years 1771–75, endeavored to solve the problem of conducting without detection a powerful explosive under a ship, and igniting it without danger to the operator. He succeeded in perfecting a remarkable machine or craft for the purpose, and made his first offensive attempts with it in New York harbor in the summer of 1776. That the attempts proved futile was due more to incidental circumstances than to defect in the principle or design; and had opportunities been given him for repeated experiments, he would doubtless have made good all that was claimed for his invention. Lieutenant F. M. Barber, of the United States navy, after careful study of the machinery of the torpedo as described by the inventor himself, has expressed the opinion that, notwithstanding its failures, "it seems to have been the most perfect thing of its kind that has ever been constructed, either before or since the time of Bushnell."

Ezra Lee, sergeant and then ensign in the Connecticut line of the Revolutionary army, who operated the torpedo, contributed much information regarding it to others, which appears in General Abbot's monograph; but in the following letter we have for the first time any facts in the case from his own pen:

[1] *The Beginning of Modern Submarine Warfare, under Captain David Bushnell, Sappers and Miners, Army of the Revolution.* Being a Historical Compilation arranged by Lieutenant-Colonel Henry L. Abbot, Corps of Engineers, U. S. A., Brevet Brigadier-General. Printed at the Engineer School of Application, Willet's Point, New York, 1881. See *Magazine of American History*, volume for 1882.

LYME [CONN.], 20th *Feb'y*, 1815.

TO GENERAL DAVID HUMPHREYS,

Dear Sir,—Judge Griswold and Charles Griswold Esq., both informed me that you wished to have an account of a machine invented by David Bushnell of Saybrook at the commencement of our Revolutionary War.

In the summer of 1776 he went to New York with it to try the "Asia" man of war:—his brother being acquainted with the working of the machine, was to try the first experiment with it, but having spent untill the middle of August, he gave out in consequence of indisposition. Mr. Bushnell then came to General Parsons (of Lyme) to get some one to go and learn the ways and mystery of this new machine and to make a trial of it. General Parsons sent for me and two others, who had given in our names to go in a fire-ship if wanted, to see if we would undertake the enterprise. We agreed to it; but first returned with the machine down Sound and on our way practised with it in several harbours. We returned as far back as Say-Brook with Mr. Bushnell, where some little alterations were made in it, in the course of which time (it being 8 or 10 days) the British had got possession of Long Island and Governor's Island. We went back as far as New Rochelle and had it carted over by land to the North River.

Before I proceed further, I will endeavour to give you some idea of the construction of this machine, turtle or torpedo, as it has since been called.

Its shape was most like a round clam, but longer, and set up on its square side.[1] It was high enough to stand in or sit as you had occasion, with a composition head hanging on hinges.[2] It had six glasses inserted in the head and made water tight, each the size of a half Dollar piece to admit light. In a clear day a person might see to read in three fathoms of water. The machine was steered by a rudder having a crooked tiller, which led in by your side through a water joint;[3] then sitting on the seat, the navigator rows with one hand and steers with the other. It had two oars of about 12 inches in length, and 4 or 5 in width, shaped like the arms of a windmill which led also inside through water joints, in front of the person steering, and were worked by means of a wench (or crank); and with hard labour, the machine might be impelled at the rate of 3 nots an hour for a short time.

Seven hundred pounds of lead were fixed on the bottom for ballast, and two hundred weight of it was so contrived as to let it go in case the pumps choked, so that you could rise at the surface of the water. It was sunk by letting in water by a spring near the bottom, by placing your foot against which the water would rush in, and when sinking take off your foot and it would cease to come in and you would sink no further; but if you had sunk too far, pump out water until you got the necessary depth. These pumps forced the water out of the bottom, one being on each side of you as you rowed. A pocket compass was fixed in the side, with a piece of light wood on the north side, thus +, and another on the east side thus —, to steer by while under water.[4] Three round doors were cut in the head (each 3 inches diamater) to let in fresh air untill you wished to sink, and then they were shut down and fastened. There was also a glass tube 12 inches long and 1 inch diameter, with a cork in it, with a piece of light wood fixed to it, and another piece at the bottom of the tube to tell the depth of descent;[5] one inch rise of the cork in the tube gave about one fathom water.

It had a screw that pierced through the top of the machine with a water joint which was so very sharp that it would enter wood with very little force; and this was turned

with a wench or crank, and when entered fast in the bottom of the ship the screw is then left and the machine is disengaged by unscrewing another one inside that held the other. From the screw now fixed on the bottom of the ship a line let to and fastened to the magazine to prevent its escape either side of the ship. The magazine [of powder] was directly behind you on the outside, and that was freed from you by unscrewing a screw inside. Inside the magazine was a clock machinery, which immediately sets a going after it is disengaged, and a gun lock is fixed to strike fire to the powder at the set time after the clock should run down. The clock might be set to go longer or shorter; 20 or 30 minutes was the usual time to let the Navigator escape. This magazine was shaped like an egg and made of oak dug out in two pieces, bound together with bands of iron, corked and paid over with tar so as to be perfectly tight; and the clock was formed so as not to run untill this magazine was unscrewed.

I will now endeavour to give you a short account of my voyage in this machine.

The first night after we got down to New York with it that was favourable (for the time for a trial must be when it is slack water and calm, as it is unmanagable in a swell or a strong tide) the British fleet lay a little above Staten Island. We set off from the city; the whale boats towed me as nigh the ships as they dared to go and then cast me off. I soon found that it was too early in the tide, as it carried me down by the ships. I however hove about and rowed for 5 glasses by the ships' bells before the tide slacked, so that I could get alongside of the man of war which lay above the transports. The moon was about 2 hours high, and the daylight about one. When I rowed under the stern of the ship I could see the men on deck and hear them talk. I then shut down all the doors, sunk down and came under the bottom of the ship. Up with the screw against the bottom but found that it would not enter.[6] I pulled along to try another place, but deviated a little one side and immediately rose with great velocity and come above the surface 2 or 3 feet between the ship and the daylight, then sunk again like a porpoise. I hove about to try again, but on further thought I gave out, knowing that as soon as it was light the ships' boats would be rowing in all directions, and I thought the best generalship was to retreat as fast as I could, as I had 4 miles to go before passing Governor's Island. So I jogg'd on as fast as I could, and my compass being then of no use to me, I was obliged to rise up every few minutes to see that I sailed in the right direction, and for this purpose keeping the machine on the surface of the water and the doors open. I was much afraid of getting aground on the island, as the tide of the flood set on the north point.

While on my passage up to the city, my course, owing to the above circumstances, was very crooked and zigzag, and the enemy's attention was drawn towards me from Governor's Island. When I was abreast of the fort on the Island, 3 or 400 men got upon the parapet to observe me; at leangth a number came down to the shore, shoved off a 12 oar'd barge with 5 or 6 sitters and pulled for me. I eyed them, and when they had got within 50 or 60 yards of me I let loose the magazine in hopes that if they should take me they would likewise pick up the magazine, and then we should all be blown up together. But as kind Providence would have it, they took fright, and returned to the island to my infinite joy. I then weathered the Island, and our people seeing me, came off with a whale boat and towed me in. The magazine, after getting a little past the Island, went off with a tremendous explosion, throwing up large bodies of water to an immense height.[7]

Before we had another opportunity to try an experiment our army evacuated New

York and we retreated up the North River as far as fort Lee. A Frigate came up and anchored off Bloomingdale. I now made another attempt upon a new plan. My intention was to have gone under the ship's stern and screwed on the magazine close to the water's edge, but I was discovered by the watch, and was obliged to abandon this scheme; then shutting my doors I dove under her, but my cork in the tube (by which I ascertained my depth) got obstructed and deceived me, and I descended too deep and did not touch the ship; I then left her. Soon after, the Frigate came up the river, drove our "Crane" galley on shore and sunk our sloop, from which we escaped to the shore.

I am, &c.,

E. Lee

Notes to the Letter.[1]

1. The machine was built of oak in the strongest manner possible, corked and tarred, and though its sides were at least six inches thick, the writer of the foregoing told me that the pressure of the water against it at the depth of two fathoms was so great that it oozed quite through as mercury will by means of the air pump. Mr. Bushnell's machine was no larger than just to admit one person to navigate; its extreme length was not more than 7 feet. When lying in the water, in its ordinary state without ballast, its upper works did not rise more than 6 or 7 inches out of water.

2. This composition head means a composition of metals something like bell metal, and was fixed on the top of the machine, and which afforded the only admission to the inside.

3. The steering of this machine was done on the same principles with ordinary vessels, but the rowing her through the water was on a very different plan. These oars were fixed on the end of a shaft like windmill arms projected out forward, and turned at right angles with the course of the machine; and upon the same principles that windmill arms are turned by the wind these oars, when put in motion, as the writer describes, draws the machine slowly after it. This moving power is small, and every attendant circumstance must cooperate with it to answer the purpose—calm waters and no current.

4. This light wood is what we sometimes call fox fire, and is the dry wood that shines in the dark:—this was necessary as the points of the compass could not readily be seen without.

5. The glass tube here mentioned, which was a sort of thermometer to ascertain the depth of water the machine descended, is the only part that is without explanation. The writer of the foregoing could not recollect the principles on which such an effect was produced, nor the mechanical contrivance of it. He only knows that it was so contrived that the cork and light wood rose or fell in the tube by the ascent or descent of the machine.

6. The reason why the screw would not enter was that the ship's bottom being coppered, it would have been difficult under any circumstances to have peirced through it; but on attempting to bore with the augur, the force necessary to be used in pressing against the ship's bottom caused the machine to rebound off. This difficulty defeated

[1] The notes at the end of Sergeant Lee's letter appear to have been appended by Mr. Griswold, of Lyme, before the letter was forwarded to General Humphreys.

the whole; the screw could not enter the bottom, and of course the magazine could not be kept there in the mode desired.

7. When the explosion took place, General Putnam was vastly pleased, and cried out in his peculiar way—"God'scurse 'em, that'll do it for 'em."

HYMN TO CONCORD MONUMENT

By the rude bridge that arched the flood,
Their flag to April's breeze unfurled,
Here once the embattled farmers stood,
And fired the shot heard round the world.

The foe long since in silence slept,
Alike the conqueror silent sleeps;
And Time the ruined bridge has swept
Down the dark stream which seaward creeps.

On this green bank, by this soft stream,
We set to-day a votive stone;
That memory may their deed redeem,
When, like our sires, our sons are gone.

Spirit, that made those heroes dare
To die, and leave their children free,
Bid Time and Nature gently spare
The shaft we raise to them and thee.

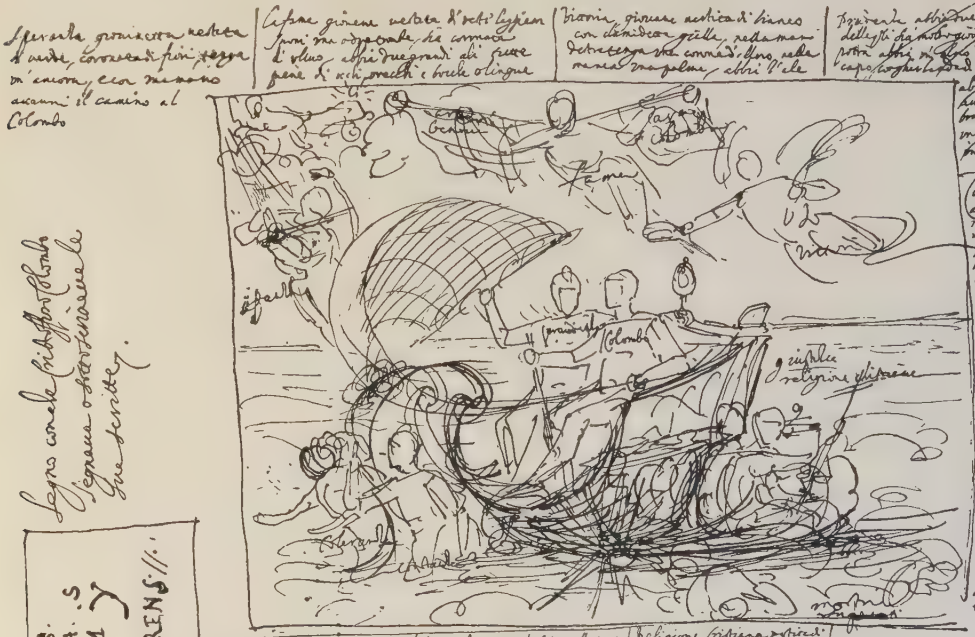
—EMERSON

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

AN ALLEGORICAL DRAWING BY COLUMBUS

The fac-simile which appears on another page has been presented in American works only twice (which really amounts to once), in Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History* and in his *Christopher Columbus*. But in neither case is the complete original reproduced, the marginal explanations of the drawing being omitted. The sketch was made by Columbus in 1502, and sent by him from Seville to Genoa, where it is preserved to this day in the city hall. In May, 1502, Columbus departed from Spain on his fourth and last voyage to America, in the course of which he was destined to be disappointed in finding either the golden Chersonesus or a strait out of the Caribbean sea into the Indian ocean. He found, however, the gold mines of Veraguas, the country which has provided a title for his descendants which they bear to the present day. The whole story of this last journey was filled with distresses and disasters on sea and on land. Columbus suffered shipwreck on Jamaica, and even after his compatriots at Domingo had learned of his plight, he was left to linger for months in his precarious situation, so that his sojourn on that coast rounded out the full year. In November, 1504, Columbus again reached Spain, and in May, 1506, he died.

There are some circumstances gathering about Columbus in the year 1502, before he sailed, which seem to lend countenance to the idea that he really perpetrated this drawing. He certainly was a draughtsman; at one period he had made his living by drawing maps, and was considered "a master in makynge cardes for the sea." Winsor remarks, with his usual caution when he has something commendatory to say of Columbus: "If some existing drawings are not apocryphal, he had a deft hand, too, in making a spirited sketch with a few strokes." Some of these drawings are given in a recent edition of Irving's *Columbus*. There were three in a letter of the Admiral written in 1493: one represents Columbus on the deck of his ship with an astrolabe in his hand, standing on the forecastle, and the foremast shown broken short off; the other represents a caravel under full sail in mid-ocean; the third shows his ship in the foreground, with the recently discovered islands in a rather crude perspective in the background. Two other drawings are purported to have come from Columbus's hand: one representing Fort Isabella, with the town in process of building; another showing a galley coasting the island of Hispaniola.


S. A. S
X M Y
XPOFERENS

The latter was made to illustrate a letter written by Columbus to Don Raphael Xansis, treasurer of the king, an extremely rare edition of which is preserved in the library of Milan.

How the drawing of which we give a fac-simile came to be in Genoa may be explained by the fact that at this very time, in 1502, before proceeding on his voyage, Columbus sent more than one important communication to his native city. At that time he caused several elaborate papers and documents to be copied and bound in book form, setting forth his titles and privileges; one or two of which copies were sent to the Genoese ambassador in Spain. On April 2, 1502, he wrote that famous letter to the bank of St. George at Genoa, in which he directed them to use the interest of a certain sum to be deposited there, for the relief of the poor of the city. Hence, with these, other letters may have gone to his native city, in one of which the illustration under discussion may have been included. This we would suppose because the drawing is now found in Genoa, although of course it may have been presented to the city later as a valuable curiosity. Lastly there is a probability that Columbus made such a drawing, just because of its allegorical character, for about this time he was in a frame of mind for that sort of thing. He was composing the *Libros de las Proficias* (Books of the Prophets), in which he labored to prove that his exploits were 'not so much the result of conclusions based upon premises warranted by the science of the times, as the blind and passive fulfillment on his part of what was writ by holy men of old. "He had simply been impelled by something that he had not then suspected; and his was but a predestined mission to make good what he imagined was the prophecy of Isaiah in the Apocalypse." He went on also to speculate about the end of the world; and now that we have just celebrated the four hundredth anniversary of his achievement of 1492, it is a little refreshing to read that he calculated the world would hardly continue longer than one hundred and fifty-five years after 1502.

But much more apposite to the actual allegory which he depicted with his pencil, Columbus wrote at this time a letter to the pope, in which he expressed it as his belief that his then distressed condition—deprived of titles and rights, superseded by other men—"was the work of Satan, who came to see that the success of Columbus in the Indies would be only a preparation for the Admiral's long-vaunted recovery of the Holy Land." Impressed with this idea, in a general frame of spiritual exaltation, he drew the picture here represented. Columbus places himself in a vehicle, half chariot, half ship, gliding over the sea. The figure beside him is

Providence. Envy and Ignorance are the monsters following in his wake. Fairer creatures attend him and prosper his way: Constancy, Tolerance, the Christian Religion, Victory and Hope. Over the whole floats the figure of Fame, blowing two trumpets; out of one proceeds the name "Genoa," out of the other is sounded the "Fame of Columbus." Harisse states that the marginal writing explaining these allegorical features in Italian is in the handwriting of Columbus. To us the script seems almost too modern. It does not appear from his manner of reference to the copy of this drawing in the city hall of Genoa, that Harisse himself had seen it. It is more probable that some later hand has written the explanation. But the signature of Columbus is the one usually attached to his letters after the discovery. The characters have never been interpreted quite to the satisfaction of everybody. Winsor says: "Perhaps as reasonable a guess as any would make them stand for 'Servus, Supplex, Altissimi Salvatoris Christus, Maria, Yoseph, Christoferens.' Others read: 'Servidor, Sus, Altegas, Sacras, Christo, Maria, Ysabel [or Yoseph].' The 'Christoferens' is sometimes replaced by 'El Almirante.'"

NOTE.—This reduced fac-simile on the opposite page was obtained from a volume in the Boston Public Library, through the kindness of the trustees and librarian. The exact description of the Italian authority (from which our copy is taken) has been kindly written out by the librarian, Mr. Theodore F. Dwight, as follows:

La taroca di bronzo, il pallio di seta ed il Codice Colombo Americano nuovamente illustrati per cura di Giuseppe Banchero.
8° Genova, 1857.
Tavola VIII following page 548.

LAWRENCE, MASS.

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES IN PARAGRAPHS

By Charles Ledyard Norton

[*Continued from page* 63]

Colorado

A state of the South Central group—area, 103,925 square miles; dimensions—270 miles north and south, 390 miles east and west. Latitude, 37° to 41° N.; longitude, 102° to 109° W. The name is Spanish, meaning "red," from the prevailing color of the rocks, originally applied to the principal river of the region. State motto, "Nil sine Numine"—"Nothing without God." Nickname, "The Centennial State," from the year of its admission to the Union—the centenary of the Republic (1876).

1682. The whole continent west of the Mississippi (including Colorado) claimed for France by La Salle, and named Louisiana. He, however, never went west of middle Texas.

1763. Spain claims the country by virtue of adjacent settlements.

1776, August 5. Marching from Santa Fé, Francisco Silvestre Velez Escalante, with a considerable following of Spaniards and Indian converts, reaches Nieves, on the headwaters of the San Juan river. This is the first place within the state mentioned by undoubted European authority.

September 9. Escalante, having crossed the southwestern corner of Colorado, passes into what is now Utah, near where the White river crosses the line. In the diary of his march, cliff dwellings, parks, rivers, and mountains are described so that they can be identified. Some of the names that he gave to localities are still retained. He returned to Santa Fé by a circuitous route through Utah and Arizona.

1801. Louisiana retroceded to France by a secret treaty.

1802. Small parties of hunters and trappers penetrate the Colorado region, but have left few authentic records.

1803, April 30. Colorado, as included in Louisiana, ceded to the United States by France under the first Napoleon for $15,000,000.

1805, July 15. Under orders from General Wilkinson, Lieutenant Zebulon Montgomery Pike leads an exploring expedition up the Arkansas river.

1805, November 15. Lieutenant Pike sights the peak that bears his name, and spends several months in exploration. (*Pike's Narrative*, Phila., 1810.)

1812. Creation of the territory of Missouri, including Colorado.

1819. Expedition of Major Stephen S. Long. He reports the region between the thirty-ninth and forty-ninth parallels as "The Great American Desert."

1828–1830. James Baker settles on Clear creek, four miles north of Denver.

1830. A French trader, Maurice by name, is believed to have made a settlement on Adobe creek in the Arkansas Valley ; positive proof is lacking.

1832. The Bent brothers build Fort William, on the north branch of Arkansas river. This is the first authentic settlement in the state. During the same year, one Louis Vasquez opened a trading post five miles northeast of Denver.

1838. First attempt at farming. American and Mexicans began irrigation for agricultural purposes at El Pueblo, near Fort William.

1841. Transit through Colorado, *en route* for the Pacific Coast, of the first "prairie schooner."

1842 (about). A settlement formed by Bent, Lupton, Beaubain, and others on headwaters of Adobe creek ; exterminated by Indians in 1846. Town of La Junta founded by James Bonney, on a Mexican grant subsequently confirmed by the United States.

Captain (afterward General) John C. Frémont leads an expedition into the territory.

1843. Frémont's second expedition. He finds a few scattered fortified ranches ; but many of the early settlers had intermarried with Mexicans or Indians and were in a fair way to relapse into barbarism.

1845. The section south of the Arkansas river, originally part of Texas, now included in Colorado, is annexed to New Mexico and Kansas.

1846. That part of the state lying west of the Great Divide ceded to the United States by Mexico under the Gadsden purchase.

1846–1847. The first "Mormon battalion," forcibly expelled from Illinois, passes the winter at Pueblo. (See *Tyler's History*, Salt Lake City, 1881.) Birth of the first white American child in Colorado—Malinda Catherine Kelley.

1849. Wagon trains of gold hunters begin to cross Colorado *en route* to California.

1851, September 17. Treaty of the United States with the Sioux, Cheyennes, and Arapahoes as to boundaries.

1852. Gold discovered on Ralston creek by a cattle trader, Parks by name.

Fort William removed to the mouth of Purgatoire river, on the Arkansas.

1853. Congress passes an act authorizing surveys of railroad routes from the Mississippi to the Pacific.

October 26. Captain J. W. Gunnison, U. S. A., killed with his escort by Indians.

1858. A party from Lawrence, Massachusetts, lay out El Paso on the present site of Colorado Springs, and St. Charles on the present site of Denver. During the winter the St. Charles site was "jumped" by settlers who saw its advantages, and the name was changed to Denver.

November 6. The settlers of Auraria (now East Denver) send Hiram J. Graham and Albert Steinberger (afterward "King" of the Samoan Islands) to Washington, as territorial delegates. They were not officially recognized.

1859. Misled by a publication entitled *A Guide to Pike's Peak* (Pacific City, Iowa, 1858), as many as one hundred and fifty thousand immigrants move into Colorado. In the autumn about one-third of them return, disappointed, to the Mississippi.

January 15. Gold discovered at Gold Run, Boulder Cañon, by John Rothrock, Charles Clouser, and others. The product of this gulch for the first season was one hundred thousand dollars, all washed out in hand rockers.

Formation of the "El Paso Claim Club," with the purpose of formulating and enforcing provisional land laws.

May. John H. Gregory discovers gold at Blackhawk.

First school in Colorado opened at Denver by O. J. Goldrick.

Autumn. Gold discovered in what is now the Leadville region.

Colorado gold coined, $622,000.

December 19. Denver incorporated as a city by the provisional legislature; population, 34,277.

Fort William leased to the government, and named Fort Wise after the governor of Virginia.

1860–1863. A state of law-respecting anarchy prevailed—Kansas laws, miners' law, and territorial law being enforced in different localities, often overlapping each other's territory without serious friction.

1860. Population, 34,277. Gold coined, $2,091,000.

March 28. Election held under the laws of Kansas, to organize Arapahoe county.

May 7. Preliminary steps taken to draft a constitution.

October 5. An election was held. Beverly D. Williams chosen delegate to congress, and Richard Sopris to the Kansas legislature. Mr. Sopris only was recognized.

University of Colorado incorporated. (See 1877.)

October 10. Territorial convention at Auraria.

October 24. R. W. Steele chosen territorial governor of Jefferson (otherwise known as "Pike's Peak").

November 7. Meeting of the first legislature, remaining in session forty days. R. W. Steele, governor.

1861, February 8. Colorado admitted as a territory by act of congress. William Gilpin, governor; Lewis Ledyard Weld, lieutenant-governor.

September 9. Meeting of the first territorial legislature at Denver. Colorado Springs selected as the capital.

November 7. Denver reincorporated by the territorial legislature. Charles A. Cook, mayor.

The territory of Colorado organized from parts of Utah, New Mexico, Kansas, and Nebraska.

Boundaries defined along parallels of latitude and longitude, cutting off large tracts from Utah, Kansas, Nebraska, and New Mexico.

1861–1862. William Gilpin territorial governor by appointment of President Lincoln.

The confederates, under General Sibley, invade New Mexico with a view to cutting off communication between California and the east.

The territory repudiates the secession movement, though attempts were made in the interest of the confederacy. Governor Gilpin organizes the 1st Colorado regiment, which did good service in New Mexico.

1861–1865. 4,903 men furnished the Union Army during the civil war.

1862. Capital removed to Golden City. (See 1868.)

1862–1865. John Evans, governor.

1863, April 19. Fire destroys the business section of Denver.

October 1. Telegraphic communication opened between Denver and the east.

1864. General Indian war, thousands of settlers massacred, and hundreds of homes broken up.

The University of Denver (Methodist) established. Silver discovered.

1865. Congress passes a bill admitting Colorado as a state, but the president (Andrew Johnson) vetoes the measure, there being no proof of the required population.

1865–1867. Alexander Cummings, governor.

1867–1869. A. Cameron Hunt, governor.

1869–1873. Edward M. McCook, governor.

1870. Population, 39,864. Population of Denver, 4,749.

1871. Colorado Springs founded as a health resort (6,000 feet above the sea). The Denver & Rio Grande railroad begun. (See 1878.)

November. Boulder City incorporated.

1872. Completion of the first tramway in Denver.

1873–1874. Sam'l H. Elbert, governor.

1874. Colorado college opened at Colorado Springs.

1874–1876. John L. Routt, governor.

1876. Discoveries of rich silver deposits in the Leadville region.

The Ute war. Terrible atrocities by Indians, and bloody vengeance on the part of the whites.

August 1. Colorado admitted to the Union as a state.

October 3. First state election. John L. Routt, governor; Lafayette Head, lieutenant-governor.

November 1. Meeting of the first state legislature. Jerome B. Chaffee and Henry M. Teller chosen United States senators.

Estimated population, 135,000.

1877. University of Colorado opened at Boulder, endowed by congress, the state, and private gifts.

1877–1879. John L. Routt, first state governor.

1878. Completion of the Denver & Rio Grande railroad. (See 1871.)

1879. Phenomenal growth of Leadville. More than $25,000,000 of precious metals mined during the year. Strikes and lawless proceedings suppressed with difficulty.

1879–1883. Fred. W. Pitkin, governor.

1880. Population, 194,327. Population of Denver, 35,629.

1883–1885. James B. Grant, governor.

1885. Population, 243,910.

1885–1887. Benj. H. Eaton, governor.

1887, August. Border fighting with the Utes, begun by lawless whites.

1887–1889. Alva Adams, governor.

1888. Soldiers' and Sailors' Home provided by the legislature at San Luis Park.

1889–1891. Job A. Cooper, governor.

1890. Population, 412,198. Assessed valuation, $220,544,064.62. Pike's Peak railway completed. January to April session of the legislature marked by a struggle of rival factions in the lower house. It was settled by an appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court. Passage of an Australian ballot law.

1891–1893. John L. Routt, governor.

(*Conclusion of the series.*)

History in Brief

The First Portrait of Washington.—The frontispiece to this number is a copy of the first portrait ever made of George Washington. In a letter to the Rev. Jonathan Boucher, the rector of the parish which included Mount Vernon, dated May 21, 1772, Washington thus playfully speaks of the ordeal of having his portrait painted: "Inclination having yielded to importunity, I am now, contrary to all expectation, under the hands of Mr. Peale; but in so sullen a mood, and now and then under the influence of Morpheus when some critical strokes are making, that I fancy the skill of this gentleman's pencil will be put to it, in describing to the world what manner of man I am."

The Mr. Peale here referred to was Charles Willson Peale, the celebrated portrait painter of those days. In 1872 Washington was just turned of forty. Yet, although young, he was already famous, and had been so for nearly seventeen years, or ever since Braddock's defeat in 1755. Hence, there seemed to be great reason that his portrait should be painted; yet not till this date had he consented to have it done. This was therefore the earliest portrait. He was then still a colonel in the Virginia colonial militia, and in this uniform he sat for his picture. The artist used it as the study from which to prepare the three-quarter length portrait of Washington known as the "Arlington portrait." But as events progressed, a few changes were made in colors. The colonial colonel's uniform became the continental general's blue and buff.

Peale retained the original study in his own possession, and it formed part of his exhibition at his museum in Philadelphia. He died in 1827, but not till twenty-seven years later, or in 1854, was his gallery offered for sale and dispersed. Then this first portrait of Washington came into the possession of Mr. Charles S. Ogden. On Washington's birthday, 1892, this gentleman adopted a very nice mode of celebrating the day, by presenting this exceedingly interesting piece of canvas to the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

The mover of the resolution of thanks, in closing his remarks, said: "In the history of American portraiture this portrait of Washington, in consequence of its being the first authentic original, will always occupy a prominent position, and the members of the society have good reason to congratulate themselves on its acquisition."

An Injustice Done to Winthrop—No historian or editor is infallible. The most scrupulous and painstaking must answer for sins of omission and commission. But not unfrequently these blunders are so gratuitous and palpable as to occasion astonishment. An unhappy and injurious mistake of this sort is the

editorial note to page 220 of vol. ii. of Winthrop's *History of New England* [By James Savage.—Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1853].

The matter is so interesting in itself, while the comment does certain fathers of the Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth colonies so great an injustice, that the note should be given entire. The error may have been pointed out before, but as the work is in common use, it cannot be amiss to speak of it here. It concerns the attitude of the people of New England, and especially of Boston, in the year 1644, toward La Tour and his adversary, D'Aulnay Charnisay, some account of which has already been given in the preceding number of this magazine. Those stern religionists, men of conscience, truth, and sobriety, as we naturally esteem them, this editor convicts, not only of putting a very loose construction upon the obligations of neutrality in respect to the rival governors, but he goes further and demonstrates to his own satisfaction their insincerity, nay their injurious misrepresentation, their injustice and falsehood in attributing to one party an offense well known to have been committed by the other. In an off-hand way, with little consideration apparently of the seriousness of the charge, he supposes them quite capable of knowingly holding a man responsible for what he never did, while the real and known offender they thus acquit. Were this really true, no allowance for the times could excuse or even palliate such a course. The verdict of downright hypocrisy could not be withheld. Now to the note and the evidence. Mr. Savage remarks:

"Very inadequate ideas of the obligations of neutrality, or very slight regard for its laws, must be observable in the management of affairs here, in which the rival French governors felt any interest. For La Tour the greater number had engaged in actual war on D'Aulnay in the former year, and had met no better success than their cause deserved. But the acts of injury or violence done by one of these strangers would have been imputed to the other, perhaps, without hesitation, if reparation could by such a course have been obtained. A curious document to illustrate this point was given me by the late Judge Davis:

Whereas about two yeares since Mouns'r D'Aulnay under pretence or color of comerce did violently and injuriously take possession out of the Hands and custody of the Agents and servts. of Edward Winslow, William Bradford, Thomas Prence, and others their ptners at Matchebiguatus in Penobscot, together with divers and sundry goods to their great losse, even to the valew of five hundred pounds or thereabout; And forasmuch as no satisfaces' hath ever been made and tendered by the sd Mouns'r D'Aulnay, for the sd Possession or goods by any his Agents; The sd Edw. Winslow for himself and ptners hath and doth by these prnts fully surrender and make over his and their pp right and title, not only to the said possession of lands in Machebiguatus aforesaid but to their fortificon, howsing, losse and damages, right and privileges thereunto belonging to Joh. Winthrop, Junior, Esq, Serjant Major Edw. Gibbons and Captain Thomas Hawkins, all of Boston, in New Engld, to them, their heires, associats, and assignes forever. Allowing and investing them with all such lawfull power by force of Arms or otherwise to recover the said Possession, fortificacons, howsing, lands, goods, etc., to them the said Edw., William, Thomas, and other their ptners at Machebiguatus aforesaid apptayning. And the same to have and to hold, occupy and enjoy, to

them the said Joh. Winthrop, Esq., Serjant Major Gibbons, and Captain Thomas Hawkins, their heires, Associats and Assignes forever, together with all such priviledges as apptayneth thereunto. In witness whereof the said Edward Winslow hath put his hand and seale the last of August, 1644.

Per me Edward Winslow, Gov'r at prnt of New Plym.

Witnesses hereunto
HERBERT PELHAM { SEALE }
JOHN BROWN { A Pelican }

"The seal," our editor continues, "is very perfect, the whole instrument in excellent preservation. One very remarkable thing about this transaction is, that the contemporary relation of the French act at Machias in 1633 by Governor Winthrop charges it as done by La Tour, and in the following year a reference to it uses the *same* commander's name.

"We can construe this deed by Winslow, at this late date, only as his desire to hold D'Aulnay responsible for the wrong done so many years before by La Tour; and it might seem an unfair attempt to retaliate by force. Luckily D'Aulnay was too strong, or we might have had to blush for outrages under *such* letters of marque, perpetrated by Major Gibbons or Captain Hawkins."

So we are asked to believe that Winslow, Bradford, Prence, John Winthrop junior, Gibbons, Hawkins, with their partners and associates, were implicated in such a business as that! How with the facts and documents before one such an unjust, false, and slanderous construction could have been entertained for one moment will remain the inexplicable thing. The inference has scarcely a shadow of foundation. A complete refutation lies within the manuscript this writer was editing. It is evident in the very materials of the notes. The opening clause of the deed recites that D'Aulnay's offense occurred "about two years since," that is, in 1642, while as the writer shows by Winthrop's testimony, the La Tour affair happened in 1633, or nine years earlier. One event took place "at Matchebiguatus in Penobscot," the other at Machias, which the writer assumes to be the same place. Whatever part of Penobscot might be intended, it remains that the Bay of Penobscot is from Machias Bay eighty miles distant as the crow flies, and instead of the places being identical, they must have been one hundred miles or more apart by the sailing route. Lastly, the parties in interest in the two cases were different persons and from different localities. Although in the first instance of the La Tour affair a Plymouth man is mentioned as principal, it is neither Winslow, Bradford, nor Prence, but Mr. Allerton; and it afterward appears that a Mr. Vines of Saco controlled the goods and established the port such as it was. Moreover there was at Machias at that time no plantation, fortification, or appropriated lands as mentioned in the Penobscot deed, but only "a wigwam" or cabin occupied by five of Mr. Vines's men for trading purposes.

All this appears in Mr. Savage's own volumes under the faithful hand of Governor John Winthrop, by whom the case is recited upon the testimony before himself of both Mr. Vines and Lord La Tour face to face, the year previous to the making of the Penobscot deed. The

egregiousness and almost unpardonable nature of this error will be manifest when we give Winthrop's accounts entire. His first note in the autumn of 1633 is as follows:

"News of the taking of Machias by the French, Mr. Allerton of Plimouth and some others had set a trading wigwam there, and lost in it five men and store of commodities. La Tour, governor of the French in those parts, making claim to those parts, came to displant them, and, finding resistance, killed two men and carried away the other three and the goods."

About ten years later, in June, 1643, when La Tour came to Boston in the ship Clement, seeking aid to raise the siege of Fort La Tour, this old matter came up, and we get the story in detail from the two parties in interest, one of them an eye-witness. Winthrop writes:

"And whereas he [La Tour] was charged to have killed two Englishmen at Machias not far from his fort and to have taken away their goods to the value of five hundred pounds, Mr. Vines of Saco, who was part owner of the goods and principal trader, etc., being present with La Tour, the Governor heard the cause between them, which was thus: Mr. Vines being in a pinnace trading in those parts La Tour met him in another pinnace and bought so many of his commodities as Mr. Vines received then of him four hundred skins, and although some of Mr. Vines his company had abused La Tour, whereupon he had made them prisoners in his pinnace, yet at Mr. Vines entreaty he discharged them with grave and good counsel, and acquainted Mr. Vines with his commission to make prize of all such as should come to trade in those parts, and thereupon desired him peaceably to forbear, etc., yet at his request he gave him leave to trade the goods he had left, in his way home, so as he did not fortify or build in any places within his commission, which he said he could not answer it if he should suffer it; whereupon they parted friendly. Mr. Vines landed his goods at Machias, and there set up a small wigwam, and left five men and two murderers to defend it, and a shallop, and so returned home. Two days after La Tour comes, and casting anchor before the place, one of Mr. Vines' his men came on board his pinnace, and while they were in parley four of La Tour his men went on shore. One of the four which were in the house seeing them, gave fire to a murderer, but it not taking fire, he called to his fellow to give fire to the other murderer, which he going to do, the four French retreated, and one of the muskers went off (La Tour sayeth it was by accident and that the shot went through one of his fellow's clothes, but Mr. Vines could say nothing to that). It killed two of the men on shore, which La Tour then professed himself innocent of, and very sorry for; and said further that the five men were at that time all drunk, and not unlikely, having store of wine and strong water, for had they been sober, they would not have given fire on such as they had conversed friendly with but two days before, without once bidding them stand, or asking wherefore they came. After this La Tour coming to the house and finding some of his own goods (though of no great value) which had a little time before been taken out of

his fort at St. Johns by the Scotch and some English of Virginia (where they had plundered all his goods to a great value and abused his men,) he seized the three men and the goods and sent them to France according to his commission, where the men were discharged, but the goods adjudged lawful prize. Mr. Vines did not contradict any of this, but only that he did not build or fortify at Machias, but only set up a shelter for his men and goods. For the value of the goods Mr. Vines showed an invoice which came to three or four hundred pounds, but La Tour said he had another under the men's hands that were there which came not to half so much. In courtesy he promised that he would refer the cause to judgment, and if it should be found that he had done wrong, he would make satisfaction."

The above account in the main bears the unmistakable marks of truth; though as to La Tour's story of the "musker" discharging accidentally through a friend's clothing and killing two enemies on the shore, the event is so extraordinary we may be pardoned for taking it with a grain of salt, or even dismissing it as a sailor's or (worse yet) a fur-trader's yarn. Yet the thing is within the range of possibility, and to swallow the tale whole without a wink would seem no tax upon credulity at all in comparison with what is required in gratuitously supposing a conspiracy of such prominent men of character to saddle the notorious affair of La Tour upon another—a studious scheme to make reprisals upon a party known to be innocent, and that for a matter already settled.

The well-known truth is that D'Aulnay Charnisay did seize Penobscot and hold it for years, having dispossessed the Plymouth people, who in turn had seized it previously, dispossessing Claude, the father of Charles La Tour.

An Eye-witness of Burgoyne's Surrender[1]—The following letter was written by Colonel Dudley Colman, of Newbury, Mass., to his friend, Colonel Moses Little, member of the House of Representatives, and affords a unique view of the surrender of Burgoyne, by an eye-witness of that important event in the war of the Revolution:

"Camp Albany, *Oct.* 28, 1777.

Dear Sir:—I have the pleasure, though late, to congratulate you on the surrender of Gen. Burgoyne and his army. Some of them doubtless you will have the pleasure of seeing before this reaches you. It may I think be reckoned among the extraordinary events, history furnishes us with, to have 5,000 and upwards of veteran, disciplined troops, besides followers of the army, surrounded, and their resources and retreat so cut off in the field, as to oblige them to surrender prisoners of war, without daring to come to further action, is an event I do not recollect to have met with in history, much less did I ever expect to see it in this war, I confess I could hardly believe it to be a reality when I saw it, the prospect was truly extremely pleasing to see our troops paraded in the best order, and to see march by as prisoners, after they had laid down their arms, those who but a few days before had pretended to despise us (although at the same time I believe they did not think so lightly as they pretended). I can but mention the good order observed by our troops on seeing them march by, no laughing or marks of exultation were to be seen among them, nothing more than a manly joy appeared on the countenances of our

[1] Contributed by Lida C. Tulloch, Washington, D.C.

troops, which showed that they had fortitude of mind to bear prosperity without being too much elated, as well as to encounter the greatest hardships and dangers. It has likewise been observed to me by several of the British officers that they did not expect to be received in so polite a manner, and that they never saw troops behave with more decency, or a better spirit on such an occasion.

We have, I think, for the present, restored peace in the northern quarter, and, although for a little time past viewed the evacuation of Ticonderoga as a misfortune, we may now see it has proved a means of destroying this enemy.

Gen. Clinton has of late made an attempt to come up the river, and has destroyed several places in order to make a diversion in favor of Gen. Burgoyne, but he was too late. We expect orders to strike our tents every day, as we have been under marching orders these three days, and part of the army are gone. I know not where we are to march to, but suppose it to be down the river, when if we can get between the enemy and their ships, we shall endeavor to convince them that they are not to proceed in the way they have done, of destroying the property of our fellow-countrymen. Please to give my best regards to Mr. Gray and family, and all friends, and I shall be happy to have a line from you.

I am, dear sir,
Your most obedient, humble servant,
DUDLEY COLMAN.

To Col. Moses Little, member of the House of Representatives."

"HOW WE LOSE OUR HISTORY"—Under this caption a Charleston journal raises a cry of distress over the neglect to secure valuable documents relating to the history of the State of South Carolina, manifested by its own citizens, as contrasted with the commendable appreciation of these on the part of citizens of other States. It says:

"It appears that our historian and novelist, William Gilmore Simms, in 1868, broken in fortune by the results of the war, and unable even with his brilliant pen to avert the *res angusti domi*, was compelled to part with his collection of letters and manuscripts, the labor of many years and the fruit of unremitting study and investigation. Messrs. J. Carson Brevoort, H. E. Pierrepont, and sixteen other gentlemen of New York contributed the sum of $1,500, which was paid Dr. Simms in 1868 for his invaluable manuscripts, now to be found in the archives of the Long Island Historical Society. An idea of the character and value of the collection is fully set forth in a report of the society."

The application of the homily then follows, and should find an echo in every community that must plead guilty to the same inexcusable indifference.

"Only a Carolinian with a dead soul would not feel a pang of deep mortification and regret at reading such a statement, and yet it is gratifying to know that citizens of other States have not shown the same apathy and neglect which, with a few rare exceptions, have characterized our people for many years, and which it is the endeavor of the trustees of the Charleston Library to remedy.

"There are now scattered throughout the State, in private hands, numbers of letters and manuscripts which should, at least, be carefully preserved for publication in after times, if sufficient funds cannot be raised for their publication now. But there must be an institution, be it a library, historical society, State bureau of historical information, or what not, founded on so solid a financial basis

as will permit no doubts as to its safety and stability, in which their owners could deposit such documents for preservation. Otherwise, many valuable records may suffer the fate of ten boxes of the archives of the Confederate States which were burned in the residence of a gentleman in one of the upper counties of South Carolina some years ago; or may be fished out of a heap of old papers and rags in a junk shop, mutilated and almost entirely illegible, as was the case with a manuscript diary of a Confederate naval officer who served in Charleston harbor during the war."

A Story of a Brave Deed Bravely Told.—The article on Texas in the present number leads us to note that Mr. Richard Harding Davis, in *The West from a Car Window*, relates in his first chapter the story of the brave defense of the Alamo, in Texas. He approaches the subject with becoming modesty, it being, as he says, "more than a thrice-told" tale; but, nevertheless, he does not spoil it in telling it again, as he fears he will. We select some passages from his spirited account:

"On the 23d of February, 1836, General Santa Anna himself, with four thousand Mexican soldiers, marched into the town of San Antonio. In the old mission of the Alamo were the town's only defenders, one hundred and forty-five men, under Captain Travis, a young man twenty-eight years old. With him were Davy Crockett, who had crossed over from his own State to help those who were freeing theirs, and Colonel Bowie (who gave his name to a knife, which name our government gave later to a fort), who was wounded and lying on a cot. . . . On the 3d of March, 1836, there was a cessation in the bombardment, and Captain Travis drew his men up into single rank and takes his place in front of them Captain Travis tells them that all that remains to them is the choice of their death, and that they have but to decide in which manner of dying they will best serve their country. They can surrender and be shot down mercilessly, they can make a sortie and be butchered before they have gained twenty yards, or they can die fighting to the last, and killing their enemies until that last comes. He gives them their choice, and then stooping, draws a line with the point of his sword in the ground from the left to the right of the rank. 'And now,' he says, 'every man who is determined to remain here and to die with me will come to me across that line." Tapley Holland was the first to cross. He jumped it with a bound, as though it were a Rubicon. 'I am ready to die for my country,' he said. And then all but one man, named Rose, marched over to the other side. Colonel Bowie, lying wounded in his cot, raised himself on his elbow. 'Boys,' he said, 'don't leave me. Won't some of you carry me across?' And those of the sick who could walk rose from the bunks and tottered across the line; and those who could not walk were carried. Rose, who could speak Spanish, trusted to this chance to escape, and scaling the wall of the Alamo, dropped into a ditch on the other side, and crawled, hidden by the cactus, into a place of safety.

Through him we know what happened before that final day came. He had his reward.

"Three days after this, on the morning of the 6th of March, Santa Anna brought forward all of his infantry, supported by his cavalry, and stormed the fortress. The infantry came up on every side at once in long black solid rows, bearing the scaling-ladders before them, and encouraged by the press of great numbers about them. . . . At the third trial the ladders are planted, and Mexicans after Mexicans scale them, and jump down into the pit inside, hundreds and hundreds of them, to be met with bullets and then by bayonet-thrusts, and at last with desperate swinging of the butt, until the little band grows smaller and weaker, and is driven up and about and beaten down and stamped beneath the weight of overwhelming and unending numbers. They die fighting on their knees, hacking up desperately as they are beaten and pinned down by a dozen bayonets, Bowie leaning on his elbow and shooting from his cot, Crockett fighting like a panther in the angle of the church wall, and Travis with his back against the wall to the west. The one hundred and seventy-two men who had held four thousand men at bay for two sleepless weeks are swept away as a dam goes that has held back a flood, and the Mexicans open the church doors from the inside and let in their comrades and the sunshine that shows them horrid heaps of five hundred and twenty-two dead Mexicans, and five hundred more wounded. There are no wounded among the Texans; of the one hundred and seventy two who were in the Alamo there are one hundred and seventy-two dead.

"With an example like this to follow, it was not difficult to gain the independence of Texas, and whenever Sam Houston rode before his men crying, 'Remember the Alamo!' the battle was already half won."

First Suggestion of Lincoln's Name—In Mount Vernon, Ohio, there died not long ago Mr. Israel Green. He had built up a comfortable drug business at Findlay, Ohio, in the early fifties of this century, but was a keen observer of political events, as well as a capable judge of their drift and significance. He was not a politician himself, and not an office-holder except to the extent of being a member of the State legislature for one term. He was a man of independent mind, and had given himself heart and soul to the anti-slavery cause. He had watched with eager zest the famous debates between Lincoln and Douglas, and had come to the conclusion that Abraham Lincoln was a man not only of alertness and ability in controversy, but possessed of the more solid qualities of the statesman, and endued with the unflinching moral courage of the reformer. Mr. Green, therefore, became strongly convinced that Lincoln was the man to lead the hosts of anti-slavery to victory in the approaching presidential campaign. Accordingly, on November 6, 1858, he wrote to the Cincinnati *Gazette*, suggesting the name of Abraham Lincoln as presidential candidate. The letter was published in that journal, and appeared in its columns as follows:

A TICKET FOR 1860.

Correspondence of the Cincinnati *Gazette*.

FINDLAY, Ohio, *Nov.* 6, 1858.—Permit a daily reader of your valuable paper, residing in the Northwest, to suggest to the consideration of the triumphant and united opposition, the names of the following distinguished and patriotic statesmen as standard bearers in the approaching presidential election:

For President,
ABRAHAM LINCOLN,
of Illinois.
Vice President,
JOHN P. KENNEDY,
of Maryland.

There, sir, is a ticket that can command and receive the united support of the entire opposition. With the above ticket in the field, with a banner on which shall be inscribed union and harmony; protection to American capital and American labor, skill and enterprise; improvements of Western rivers and harbors; free labor and unrelenting opposition to the interference of the general government in favor of the spread of slavery; opposition to any further acquisition of foreign territory; to humbug squatter sovereignty; to the principles involved in the Dred Scott decision. Let us oppose the appointment to offices of profit members of either branch of Congress during the term for which they shall be elected; oppose extravagance and favoritism in the public expenses, and favor a return to the early principles and practices of the founders of our government. Let us preserve the elective franchise pure and untarnished.

With such standard bearers and such a platform the great opposition or American Republican party can go before the people of the nation in 1860 with the full assurance of a triumphant victory over the present pro-slavery filibustering, border ruffian Democracy.

(Signed)

A MEMBER OF THE PHILADELPHIA CONVENTION IN 1856.

This is believed to have been the first public suggestion of President Lincoln's name. Newspapers and politicians everywhere took it up, with the result that in 1860 the nomination of the head of the ticket at least, was made. Mr. Green deserves to be remembered with gratitude.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE SOCIETY OF COLONIAL DAMES OF AMERICA ON THE DEATH OF MRS. MARTHA J. LAMB.

Whereas, Mrs. Martha J. Lamb has been, in the Providence of God, called from life; and *whereas*, she was one of the founders of the Society of Colonial Dames of America, and was among those to whom the members are particularly indebted for the organization and inspiration at the start; therefore be it

Resolved, That this society hereby express its sense of loss and sorrow in the removal of this eminent and valued member; and

Resolved, That we do hereby formally express our appreciation and admiration of her as conspicuous in the literary world, profound and painstaking and accurate as an historian, so illustrious as the writer of the history of our city and country, so widely and respectfully regarded both at home and abroad, so affectionately held by those admitted to her friendship; and

Resolved, That we record this action in our minutes.

QUERIES

HOUSE OCCUPIED BY LAFAYETTE—Either while recovering from his wound received at the battle of the Brandywine, or during some other sickness, Lafayette occupied a farmhouse in a New Jersey village, not far from the Delaware. Can any of your readers state the exact location of this house, and whether it is still in existence? P. Q. W.

DAVID CROCKETT—Was not an autobiography of David Crockett published? Can a copy be had, or is the work out of print?

BURNING OF THE TIGER—Mrs. Lamb, in her *History of New York City*, states that an account of the burning of this vessel in New York bay, in the winter of 1613–14, is found in a document dated August 14, 1614, preserved among the archives at the Hague. As I do not find such document among Brodhead's collection of papers published by the state, will some one of your readers inform me whether such document is now at the Hague, or whether Mrs. Lamb was misinformed as to its existence? R. B. S.

THE FIRST PLACE OF WORSHIP ON MANHATTAN ISLAND—When Peter Minuit came over (in 1626) to establish colonial government in New Netherland, he brought with him two lay readers, and worship was conducted by them, and afterwards by Dominie Jonas Michaelius, from 1628 to 1633, in the loft of a "horse-mill." Can any of your readers tell just where that mill stood?

CLERICUS

REPLIES

FIRST COLLEGE PERIODICAL [xxviii. No. 4]—In reply to inquiry about college journalism, allow me to say that *The Literary Cabinet* was founded at Yale, 1806. *The Harvard Lyceum* was started at Harvard, 1810, and Edward Everett was one of the editors. *Before either of these*, *The Gazette* was started at Dartmouth, and as Daniel Webster was one of the principal contributors, and he graduated in the class of 1801, it was almost undoubtedly a product of the last century.

So *The North Carolina University Magazine* of 1844 is decidedly not "the first college periodical in the United States."

W. ARMITAGE BEARDSLEE

YONKERS, NEW YORK

OLDEST DWELLING HOUSE ERECTED IN NEW YORK STATE [xxix. 185]—It may be that the house in Southampton, L. I., built in 1648, is the *oldest* house in the sense that it has been preserved intact since it was built. But the writer will not claim surely that it was the *first* house erected within the bounds of the state. It may be permitted to mention in this connection that there are portions of the foundations still extant of the city tavern built by Director Kieft in 1642, which became the city hall in 1653, and was used as such until 1700. It is still in order, however, for some one to indicate if there be any dwelling-house in complete preservation, older than the Southampton house of 1648.

J. G. G.

NOTES FROM THE HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

ALABAMA—A colored Literary and Historical Society was organized on January 2, 1893, at Birmingham, and a paper appointed to be read at the first regular meeting on "The Nature, Necessity, and Object of such Society."

CALIFORNIA—The California Historical Society held its seventh annual meeting for the election of a board of directors, and a committee on publication, on January 10, 1893. A paper was read, entitled "Early California Schools and the Primitive Modes Employed in the Pre-American Era."

—The Historical Society of Southern California, Los Angeles—Perhaps the most valuable property owned by this association from a historical standpoint is the complete files of Southern California newspapers from 1850 to the present day. Great pains are taken to authenticate all documents coming to the society, so that when they pass upon its shelves they can be accepted with confidence by any Hume, Macaulay, or Carlyle who may happen to crop up to write a history for Southern California.

CONNECTICUT.—The Connecticut Historical Society of Hartford at a recent meeting voted not to allow out of its possession the tape printed with Professor Morse's first telegraphic message, which is requested by the Western Union Telegraph company for its museum. The society will permit it to be photographed. The society has also in its possession the identical United States flag that General B. F. Butler raised over the New Orleans custom house after the first flag was pulled down and torn to shreds by the people of New Orleans, on the occupation of the city by federal troops. It was in relation to this flag and the threats of the women of New Orleans to insult it, that Butler's famous order was issued for the arrest and prosecution of every woman found on the streets of the city after seven o'clock in the evening. The flag is a large, handsome silk one of regulation style, and shows no signs of wear or injury. After the war the flag was given to Gideon Welles, Lincoln's secretary of the navy, and by him was presented to the Historical Society.

—At the last regular meeting of the Fairfield County Historical Society, at Bridgeport, it was reported that the con-

NOTE.—This department aims to present such notes of the proceedings of historical societies throughout the country as are of general historical interest, with such items of a local nature as will serve to stimulate the formation of new societies, or to encourage the activities of those already established. Thus we hope to furnish a comprehensive survey of the character of the actual historical work done by these organizations, and to indicate the growth everywhere of the historical spirit.

tributions of books during the month include fifty volumes of the *New Englander*, by Rev. C. R. Palmer. They form a consecutive series from 1843 to the present time. Mr. Palmer also donated various other volumes, including one year of the London *Spectator*, which completes a set from many years back to the present.

District of Columbia—At a recent meeting of the Ladies' Historical Society of Washington, the attention of the members was given to various treatments of Scandinavian history and mythology.

—There has been some talk among those interested in the Georgetown of years gone by, of forming an historical society, whose main object will be to secure from the towns throughout Maryland and Virginia, and wherever they may exist, the scattered records, old maps, early newspapers, and other things of a historical nature relating to the town, and to preserve them in the rooms of the society with other historical documents that from time to time will make their appearance. Local relics of all descriptions will be collected, and officers periodically chosen to care for them. It is urged that such a society would receive earnest support from the best people of the place. It is said many of the documents which would be gathered together are now in possession of people residing at and in the vicinity of Hagerstown, Rockville, Frederick, Baltimore, and Alexandria.

Illinois—The Chicago Historical Society is fortunate in having just secured, through the liberality of Mr. Marshall Field, a valuable collection of historical documents. They are eight large volumes of letters of James Madison; one large volume of letters of General James Armstrong, minister to France under Jefferson, and secretary of war during the war of 1812; also letters of Joseph Jones, Washington's colleague in the constitutional convention; and of Edmund Randolph, attorney-general of the United States under Washington. They were purchased by J. C. McGuire of Washington, several years ago, from a member of Madison's family; at one time the state department offered a thousand dollars for them, which was refused. Mr. Field paid the price at which they are now held, seventy-five hundred dollars, and generously presented them to the Chicago society.

Kansas—The eighth biennial report of the Kansas Historical Society, just issued, shows the work of the society and the condition of its library and collections up to November 15 last. There have been added to the library of the society during the two years, 2,183 volumes of books; unbound volumes and pamphlets, 7,710; volumes of newspapers and periodicals, 2,499; single newspapers containing matter of special historical interest, 734; maps, atlases, and charts, 3,253; manuscripts, 556; pictures and other works of art, 183; scrip, currency, and coin, 81; war relics, 23; miscellaneous contributions, 443. Hon. George T. Pierce of Goodrich, Kansas, has given the society a copy of

a pamphlet containing a satirical poem on De Witt Clinton, who was a presidential candidate in 1812; also a pamphlet containing a political lampoon on John Hancock, the bold signer of the Declaration of Independence, who was at the time of this publication, 1789, a candidate for governor of Massachusetts.

LOUISIANA—There was a meeting at Tulane university in January last, for the purpose of forming in New Orleans a society whose aim will be to collect historical literature and relics of any historical significance, so as to preserve them for reference. This meeting will be about the first of its kind in the south, but it is in line with the organization in New York known as the "Daughters of 1776 and 1812."

MAINE—At the last meeting of the Maine Historical Society a paper was read on "Pre-Columbian Discovery." The members of the Society were greatly interested and delighted in the witty and sarcastic comments made in the paper on the theories of the "Norse maniacs." Yet the reader regarded the sagas as legitimate and valuable sources of proof of Norse discoveries in America, but thought they should be supplemented, not by unauthenticated relics such as towers and mythical cities, but by study of the ancient records.

MARYLAND—Friday, January 27, was the 49th anniversary of the organization of the Maryland Historical Society. On the corresponding day of the month of January, 1844, some eighteen or twenty gentlemen assembled in the office of the Maryland Colonization Society to organize an institution "for the purpose of collecting the scattered materials of the early history of this state and for other collateral objects." A stimulus was immediately given to literary taste in Baltimore by the establishment of the society. The first record of membership published in 1844 shows that there was hardly a gentleman in professional or mercantile life noted for cultivation who did not join the organization.

—Recently the Frederick County Historical Society was organized, and this was made the occasion for the following sensible observations on the part of the *Baltimore News*: "The organization of the Frederick County Historical Society is a matter that calls for more than passing note. Such bodies are urgently needed in each county in the state to preserve the local traditions and records which go to make up the story of its life. For years the Maryland Historical Society, located in this city, has been doing a great work, and one which future generations will richly appreciate; but even its efforts have been hampered to an incalculable extent by the almost entire lack of interest taken in historical research by residents of the counties. Otherwise well-informed and intelligent people in the state are lamentably deficient in knowledge concerning past events of their localities and of the individuals who have figured therein."

MASSACHUSETTS—At a regular meeting of the New England Historical Genealogical Society held in November, Professor John Fiske read a paper on "Charles Lee, the Soldier of Fortune." Professor Fiske reviewed at length Lee's well-known treachery to the American cause, and shed some additional light upon it; and his subsequent incapable conduct at the battle of Monmouth, resulting, as it did, in one of Washington's few recorded bursts of anger, was vividly narrated. He drew an instructive moral from the petulant and unprovoked outbreak which ultimately severed his relation with the army for the last time, although he had deserved cashiering in much more aggravated instances often before. At the January meeting the annual election of officers took place, ex-Governor William Claflin being re-elected president.

—Charles Francis Adams has offered to erect a memorial to Miles Standish if the Weymouth Historical Society will secure a site in the Wessagussett settlement, where Standish fought his decisive conflict with the Indians, April 6, 1623.

—At the annual meeting of the proprietors of the Nantucket Athenæum initiatory steps were taken to secure the establishment of an Historical Genealogical Society.

—The Old Colony Historical Society met at Taunton, in January, and listened to a paper by Rev. P. W. Lyman of Fall River, on "The Shay's Rebellion in Massachusetts." One or two interesting episodes of that alarming affair, which seriously threatened the foundations of the newly established government, occurred in Taunton, to which the speaker paid especial attention. The librarian reported a number of documents received during the year, among them a "History of Fall River for One Hundred and Sixty Years to 1841, by Rev. Orrin Fowler, M. C."; also the "Brown University Alumni of Fall River; Sketches by Hon. John S. Brayton in 1888"—from the latter. The present number of members is five hundred and thirty-seven. Captain George A. Washburn presented an old subscription paper, bearing the names of prominent citizens of Taunton who had subscribed various sums for the benefit of the families of the Taunton Light Guard when they were called away at the outbreak of the rebellion. The society has recently come into possession of an ancient document of local interest, being a sermon preached by Elder Hinds of Middleboro in 1758. The manuscript was very well preserved.

—The annual meeting of the Fitchburg Historical Society was held in January last. A letter written in 1776, and signed by the selectmen of Fitchburg, was presented to the society. The letter was addressed to the "Committee of Clothing for the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay," and asked pay of the colony for the benefit of the heirs of John Gibson of Fitchburg, who was killed at the battle of Bunker Hill.

—A new society was organized in Boston last January by a number of gentlemen interested in preserving and perpetuating the historical records of this

commonwealth, to be known as "The Massachusetts Society." The aims and object of the society are announced to be "to collect and preserve mementos of our colonial ancestors; to propagate knowledge of their lives and deeds by the publication of ancient documents and records; to cultivate an interest in the history of our country, and more especially of the colonies of Plymouth and the Massachusetts Bay; to encourage individual research into the part taken by our forefathers in the building of our nation; to promote intelligent discussion of events in which the people of our commonwealth have been concerned, in order that justice may be done to participants and false claims silenced; and to inspire among our members a spirit of fellowship based upon a proper appreciation of our common ancestry."

—The Watertown Historical Society held its regular monthly meeting in January. Mr. O. W. Dimick, principal of Wells School, Boston, delivered an address on "Marco Polo and his Book." This paper was prepared for the Old South lectures, and was considered so excellent that the author was invited to deliver it before the Brooklyn Institute of Brooklyn, N. Y. Miss Ellen M. Crafts, secretary of the society, read Joel Barlow's "Vision of Columbus." The evening was termed "Columbus night," and "Columbus" was the topic of discussion.

—The Roxbury Military Historical Society, Colonel Horace T. Rockwell president, held its annual dinner in Boston, January 26. Several prominent gentlemen interested in historical matters were present on the occasion. This society has already reached a membership of over three hundred, composed of the residents of the Roxbury district, and will soon commence the publication of interesting reminiscences connected with the military, political, and literary celebrities of Old Roxbury. The society is specially interested in furthering the proposition for the erection of a statue to Major-General Joseph Warren.

MINNESOTA — The monthly meeting of the State Historical Society was held at the capitol last night. The erection of a commodious building in which to house the society's treasures was recommended, and will be presented for legislative action. In the library and museum there are twenty-five thousand bound volumes, twenty-nine thousand unbound volumes, one hundred and forty-eight framed pictures, two hundred and eighty-two curios, one thousand manuscripts, and five hundred coins. In case the legislature does not provide funds for the erection of a new capitol building, it will be asked to make an appropriation of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars for a fire-proof building for the society.

NEBRASKA — The annual meeting of the State Historical Society was held January 10 and 11, 1893, in the chapel of the State university, Lincoln. The sessions were of more than ordinary interest, and there will be an effort to get

the recognition from the legislature this winter that will be more commensurate with the importance of the objects of the association. The older settlers are beginning to see the need of gathering up the threads of their earlier history before the sources of the best information are silenced in the grave.

New Jersey—The forty-eighth annual meeting of the New Jersey Historical Society was held in January at the state house, Trenton, with Judge Clement of the court of errors and appeals in the chair as president. One of the most interesting features was the reading of a paper, by corresponding secretary William Nelson, on "The Indians of New Jersey: Their Origin and Development; Their Language, Religion, and Government." Mr. Nelson said that while there was not a society in America for the purpose of studying this subject, there was one in Paris, the Société Americain; and of the international society organized for the same purpose—the Congrès International des Américanistes—about half of the six hundred members were Frenchmen, and only about twenty-five residents of the United States.

New York—The Jefferson County Historical Society has addressed itself to the task of trying to erect a building. Pledge papers are to be circulated in Watertown and other places. The object is heartily commended by the press of the county.

—The Long Island Historical Society has entered upon its records testimony of the high esteem in which its members held Abiel Abbott Low, who died on January 7, and Samuel McLean, who died on January 10. Mr. Low was a member of the board of directors of the society from the year of its organization, 1863, until his death. He was always active in its councils and gave much material assistance to it. Mr. McLean became a member of the board of directors in 1876. He had supervision of the erection of the society's present handsome home.

—The Onondaga Historical Association held its regular annual meeting at Syracuse, on January 3, for the election of officers and the annual organization of the board of directors. There was a large attendance of new members, and they were given representatives on the board for the ensuing year. Of the eighteen directors of the board six retire each year. President Kirkpatrick brought before the board the idea of noticing by some resolution or memorial the recent death of Martha J. Lamb, editor of the Magazine of American History, and a woman who has done much in the way of historical research throughout the state. A committee was appointed to make a report on the suggestion.

—The Buffalo Historical Society held its annual meeting, in its rooms in the library building, January 10. Two bequests were made to the society, one of five thousand dollars from the estate of the late Jonathan Scoville, and one of

five hundred dollars from the estate of the late William Moffatt. The retiring president in his address said among other things: "A gift of rare value to the people of the western counties of this state from the Hon. Henry F. Glowacki of Batavia was the original title deeds, surveys, field notes, maps, a voluminous correspondence, and other interesting details of the celebrated 'Holland Land Company's' purchase of several million acres of land in the territory now known as the counties of Erie, Niagara, Genesee, Chautauqua, Cattaraugus, Allegheny, Wyoming, and Orleans. These records supplemented by those previously in possession of this society are of inestimable value in determining vexed questions regarding original titles and boundaries of farm lands, and even of village and city lots, within the limits of the above named counties."

—The Oneida Historical Society, which has its headquarters in Utica, is planning to erect a monument to General Nicholas Herkimer, the hero of the battle of Oriskany. The grave of General Herkimer is in the town of Danube, Herkimer county, within sight of the railroads running along the Mohawk, and all travelers would see the monument and be reminded of the scenes enacted in that valley in the early days of the country. The battle-ground at Oriskany already bears a monument, and it is only fitting that the hero of the conflict should be similarly honored. The brave soldier's last resting place is by no means wholly neglected, but the modest headstone which marks the grave of the famous fighter is not befitting his services to his country and to his native valley. The Herkimer house stands close by the general's grave, and measures for the restoration and preservation of this home merit the attention of every citizen of the Mohawk valley. The Herkimer house is one of the finest specimens of colonial architecture.

—The Rochester Historical Society arranged for a historical exhibition, representing scenes in the early history of the city, which were given in the Lyceum theatre on the evenings of January 23 and 24. See editorial notes.

Ohio—The Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, Wednesday of last week, presented its eighth annual report to the governor. Among other things, it says on the subject of Fort Ancient: "This ancient fortification is the largest and most prominent work of the kind in America. Were it in Europe it would long before this time have been under the control of a society or state, and would have been restored to its ancient condition and carefully preserved." A model of Fort Ancient park in *papier maché* has been made by the National world's fair commission for exhibition there, at a cost of two thousand dollars. This model will be retained in Chicago at the close of the exposition.

—The New Century Historical Society of Columbus, at its annual meeting on January 9 last, took occasion to cele-

brate the day as being the one hundred and fourth anniversary of the signing of the treaty at Fort Harmer between the United States and the Indians of the Six Nations, in 1789.

PENNSYLVANIA—On February 11 the Wyoming Historical and Genealogical Society dedicated its handsome new building at Wilkesbarre.

—The Pennsylvania Historical Society has been making photographic copies of ancient wills, including those of five colonial mayors of Philadelphia, Lloyd, Morray, Shippen, Hudson, and Logan. They are to be inserted in some forthcoming publications of the society.

RHODE ISLAND—The annual meeting of the Rhode Island Historical Society met at Providence in January last. In the president's address mention was made of the members of the society who had died since the previous annual meeting; among whom was Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, editor of the MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY, a corresponding member of the society. A matter taken into serious consideration was that the society publish all papers read before it concerning Rhode Island history.

—The Rhode Island Veteran Citizens' Historical Association at their meeting in January listened to a paper on "The Valley of the Taunton River." The settlement and development of the various towns in this valley, and the historic interest attached thereto, were discussed at length by the speaker, as also were the manufacturing industries so closely connected with Taunton.

—The annual meeting of the Rhode Island Soldiers' and Sailors' Historical Society occurred in January last. A feature of special interest was the reading of a paper by William H. Badlam of Dorchester, Mass., late second assistant engineer, United States navy, on "The Cruise of the Kearsarge and her Fight with the Alabama." During this engagement Mr. Badlam was in charge of the engines, his chief being ill. In reply to a question as to the alleged firing of the Kearsarge into the Alabama after she surrendered, Mr. Badlam said that being at his post, he could not, of course, see what transpired outside the vessel, but he always understood that as the latter vessel swung around, after her flag was struck, the battery of the opposite side was brought to bear on the Kearsarge. Two guns chanced to be loaded and were fired by the sailors. Captain Winslow at once concluded he was the victim of trickery, and three broadsides were returned before a white flag could be displayed by the rebel cruiser.

TENNESSEE—The Tennessee Historical Society met at Nashville in January last. The following donations were reported: a copy of *National Banner and Nashville Whig*, Nashville, Tennessee, July 13, 1832; specimens of yellow wood, Virgilia Lutea; proceedings of the State Association of Confederate Veterans at their annual meeting at Franklin, Ten-

nessee; receipts from the Nashville Building Association from 1854 to 1861; also confederate and federal passports from 1861 to 1865.

VERMONT—The Bennington Historical Society met in January last. The directors of the Bennington Battle Monument Association, whose corporators are elected by the society, informed the meeting that the monument was in good condition and fully completed; that over three thousand visitors had paid for admittance to it the past year, and that the sum thus obtained has been sufficient to care for the property.

VIRGINIA—In January, a number of prominent gentlemen of Richmond met to organize the Richmond Literary and Historical Association. It is the hope of the originators of this movement "to perfect a literary, scientific, and historical society which will be the medium of elevating the great masses of the people to higher plane of intellectual life." A special object of this new society will be to collect materials which shall serve to illustrate the history of the negro in this country.

WASHINGTON—The recent organization of the Thurston County Historical Society at Olympia is awakening considerable interest among the early settlers of that distant portion of our Union. To these people the society has earnestly addressed itself. Pioneers are asked not to wait to have information drawn from them, but to visit the secretary and voluntarily contribute any knowledge of past events they may have. Regular meetings will be held from time to time, when papers will be read on past events.

WEST VIRGINIA—The governor in his message takes occasion to commend the West Virginia Historical and Antiquarian Society for its praiseworthy efforts, and the great success which has attended them, in elucidating the history of the State. He advises the legislature to give them suitable aid, and to erect the society into a state institution.

WISCONSIN — The fortieth annual meeting of the Wisconsin Historical Society was held in January. The occasion was celebrated with great enthusiasm. The secretary's report, among several matters of interest, contains one point of especial importance; viz., the bibliography of Wisconsin authors. There is no similar bibliography of the writers of any American state, and the publication will be unique of its kind. The volume will contain about three hundred and fifty pages, the names of some nine hundred authors, and in the neighborhood of four thousand seven hundred titles of books, pamphlets, and magazine articles, written by Wisconsin people since 1836. "It will," says the secretary, "show to the world that a raw, western State, whose people have chiefly been employed in seeking for the material things of life, has in a little over half a century contributed in no small degree to the mass, as well as to the wealth, of American literature."

EDITORIAL NOTES

We desire to state that General James Grant Wilson, having edited the February number of the MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY in the emergency of the sudden change of proprietorship, has found it impossible to continue as editor, owing to the pressure of other literary engagements.

***

We continue to notice, in various contemporary journals of all parts of the country, words of kindly appreciation of the worth and ability of the late lamented editor of the MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY. One such remarks: "It will be many, very many, years before the literary world will enjoy the presence and reap the fruits of such an accomplished, patient, industrious, and painstaking student and writer as was Mrs. Martha J. Lamb. With her the truth was the thing desired, and she never faltered in her efforts nor did she grow weary in its pursuit."

***

The Rochester (New York) Historical Society has undertaken a most unique project, which was carried to complete success in the latter part of January last. It was proposed to present a number of tableaux, some in pantomime and some with appropriate dialogues, illustrating the early history of the city.

The scenes presented were: "The Phelps and Gorham Purchase, 1788," in which a large number of Indians and settlers participated; "Purchase of the One-hundred-acre Tract;" "The First Post-office, 1813," "The War of 1812–1814," representing the parley between the thirty-two Americans and the British forces, and the withdrawal of the latter; "Visit of Lafayette, 1825," in which the scene of his reception on the banks of the Erie by the people was enacted; "The Quilting Party, 1830," during which the ladies arrived in gorgeous raiment, talked the latest gossip while busy with their needles, took tea when the men arrived, discussed the innovation of using napkins at the table, and a hornpipe was danced, to the eminent satisfaction of the audience; "The Singing School, 1830," full of humor; "The Bachelors' Ball, 1845," notable for the large number of young women who appeared in the monnie musk; "The Fire Scene, 1845," which showed the old methods of "running with the machine" and the working of the same, and the way the firemen had of putting a jeering citizen to work. The first school and the first church-choir were also represented in character. For the school the stage was set to reproduce as nearly as possible the interior of the first schoolhouse.

***

Senator Hoar of Massachusetts, in speaking recently of his newly elected colleague, Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, took occasion to mention in terms of high praise his work on *George Washington*, which forms the subject of the book-essay in our present number. He said: "His life of *George Washington* seems to me the best portraiture of Washington in literature. I think it is a masterpiece of compact, yet ample, biography. I think it will grow in favor as time goes on, and is

likely to be the standard life of Washington for American youth for centuries to come."

***

The publication is announced of an important work, to appear within a few weeks. It is entitled: *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army during the War of the Revolution*, compiled by F. B. Heitman, of the war department at Washington, D. C. This work embraces information arranged as follows: First, general officers of the continental army, arranged according to rank, with dates of service of each. Second, list of military secretaries and aids-de-camp to General Washington, with dates of service as such. Third, chronological list of field officers of the line in successive order, arranged by states and regiments. Fourth, alphabetical list of officers of the continental army, including many officers of the militia, showing date of rank in each grade, all brevet commissions, all cases in which thanks, swords, or honors were conferred by congress, information as to dates and localities when and where officers were killed, wounded, captured, and exchanged, and in many cases dates of death of officers after leaving the service. Fifth, chronological and alphabetical list of battles, actions, etc. In the opinion of competent critics, who have examined advance sheets of this work, it will prove to be an important contribution to the literature of the Revolution, its value being especially enhanced by its accuracy.

***

We have just received the first number of the fourth volume of the *Dedham Historical Register*, published by the Dedham (Massachusetts) Historical Society. There are few societies in the country in more flourishing condition, as is evinced alone by this handsome periodical; few, excepting state societies, having either the courage or the financial ability to issue such at all. A beautiful engraving of the old court-house, built in 1827, illustrates an article on the history of this building and its predecessors. Other papers and departments indicate the variety and interest of the labors undertaken by the members of this society. The board of editors has an equal representation of ladies and gentlemen.

***

We are pleased to observe with how much eagerness in certain quarters, and with what general interest among all classes, the question is discussed in New York as to the disposal to be made of the city hall building, which dates from 1807, and is one of the most perfect types of architecture either the city or the country possesses. Whatever may be done with the structure, it is certain that no one thinks of merely demolishing it, a matter which would not have been greatly objected to at some other periods in American history. A similar question faces the citizens of Philadelphia. There it is not proposed to demolish or remove any notable building. But there is a project to clear away the surroundings of Independence hall, in order to emphasize, as it were, the importance of the latter. The historic spirit revolts, however, at the extent to which this work is to be carried, and pleads for the retention of some of the

houses on Independence square, not for their beauty, but for their being historically as well as architecturally in keeping with the hall. It is very gratifying to notice, by these evidences, to what an encouraging degree the people of this republic have grown to love and esteem the things that are old—that have a history.

***

The "Hymn of the Alamo," of which a facsimile of the original copy from the author's hand appears in the present number, leads us to say that some interesting facts in regard to it will be furnished in a subsequent number. At present we do not possess all the data, but they have been promised.

***

The Huguenot Society of America, at an executive meeting, passed the following appreciative resolution:

Resolved, That this committee most deeply feels the sudden and grievous loss sustained by the Huguenot Society of America in the unexpected death of one of its most esteemed, active, and energetic members, the late Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, who passed from earth in this city on the second day of January, 1893; that this committee itself more especially grieves for the death of its fellow-member, who was ever most efficient in her services, regular in attendance on its meetings, and prudent, wise, and courteous in her advice and suggestions. As gentle, refined, and retiring as she was brilliant and intellectual, she will ever remain a model for those of her sex who shall enter the paths of literature.

***

The opening article of the present number, on "New York in the Civil War," by General Rodenbough, is condensed from advance sheets of the third volume of the *Memorial History of New York City*.

There are two people who get their mail from the Santa Clara (California) post-office whose names were a household word during the war of the rebellion. They are Mrs. Winchester, widow of the inventor of the famous Winchester rifle, a weapon that did such deadly and effective work during the stormy days of the sixties. The other is Miss Sarah Brown, daughter of "Old John Brown" of Harper's Ferry fame, "whose soul goes marching on." Both of these ladies are well known in Santa Clara, being seen on the streets almost daily.

We learn from the *Pittsburgh Despatch* that in 1803 the ship *Louisiana*, built at Elizabeth, on the Monongahela, for the ocean trade, left Pittsburgh for the Gulf of Mexico ballasted with bituminous coal. This it took clear around the coast to Philadelphia, readily disposing of it there for thirty-seven and one-half cents per bushel, or ten and one-half dollars per ton. The inhabitants of Pittsburgh bought window glass from the celebrated Hon. Albert Gallatin's factory, at New Geneva, on the Monongahela, in 1797, paying him for it from fourteen dollars to twenty dollars per box. These big profits were against Mr. Gallatin's best judgment, however. His financial foresight, which won him such a reputation as secretary of the United States treasury, was well displayed here. He reasoned with his partners in the glass factory, that those high prices would attract competition very soon, whereas if it was reduced to four dollars and fifty cents per box they would earn a reasonable margin and prevent temptation to other capitalists at Pittsburgh. His advice was overruled. Window glass made in 1801 at Denny & Beelen's factory in Pittsburgh sold for twelve dollars per box of one hundred feet, but the size is not given.

In the death of Professor Horsford, Leif Erikson has lost a persistent and able defender as a claimant for the honor of discovering America. The famous chemist was fully convinced of the historical certainty of Leif's priority as a world discoverer, and he gave frequent evidence of the enthusiasm which he felt on the subject. Nevertheless, the discussion of this matter possesses comparatively little interest for the general public. It would, of course, be interesting to certainly know whether Leif or some adventurous explorer before him really did get aground on Cape Cod or rowed up the Charles; but, if it were so, mankind's stock of geographical knowledge gained little if anything from such experiences.

One of the most interesting relics of the late civil war is a piece of white toweling that was used as a flag of truce when the Confederate army surrendered to General Grant at Appomattox. It is owned by General E. W. Whitaker, who was a member of General Custer's staff, and who received it from Captain Sims, of Longstreet's staff, on

the morning of April 9, 1865. General Whitaker has treasured it during all these years. He was induced to part with a portion of it several years ago, when he gave half of it to his old commander, the late General Custer. Mrs. Custer afterward gave the fragment to the museum at West Point. On the small piece of the toweling appears the following statement, sworn to by General Whitaker before a notary public. "This is a piece of the cloth cut from the identical flag of truce which was used under orders of General R. E. Lee to ask a cessation of hostilities of the Federal army at 9 o'clock A. M., April 9, 1865, at Appomattox Court House, Virginia. This flag of truce, a large white towel, was in the hands of Captain Sims, of Longstreet's staff, when he met Custer's cavalry charge. It was used by me in the rebel lines at the request of Generals Longstreet and Gordon to announce the surrender of Lee to the infantry line of battle and also the cavalry."

The *Boston Advertiser* calls attention to the fact that as soon as Mr. Stevenson takes the oath of office as Vice-President he will be the possessor of a room that is both beautiful and historic. This is the room just off from the senate chamber which is used as the office of the Vice-President. In the senate wing of the capitol there are two rooms set apart, one for the President and one for the Vice-President. The former is but seldom used, while the latter is used daily as an office and contains some very interesting relics. On one of the walls of the room is a painting of George Washington, and this painting is considered the best of Washington in existence. It was executed by Rembrandt Peale in 1795. Peale had three sittings of Washington. At that time dentistry was not practiced as scientifically as it is at the present day, and it is a historical fact that at each of these sittings Washington used raw cotton as a substitute for false teeth, so as to fill out the mouth and cheeks. This gives his face a very determined look, and not the peaceful expression with which he is generally credited in portraits.

Stored away in the archives of the state department is a collection of historical papers, the most valuable, in all probability, in the United States. They include the letters, diaries, books, and other memoranda from the founders of the republic, and are constantly in demand by students and writers of history. The frequent handlings which they have received have seriously damaged some of them; and that they may be preserved for the use and information of succeeding generations of investigators, the department has for several years been engaged in the work of arranging, indexing, and binding them. When this work is finished (it will require another decade at least, unless the force is increased) the manuscripts will be in such a condition that they may be conveniently handled by the investigator without harm to the documents themselves, and any particular paper may be readily found. First in importance and value of all the papers in the department, the librarian places the

records of the continental congress, which came to it by inheritance. Although the art of verbatim reporting was not exercised in those days, the records contain not a little of what was said by the fathers and founders of the country, and a complete transcript of all the business proposed and transacted. The magnitude of the state department's collection of Jefferson papers may be inferred from the fact that twenty-five thousand titles have been written for the new index of them, a number representing but two-thirds of the whole collection. Thomas Jefferson certainly made his mark.

A document preserved by a gentleman of Goshen, New York, gives us an interesting glimpse of the status of the Revolutionary army at the time negotiations of peace were pending. The soldiers were only conditionally discharged, as there might be serious business on hand again.

"By His Excellency
George Washington, Esq ;
General and Commander in Chief of the Forces of the United States of America.

These are to Certify that the Bearer hereof John Miller, Private in the Second New York Regiment, having faithfully served the United States three years and six months and being inlisted for the War only, is hereby Discharged from the American Army.

Given at Head-Quarters,
G. WASHINGTON.
By His Excellency's Command,
J. TURNBULL, Ad. Sy.

Registered in the Books of the Regiment,
CHRIST'E HILTON, Lt & Adjutant."

The reverse side of the document contains the following :

"Head-Quarters, June Seventh, 1783.
The within Certificate shall not avail the Bearer as a Discharge, until the Ratification of the definitive Treaty of Peace ; previous to which Time, and until Proclamation thereof shall be made, He is to be considered as being on Furlough.
GEORGE WASHINGTON."

"The word 'Missouri' properly means 'wooden canoe,'" says the *St. Louis Republic*. "Among the Abenakis, or Indians of Maine, a boat or canoe was called 'A-ma-sui.' With the Narragansetts it was 'Me-shu-e ;' with the Delawares it was 'Ma-sho-la ;' with the Miamis about Lake Michigan it was 'Missola ;' with the Illinois tribe it was 'Wicwes-Missuri' for a birch-bark canoe, and 'We-Mis-su-re,' or 'We-Mes-su-re,' for a wooden canoe or canoe fashioned from a log of wood. The name Missouri was originally applied by the Illinois and other Indians of the Lake Michigan region to the tribe of Indians living west of the Mississippi and along the great Muddy River. The term, liberally interpreted, meant 'the wooden canoe people,' or, 'the people who use wooden canoes.' The Lake Michigan Indians uniformly used birch-bark canoes, while the Indians on the Muddy River used Caunoes dug out of logs. The turbulent stream (the Missouri) was not adapted to frail bark vessels, and the use of log canoes was to the lake Indians such a peculiarity that they named the tribe or people using them from this characteristic."

RECENT HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

WILLIAM GILMORE SIMMS. By WILLIAM P. TRENT. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1892. (American Men of Letters Series.)

The present volume, in literary ability and excellence of treatment, is fully up to those of the series heretofore published. Pausing a moment to consider its style, we would remark that Professor Trent's manner is exceedingly attractive. He chats somewhat familiarly with his reader occasionally, and even with some pleasantry, yet we cannot say that he at all becomes undignified, even here. In explaining the very happy and apposite title of one of his chapters: "Romantic Dreams and Political Nightmares" (treating of Simms's sympathy with and advocacy of secession principles), the author observes: "During the twelve years from 1850 to 1861 inclusive, Simms lived in two very different worlds. In both he dreamed dreams and saw visions, the difference between which has been briefly indicated in the heading of this chapter. . . . As a bad beginning makes a good ending, it may be as well to begin with the nightmares; and if the reader wonders how any good can come out of nightmares, he is requested to preserve his patience for a while."

We would have no occasion to consider this book at all, were it not that, in the first place, Simms, besides being a poet and a novelist, was also a historian. Yet the infusion of this character was so exceedingly faint that his biographer wisely makes very little of it. He wrote and edited biographies of Marion and Greene, to which Professor Trent devotes a few sentences. He wrote, also, a *History of South Carolina*, of which our author says nothing at all except in the bibliography of Simms. He is entitled to more credit as a writer of novels treating of revolutionary times; but the literary quality of these (which we ought hardly to discuss here) is so dangerously near the level of the multiple-initialed Mrs. Southworth and Sylvanus Cobb of *New York Ledger* fame, that possibly it might not do to press them too strongly upon the notice of historical students.

The real claim of this delightful little book to our attention here, lies in the historical value of the treatment itself. The author gives us clear and interesting views of the condition of things at the South long preceding and immediately preceding the violent outbreak of the civil war. Speaking of Charleston and its significance, Professor Trent says: "What Boston has been to New England, that has Charleston been to South Carolina, one may almost say, to the southern states. Indeed, it would be nearer the mark, if one may compare small things with great, to say that Charleston is to South Carolina as London is to England. . . . Just as London has been the literary, social, and political centre of England, so has Charleston, since its founding, been the literary, social, and political centre of South Carolina."

The explanation of southern society, of its faults as of its virtues, our author finds in a survival of feudalism, which was encouraged by the system of slavery, and the interaction of these two things upon each other: "If there be one fact that stands out before the student of antebellum southern history, it is that the southern people, down to 1861, were living a primitive life, a life full of survivals. . . . The southern people were descendants, in the main, of that 'portion of the English people who,' to quote Professor Shaler, 'had been least modernized, who still retained a large element of the feudal notion.' . . . Feudal-minded cavaliers were the people of all others to whom over-lordship would be natural and grateful. What wonder, then, that slavery struck its roots deep, or that the tree over which it spread its poisonous tendrils should soon show signs of decay? Slavery helped feudalism and feudalism helped slavery, and the southern people were largely the outcome of the interaction of these two formative principles."

The true position of slavery as a political force is brought out by Professor Trent. It was the bond of union, the welding power that alone made the southern states one in any conflict they might have to endure: "In the south there was only one thing that knit the several states together, and that was slavery. Virginia, indeed, helped to populate some of her more southerly sisters, and was therefore somewhat venerated by them; and the best families in each state knew one another, and sometimes intermarried. Still, as a rule, each state cared for itself and thought no great deal of its neighbor. Even now there are abundant traces of this insular feeling to be discovered, although it does not often get into print." And the author then goes on to indicate the unhappy influence of this only bond of union: "Yet states knit together by slavery could not develop a true national feeling; for *that* there must be a consciousness of progress, a desire to share

in and further a common civilization. But progress and slavery are natural enemies, and the south had no great desire to progress except in her own way, which was really retrogression."

In this connection it is, of course, of peculiar interest to get a glimpse of Simms's own view of slavery, as a thoroughly representative southern thinker: "We beg, once for all, to say to our northern readers, writers, and publishers, that, in the south, we hold slavery to be an especially and wisely devised institution of heaven, devised for the benefit, the improvement, and safety, morally, socially, and physically, of a barbarous and inferior race, who would otherwise perish by famine or by filth, by the sword, by disease, by waste, and destinies forever gnawing, consuming, and finally destroying."

Perhaps we can do no better than to close this necessarily brief and inadequate notice, with a citation which, in a quaint and pleasant way, throws a flood of light upon the advance of modern historical writing over the uncritical practices of earlier times. Let not the sober-minded reader look upon either Professor Trent, or upon us in quoting him, as dealing in trivialities, in illustrating so great a subject by so homely an allusion: for a straw can show which way the wind blows. Speaking of a visit of Simms to New York city, our author remarks: "The southerner was true to his nature in paying delicate attentions to more than one fair maiden of Gotham. He probably wrote in their albums, and he certainly promised to send them barrels of peanuts on his return home. An æsthetically inclined biographer of the old school might have been tempted to write 'flowers' for 'peanuts' in the above sentence, but nowadays one must go by the record."

ADMIRAL FARRAGUT. By CAPTAIN A. T. MAHAN, U. S. N. With portrait and maps. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1892. (Great Commanders Series.)

This book has already been briefly noticed in the January number of this magazine, and the "series" to which it belongs properly indicated. A few additional observations will not be out of place, however, being warranted by the importance of the subject. They will refer particularly to some of the suggestive points in the great career described. It was, indeed, an extraordinary career; unusual in its length of service, exceeding a half-century—in fact, reaching threescore years, for he died in active service, before it was necessary for him to retire. The boy midshipman was early inured to hardships, and was well seasoned to actual warfare and the sight of dire carnage, by his experiences on the long cruise of the Essex during the war of 1812. Then there was a long interval without dangerous action, except in the pursuit of the pirates of the Caribbean sea, when Farragut served under the elder Porter, who was his adopted father. He gradually rose from midshipman to the rank of captain. But the other unusual feature of his career reminds us somewhat of that of Moltke's. Not till he had passed the threshold of the sixties did the opportunity arise for the display of the qualities of a great naval commander. This was, of course, the outbreak of the civil war.

It is greatly to the credit of his sincerity and disinterested devotion as a patriot that at the outbreak of this conflict Farragut was found on the Union side. He was born in New Orleans, and though in early boyhood and young manhood (on those brief occasions when he was in the United States) he was brought up at Chester, Pennsylvania, yet he had married twice into families of Norfolk, Virginia, and his residence was there when on shore. He was anxiously watching the course his state would pursue, but when it decided on secession he, unlike Robert E. Lee, still clung to the Union, and forthwith broke up his home. "He at once went to his house and told his wife the time had come for her to decide whether she would remain with her own kinsfolk or follow him north. Her choice was as instant as his own, and that evening they, with their only son, left Norfolk, never to return to it as their home." Neither was it a pleasure-trip for the devoted family. From Baltimore, "Farragut and his party had to take passage to Philadelphia in a canal-boat, on which were crowded some three hundred passengers, many of them refugees like themselves. It is a curious illustration of the hardships attending a flight under such exigency, even in so rich a country as our own, that a baby in the company had to be fed on biscuit steeped in brandy, for want of proper nourishment."

As the author carefully delineates, at the very beginning of the war an eye was cast upon the scene of Farragut's first great achievement. "The necessity of controlling the Mississippi valley," he says, "had been early realized by the United States government. In its hands the great stream would become an impassable barrier between two large sections of the southern confederacy; whereas, in the possession of the latter, it remained a link binding together all the regions through which it flowed or which were penetrated by any of its numerous tributaries." Hence the scheme was devised of running the forts below New Orleans. Next the man to carry it out was thought of, and Farragut selected. His southern antecedents, in spite of his removal and sacrifices, made the authorities hesitate at first. But he was charged with the work, and the world today knows how well he did it. Vivid and clear descriptions are given of the three or four great similar actions carried to success by Farragut.

And the author calls attention to the fact that, in the midst of the glory which these brave deeds brought him, the instinct of the seaman within Farragut made him really envy the achievement of the Kearsarge. His work had been merely to run by forts on land. A real out-and-out engagement at sea, vessels opposed to vessels, would have suited the old tar much better.

Since we are all interested in our "new navy" at present, one or two hints by our author should not be passed over without good heed. The one regards the importance of the navy itself. "Despite the extensive sea coast of the United States, and the large maritime commerce possessed by it at the opening of the war, the navy had never, except for short and passing intervals, been regarded with the interest its importance deserved." Even at the beginning of the war the navy "became simply a division of the land forces. From this subordinate position it was soon raised by its own intrinsic value and the logic of facts; but the transient experience is noteworthy, because illustrating the general ignorance of the country as to the powers of the priceless weapon which lay ready, though unnoticed, to its hand."

The other hint has respect to a useful policy within the navy, affecting its *personnel*. Farragut obtained responsible command when but about eighteen years of age. His own comment on this fact was this: "I consider it a great advantage to obtain command young, having observed, as a general rule, that persons who come into authority late in life shrink from responsibility, and often break down under its weight." Upon which Captain Mahan comments in turn as follows: "This last sentence, coming from a man of such extensive observation, and who bore in his day the responsibility of such weighty decisions, deserves most serious consideration now, when command rank is reached so very late in the United States navy."

To the more inexperienced of those who may be intending to compete for the prizes we offer, a word of advice may not be inappropriate. Any writer who is preparing an historical article on any theme should bear in mind that it is of the utmost importance that he should be perfectly *accurate* in any facts cited. It is the custom of the best historical scholarship to indicate in foot-notes the authorities to which the writer is indebted for his main facts. It is a good practice, in such cases, even to cite, with the name of the work quoted, the date of publication, and page on which the citation occurs. The date of publication generally identifies the edition of the book which has been used, while the citation of page references reduces to a minimum the labor of any reader who wishes to substantiate the statements of the writer by following him in his original sources.

In an historical article, as a rule, every important direct quotation should be referred to its source in a foot-note. And even statements which are couched in one's own language, but which rest for their substantiation upon some particular authority, are frequently made more conclusive by means of the reference. Of course, it remains that even the use of foot-notes can be easily overdone. A little study of historical authorities will enlighten the beginner as to the proper middle course which it is best to pursue.

The competition for the historical ballad and sonnet, which closes on May 1st, next, gives the shortest time of any class. Every person possessed of a genuine touch of the poet's fire ought to make an attempt here. There are many persons, events, principles, ideas, or sentiments connected with American history which might inspire a sonnet; and the stirring scenes which yet await the pen of the balladist are quite innumerable. It is not so easy a matter as it looks, however, to write a worthy ballad. It requires just the proper blending of enthusiasm, dignity, and simplicity in narrative, and it is quite impossible to tell any one *how* to be successful. The peculiar spirit of true poetry eludes criticism. The poet is a law unto himself. It is far easier to pronounce upon the merits of a given example of poetry than it is to define in the abstract what the true poetical spirit is.

Persons intending to compete in the class of the historical novel will be interested in a special critical and descriptive article on "The Historical Novel and American History," which will appear in the April number of the MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY. The author will bring under discussion a half-dozen or more examples of the latest issues of historical fiction. *Standish of Standish*, a story of the Pilgrims; *My Lady Pocahontas*, a quaint tale of Virginia; *The Lady of St. John*, an Acadian romance; *Zachary Phipps*, the story of a typical American boy, who is brought through many of the most stirring events of our national history, during the early part of the present century; and four or five volumes in the series of *Columbus Novels*, comprise the books

treated. Their comparative merits will be carefully weighed.

Any one interested, who will take the time to read one or more of the books discussed, of the above list, during the present month, will of course be much better able to appreciate, or take issue with, the criticism offered. It will be better still to give attention to some of the famous standard productions of Walter Scott, for the general subject of the historical novel; or the excellent and attractive stories of our own Cooper, or Hawthorne, for the study of historical fiction in the field of American history. A lecture or article on the place of historical fiction in American literature by William Gilmore Simms, the Southern novelist, should be consulted, as his criticisms of our most prominent authors in this sphere of literary work were highly commended by so eminent an authority as the poet William Cullen Bryant.

A large part of the article to appear in the April number will be devoted to a general discussion of the theme, having under consideration some of the famous types of historical fiction. The value and richness of the field of American history as a basis for the novel is also discussed at length. This part of the paper will perhaps be found its most valuable and instructive feature.

We invite any suggestions or criticisms appropriate to this department from those who are interested in it, either on their own part, or in behalf of students under their care.

Close of Competitions.—Following is a recapitulation in the order of closing the respective contests:

7th Class. Ballad and Sonnet. Closes May 1, 1893.

6th Class. History for Young People. Closes July 1, 1893.

3d Class. Historical Short Story. Closes August 1, 1893.

5th Class. Legend and Tradition. Closes September 1, 1893.

4th Class. Minor Heroes. Closes October 1, 1893.

2d Class. General Historical Article. Closes November 15, 1893.

1st Class. Historical Serial Novel. Closes January 1, 1894.

Every manuscript must be received *on* or *before* the above date, in the respective class in which it is entered. This rule is imperative, and authors should see that all manuscripts are forwarded in time to avoid the possibility of exclusion on these grounds.

It is also very desirable, and will indicate as well that the writer is endeavoring to work in the spirit of genuine historical research, to accompany each article with a brief summary or catalogue of the various books, periodicals, or manuscripts that have been examined in the preparation of the article submitted in competition. It will be found that nothing is so potent an educative factor in making one skilled in historical work as this carefulness concerning authenticity.

John Brown

AS HE APPEARED IN 1854.

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. XXIX APRIL, 1893 No. 4

NEW YORK AFTER THE REVOLUTION

1783–1789

BY HENRY P. JOHNSTON

UPON the evacuation of New York by the British forces, November 25, 1783, the city entered upon the third and modern period of its history. Successively Dutch and English, it was now to put on its distinctively American exterior, and shape its course along new lines defined by new conditions. Not all the original features, however, were to disappear. Elements of the old stock survived, and fundamental characteristics left their traces. If, politically, the transitions from one power to another have been violent, socially, and to a greater extent institutionally, a certain continuity has been preserved. Derived from á common Teutonic ancestry, each group of inhabitants has perpetuated its predecessor in whole or in part, while each change has effected little more than to introduce or evolve a new phase of Teutonic life. The quiet invasion of the city in later days, under the guise of a vast immigration from the Old World, encouraged by the opportunity and responding to the spirit of the age, has fastened a cosmopolitan character upon us; but the family identity is retained. Cosmopolitan New York continues, by absorption, to be essentially American. It is marked, unmistakably, by the inherited brand.

In the development of events interest attaches to what appear to be beginnings—to the new order of things. One may sometimes see inspiration at work here. As against the hardships, struggles, distractions, and quarrels inevitable in the changes and movements of communities, the underlying resolution and confidence are bound to assert themselves; and these attract. The first years of the city's American career are an illustration; discouragement and comparatively slow advance will be succeeded by great strides forward. In 1784 the "plant" consisted of a partially ruined town, straitened resources, an unsettled foreign trade, debts, and hampered enterprises. In 1789 the city was on its feet and conscious of future unlimited expansion.

The work in hand for this initial period was not so much a work of reconstruction as one of restoration—restoration under a new impulse. We can follow the process and appreciate the results. First of all, the population—who were the first American New Yorkers, what their numbers, affiliations, quality, sympathies? Then the municipal government—its reëstablishment, the extent and source of its powers, its new *personnel*, its agency in lifting the city out of the depths. Then all the activities—the revival of trade and manufactures, the growth of industries, the status of the professions, education, religion, societies, and the general life of the city. And, finally, the local politics of the time, and the larger question of a national constitution, with the influence which the metropolis will have in securing the adoption of that famous instrument. By following out these lines, the old city of a century ago will come into view, in perspective at least, as the new growth of that day and the true foundation of modern New York. It was the latest prototype of what is, and so far its history becomes a piece of domestic reminiscence.

How far did the Revolutionary war affect the number and composition of the city's population? That it suffered a material loss, and a loss mainly on the side of the original patrician stock, is a well-known fact. The population of 1784 and after was less old English and Dutch than it had been in 1775. While the middle, industrial classes changed to a certain extent, the decrease was felt most sensibly among the conservative, loyalist, highly respectable, and what may be called the churchly families of the city. In the rush of the new life that set in after the first interval of depression, the population assumed more of the "Young American" character, with its nervous activity and practical bent, and rapidly pushed the city along toward its destined preëminence.

GREAT SEAL OF NEW YORK.

The transformation produced during the war was succeeded by another at its close. The passions excited by the protracted struggle became responsible for the loss to America of a large and valuable element among her people. Neighbors who had sought to destroy each other for seven years could not remain neighbors. The victorious party was bound to indulge its triumph in a demand for justice or retribution upon those who had so long been the "unnatural" enemies of the country, and the latter dared not remain. Thousands of loyalists, exaggerating their alarms and fears, left their old homes or their refuge in New York and went "beyond

sea," wherever they could find shelter, protection, and the promise of an opportunity to recover themselves. They dispersed in families and companies, and were furnished with transportation by Sir Guy Carleton, the last British commander-in-chief in New York, who assured them of lands and temporary support by the home government. They settled at Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia, at St. John's, Halifax, Montreal, Quebec, and other points in the Dominion. Some went to the Bermudas and Bahamas, some to the West Indies, and many more to the mother-country. Numerous descendants of these old colonial Americans, who opposed the Revolution and went into exile, may be found to-day at these distant points. In Nova Scotia they appeared in the rôle of settlers, building up new communities for that province, which so impressed Carleton that in an unpublished letter to Lord North, dated at New York, October 5, 1783, he trusts that "liberal measures of sound policy will be immediately adopted and steadily pursued" in their interest. Above all, he believed that they should be granted an "explicit exemption from all taxation, except by their own legislature"—a clear recognition on his part of the effect our Revolution would inevitably work on England's restrictive colonial system.

THE ROYAL SAVAGE.[1]

As the Tories withdrew from New York, the newly baptized American, the man of the Revolution, who had been patiently anticipating the occasion, proudly marched in to reoccupy and possess the old city. In reality, the transfer had been going on by mutual agreement for some months before the formal evacuation of November 25. Permission was granted by the British authorities to Americans to enter the place for business purposes, or to prove title to property belonging to them before the war. There was accordingly much going back and forth during 1783. But not all the old American population could return. It had suffered from the experiences of the war no less than the loyalists. With the abandonment of the city in 1776, the "rebel" inhabitants had dispersed in every direction. Many retired to the upper counties of New York, and

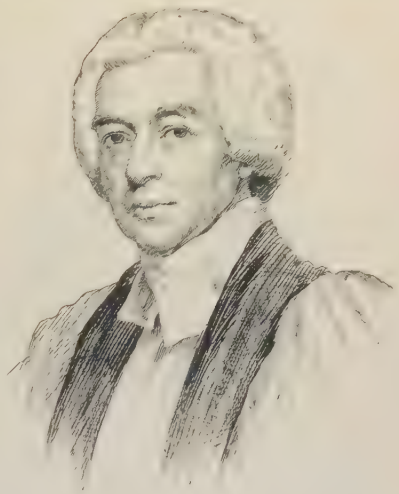
[1] Among the papers of General Philip Schuyler there was preserved a water-color sketch of the American sloop-of-war of the above name. It is of importance as settling the mooted question respecting the device of the continental flag raised at the camp opposite Boston, in January, 1776, while the American forces were besieging that city.

scattered through the towns and villages. The families of the men who entered the service were cared for by local committees, while others attempted self-support as they could. Not a few found their way into New England, especially into western and central Connecticut, or into New Jersey among the hills. The exodus entailed ruin of fortunes, loss of occupation, separation of families, and seven years of distress. "You can have no idea," writes an elderly lady in 1782, "of the sufferings of many who from affluence are reduced to the most abject poverty, and others who die in obscurity." Obviously, now that New York was again open to them, comparatively few could return immediately, if at all. The limited number who owned lands and houses in the city went back, and others who possessed the ready means followed; but the mass of those who had formerly paid rents and carried on the minor trades found it impossible to change their situation again. Their places were eventually taken by strangers.

When New York, accordingly, passed into American hands, toward the close of 1783, we find its population greatly diminished and changed as compared with that of 1775. For the six months following it could not have exceeded twelve thousand. Three years later it had risen to twenty-four thousand. The twelve thousand represented that portion of the Tory, British, mercantile, and lukewarm element that had resolved to remain, and the incoming Americans. At first the former outnumbered the latter. "The loyalists are more numerous and much wealthier than the poor, despicable Whigs," says a Tory writer in December, 1783, not a month after the evacuation. But the Whigs were masters. Altogether it was a changed and sorry representation of ante-war New York. Old and well-known families were missing and missed on both sides. "Ah!" wrote Jay to his former friend, Van Schaack, at this time, "if I ever see New York again I expect to meet with the shade of many a departed joy; my heart bleeds to think of it." Among prominent expatriated royalists, former residents of the city, were such men as William Smith, the historian and chief justice of the province, and Rev. Dr. Charles Inglis, rector of Trinity church.

Passing to the municipal government of New York for this period, we shall find the old colonial forms preserved and continued. There was simply a transfer of authority from English to American hands; and this was effected without friction or disorder. The original charter under which the city had been governed since 1686, or, in its amended form, since 1730, had been disturbed by neither party during the war, except so far as British military rule prevailed, and it was still operative in all

its parts. Its revision upon the basis of the advanced political theories of the colonists was yet to be agitated, and upon the entry of the Americans it only remained to rehabilitate the corporation through some authorized agency. The occasion had been provided for. As early as October 23, 1779, by act of the state legislature, a body was created known as the council for the southern district of New York, which was charged with the duty of assuming control of the city and neighboring counties immediately upon the withdrawal of the enemy. It was empowered to preserve order; to prevent the monopoly of the necessaries of life; to impress fuel, forage, horses, teams, and drivers into its service; to supply the markets with provisions and regulate prices; and to superintend the election of members of the legislature and city officers, at which disaffected persons were not to be allowed to vote or stand as candidates. The members consisted of the governor, George Clinton; the lieutenant-governor, Pierre Van Cortlandt; the chancellor, Robert R. Livingston; Judges Robert Yates and John Sloss Hobart, of the state supreme court; John Morin Scott, secretary of state; Egbert Benson, attorney-general; the state senators of the southern counties, Stephen Ward, Isaac Stoutenburgh, James Duane, and William Smith, and the assemblymen of the same district. The judges of the district were also to serve, but none had been appointed. Seven members of the council, of whom the governor was always to be one, constituted a quorum. For the city's guardianship, temporary or permanent, the most punctilious community could not have made a more noteworthy selection. On Evacuation Day they rode into

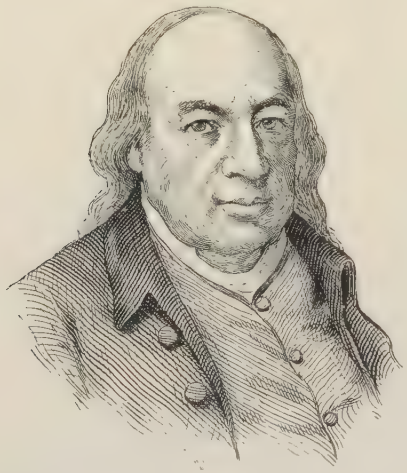


Charles Inglis [1]

[1] The Rev. Charles Inglis was a native of Ireland. He came to America as a missionary in 1759, and in 1765 he became assistant minister of Trinity church, this city. He was in violent opposition to the revolutionary sentiments of the colonists, and a pamphlet written against Paine's *Common Sense* was burned by the Sons of Liberty. He persisted in retaining the clauses in the prayers which mentioned the king and royal family. He left New York in 1776, but was rector of Trinity during the British occupation. At the evacuation he retired to Halifax, became bishop of Nova Scotia in 1787, and died in 1816. He was succeeded as bishop by his son John.

the city four abreast, and next in order after Washington and the governor at the head of the procession.

Occupying the council-chamber in the old City Hall in Wall street, this provisional body, with James M. Hughes as secretary, entered at once upon its duties. The original records of its proceedings have disappeared, but from certain of its published ordinances, and from references in the papers of the day, the features of its administration can be outlined. Protection and relief for the daily increasing population were the first care. With the aid of the light infantry battalion of the continental army, which remained in the city under General Knox and Major Sumner for some weeks after the evacuation, order was maintained and the necessary regulations enforced.



Pierre Van Cortlandt

The first steps toward the restoration of the regular city government were taken early in December, when the council authorized an election of ward officers or board of aldermen. The election occurred on the 15th of the month, under the old *viva voce* method—the ballot not being introduced until 1804—and seven aldermen, one from each ward, were chosen, and assistant aldermen were doubtless elected at the same time. This incomplete body—incomplete so far as no mayor had been appointed—organized with John Broome as president, and assumed the government of the city under the title of the aldermen and common council. The provisional council still continued its functions, as, by the terms of the act of 1779, it was required to do for sixty days after the evacuation, but the details of city management were clearly left to the new body. Seven weeks later the organization of the government was completed. The common council and many citizens petitioned the governor to appoint James Duane mayor of the city, and on February 7 the appointment was made—the governor and board of appointment, authorized by the state constitution, exercising in this case the right of nomination vested in the colonial governors and their councils. On February 9 Duane was formally installed as mayor, at a special meeting of

the city council held at the house of "Mr. Simmons"—John Simmons, innkeeper, in Wall street, near the City Hall—where he took the oath of office in the presence of that body, and of the governor and lieutenant-governor of the state, representing the state provisional council, whose duties now ceased.

In its outward forms the city government reflected its English derivation. The conditions of citizenship also remained the same for many years, and so far presented a contradiction. The citizen of the state of New York was politically a freer man than the citizen of the city of New York. Suffrage rights were not the same for each. Under the new state constitution of 1777, while the property qualification required of voters for state officers varied, for assemblymen it was moderate. The voter must pay assessments and a nominal house rent of five dollars. To enjoy municipal privileges, to be able to vote and to stand as a candidate for the office of alderman, it was necessary to be either a "freeholder" or a "freeman" in the ancient English sense. The "freeholder" was a real-estate owner; he must possess land of the annual value of at least forty shillings. Ordinary tenants, rent-payers, could not vote; and these restrictions limited the voters of this class to a small number. The census of 1790 shows that out of a population of thirty thousand there were but 1,209 freeholders of £100 valuation or over; 1,221 of £20, and 2,661 "forty-shilling" holders. Property interests—something like a landed aristocracy—controlled municipal elections. The inconsistency of this system with the general leveling principles on which the Revolution had been fought out was occasionally referred to. As early as March 31, 1785, some one writes to the *New York Packet*: "If you look into the corporation you will find men whom you both feed and clothe, that you have no power to elect. Is this right or wrong? Common sense gives the answer." The agitation will wax warm about 1800, and in 1804 the charter will be so amended that all New Yorkers paying twenty-five dollars rent per year and taxes may vote for aldermen; but it will not be until 1833 that they secure the right to elect their own mayor.

The "freemen," who were not so numerous as the "freeholders," were likewise a relic of the Old World municipal system. They represented residents not owning real property, who, nevertheless, as merchants, traders, artisans, and workmen, contributed to the wealth of the city, and on whom the city corporation conferred the rights of citizenship on the payment of fixed fees. Such persons were made "free of the city." Among the Dutch they had been called "burghers" of the lesser right. During Mayor Duane's term a considerable number of "freemen" were

admitted to the suffrage, including laborers, bakers, shoemakers, carpenters, tailors, weavers, tanners, blacksmiths, butchers, grocers, cabinetmakers, cartmen, ironmongers, and tradesmen generally. When admitted to this privilege, merchants paid five pounds, and others twenty shillings, to the corporation, and fees ranging from one to eight shillings to the mayor, recorder, clerk, and bell-ringer of the mayor's court. They also took oath that they would be "obeisant and obedient" to the city officials, "maintain and keep the said city harmless," and report and hinder all "unlawful gatherings, assemblies, and conspiracies" against the peace of the good people of the state.

This custom of creating "freemen" died out early in the present century, and was formally abolished in 1815, except so far as the honorary right was conferred. Distinguished persons were presented with the freedom of the city down to a recent date, the roll being adorned with the names of Washington, Lafayette, Jay, Clinton, Steuben, Gates, Hamilton, the naval heroes of the 1812 war, and representatives of the war for the Union. The "freedom" in such cases was presented in the form of an address from the corporation, enclosed in an elegant gold box. In Washington's reply to the address transmitted to him in December, 1784, it is possible that we have the origin of the title New York enjoys as the "Empire State." His words were sympathetic and hopeful: "I pray that Heaven may bestow its choicest blessings on your City; that the devastations of war in which you found it may soon be without a trace; that a well regulated and beneficial commerce may enrich your citizens; and that your *State* (at present the seat of the *Empire*) may set such examples of wisdom and liberality as shall have a tendency to strengthen and give permanency to the Union at home, and credit and respectability to it abroad."

The interior life of the new city had its interesting phases. In the general activities an earnest start was made, although fortune failed to smile on every initial effort. The Chamber of Commerce, organized in 1768, and kept up by the British and resident merchants during the war, was incorporated by the New York legislature, April 13, 1784. Its first president under the new charter was John Alsop. The influence which this body, with its growing membership, exerted upon the affairs of the city, and especially in shaping its policy during the constitutional period, will be seen to have been quite marked. Most of the mercantile houses and offices, with the docks and shipping, were to be found on the east side of the town, near and along the East River. About 1788, as many as one hundred vessels might be seen at any one time discharging or

taking in cargoes, but not all flying the American flag. The first American merchantman bound for Canton was the Empress of China, Captain Green, which left port February 22, 1784, and reached her destination August 30. She returned May 11, 1785, after having made a paying venture. Congress passed a resolution expressing satisfaction at this successful attempt to establish a direct trade with China. The ship Betsy sailed about the same time for Madras. Packet-ships, American, British, and French, kept up communication between New York and European ports. There was but one bank in the city during this period —the bank of New York, established early in 1784, largely through the efforts of William Duer and General Alexander McDougall, who was its first president until his death on June 8, 1786. Isaac Roosevelt became its president in 1789. In April, 1787, a Mutual Fire Assurance Company made its appearance, which John Pintard, afterward prominent in many enterprises, had been chiefly instrumental in organizing; he was its first secretary. The General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen was established August 4, 1785, with the object of promoting mutual fellowship and confidence among all mechanics, preventing litigation between them, extending mechanical knowledge, and affording relief to distressed members. Anthony Post was chairman. There were societies for promoting useful knowledge, for the relief of distressed debtors, and for manufacturing purposes. The social organizations, or the societies of St. Andrew, St. George, and St. Patrick, with a German and musical society and Masonic lodges, all had an existence or their beginning in those early years. The New York branch of the Cincinnati Society of Revolutionary Officers maintained an active life, and regularly celebrated Independence Day with an oration, a dinner, and toasts. General McDougall and Baron Steuben were its first two presidents. The Society for the Manumission of Slaves, organized in 1785, held its first quarterly meeting on May 12 of that year at the Coffee House, when John Jay was elected president, Samuel Franklin vice-president, John Murray, Jr., treasurer, and John Keese

John Pintard

secretary. Its members advocated the gradual emancipation of slaves, and their protection as freedmen. Some set their slaves free "at proper ages," and denounced the separation of families by exportation of individuals for sale in the southern states. In June, 1788, Jay wrote to Granville Sharp, the English philanthropist: "By the laws of this state, masters may now liberate healthy slaves of a proper age without giving security that they shall not become a parish charge; and the exportation as well as importation of them is prohibited. The state has also manumitted such as became its property by confiscation; and we have reason to expect that the maxim that every man, of whatever color, is to be presumed to be free until the contrary be shown, will prevail in our courts of justice. Manumissions daily become more common among us, and the

THE LISPENARD MEADOWS.[1]

treatment which slaves in general meet with in this state is very little different from that of other servants."

The professions were revived under the new auspices, but without material change in practice and methods. Lawyers were numerous, and the deranged state of things after the war made litigation lucrative.

As to educational institutions, it is interesting to note that steps were taken, very soon after the evacuation, to put King's college, now Columbia —the only college in the state—on a good working basis again. During the war the building had been used as a hospital by the British, who had rifled its library. The president, the Rev. Dr. Benjamin Moore, had given instructions in a private house, and a nominal faculty was continued, but

[1] This representation of Lispenard's Meadows was drawn by Dr. Alexander Andersen in 1785, and was taken from the site of the St. Nicholas Hotel, which formerly stood in Broadway, corner of Spring street, a few blocks above Canal street.

little appears to have been accomplished. On May 1, 1784, the legislature passed an act altering the charter of the institution and placing it under the state board of regents provided for at the same time. The last provision of the act reads: "That the College within the City of New-York, heretofore called King's College, be forever hereafter called and known by the name of Columbia College." Young De Witt Clinton was the first student who entered under its new name. A faculty of professors carried out the curriculum until 1787, when William Samuel Johnson, son of the first president, was elected to the presidency. The first commencement was held April 11, 1786, after "a lamented interval of many years;" and on this occasion congress and both houses of the state legislature adjourned to attend the exercises. College place of to-day—Barclay, Church, and Murray streets—marks the site of the original structure, which was long and wide, three stories high, built of freestone, with a very high fence around it. Private schools also appeared, but it cannot be said that any special interest was taken by the public in the cause of education at this date. The religious denominations remained of nearly the same relative strength as before the war.

On its strictly social side, New York life had always been attractive. Less provincialism existed here than at any other centre in the colonies. Strangers and foreigners alike remarked on the hospitality of the people. What with the state legislature meeting in the city, and congress following early in 1785, with foreign ministers, consuls, and merchants entertaining handsomely, society established itself in full feather. Distinguished men and old families gave tone to it. More than one member of congress from other states found their future partners within the charmed circle. James Monroe, the future President, married the daughter of Lawrence Kortwright; Rufus King of Boston, the daughter of John Alsop; and Elbridge Gerry, the daughter of James Thompson, who is flatteringly referred to as "the most beautiful woman in the United States." A visitor at Colonel William Duer's house states that he lived in the style of a nobleman, and had fifteen different sorts of wine at dinner. His wife, Lady Kitty, daughter of General Lord Stirling, late of the continental army, and a person of most accomplished manners, was observed to wait upon the table from her end of it, with two servants in livery at her back. But it has been estimated that less than three hundred families affected society life at this time, and these were of different grades.

This sumptuous tendency did not escape criticism. As a whole, the town was hard pushed for a living during these early years. The item of house-rent alone was claimed to be out of all proportion to the condition

of business and the average of incomes. Before the war the highest rental was one hundred pounds; now nearly double that sum was demanded. Seventy pounds and taxes was the figure for a moderate house in Wall street in 1786. House-owners, then as now, held on for a rise, and declined to let houses at lower rates even when assured that they would stand empty a good part of the year. Rent-day proved distressing beyond its proverbial reputation. Money was scarce. "Cash! Cash! O Cash!" exclaims a writer to the press, "why hast thou deserted the Standard of Liberty! and made poverty and dissipation our distinguishing characteristic?" The inability of the congress of the confederation to regulate commerce accounted largely for the slow financial recovery which marked the period.

Cath. Duer

These straitened lines presented a contrast to society drift and rebuked it. Luxuries, pleasures, and amusements were coming into favor more and more, disturbing the peace of mind of sensitive, frugal, hard-worked people, and shocking church society. The tendency was unmistakable, but hardly unnatural or extravagant. It had developed alarmingly in Philadelphia during the later years of the war, and New York was now feeling something of the same reaction without faring worse. Society and fashion, like everything else, were simply reinstating themselves after the wreck of the war. John Jay, who had seen enough of high life abroad for four years, was not especially depressed by the signs at home, when he could discourage Lafayette's wife from coming to America in 1785, as she proposed, by informing her that we had few amusements here to relieve travelers of the monotony of a visit. "Our men for the most part," he assures her, "mind their business and our women their families; and if our wives succeed (as most of them do) in 'making home man's best delight,' gallantry seldom draws their husbands from them. Our customs, in many respects, differ from yours, and you know that, whether with or without reason, we usually prefer those which education and habit recommend. The pleasures of Paris and the pomp of Versailles are unknown in this country." No doubt of this; but people, nevertheless, said, and

printed it in the papers, that the *ton* of New York ought to set simpler habits and fashions to the public.

The question of extravagance and amusements seems to have stirred public feeling very generally when, in the fall of 1785, it was proposed to revive the theatre in the city. The theatre building of colonial times still stood on John street, a short distance east of Broadway, where before the war Lewis Hallam, a popular actor of the old American company, who afterward was also its manager, drew respectable audiences. It was a quaint wooden affair, with a gallery and a double row of boxes in addition to the pit. As congress had recommended the closing of places of amusement during the contest, and Washington had issued orders threatening dismissal upon all officers who engaged in theatrical entertainments, Hallam and his troupe went to the island of Jamaica and amused its inhabitants until the peace opened the door for his return to America. His return, however, was far from welcomed by the element which had been harboring anxiety over the moral health of New York. It protested against the revival of the drama, and succeeded in giving the city a temporary sensation. The controversy entered the newspapers, and the theatre became the talk of the town. What was said on both sides can be readily imagined, but of more special interest to the modern reader are the glimpses afforded here and there in the discussion of certain phases in the social status. Thus an appeal against the revival, published by some reformer through the *Packet*, is quite in point: "Are the families in this city," he asks, "of whatever rank, as rich now as they were before the war? Are there not many who have advanced a great part of their estates to their bleeding country during the contest, who are not yet repaid? Have not many of our most respectable families, to maintain the credit of our continental money, which was then supporting our army against the Britons, received all their outstanding debts in that money, and thereby become nearly ruined? And do not many of them, besides their losses, owe large sums upon debts they contracted before the war? Have not repairs and entering anew into some line of business exhausted their deranged finances, and proved an exertion almost beyond their strength? And are gentlemen in such a situation fit to indulge themselves, their wives or children, in expensive amusements? Have not some hundreds of citizens had their houses burned down while the British army lay in New York? Are not multitudes obliged to take up money

SLEIGH OF 1788.

upon interest to build a little hut, or else pay rent superior to their earnings? Is there not a general complaint of the unhappy situation of our merchants, of the distress attending our commerce, and of the balance of trade being heavily against us—heavily in importations not only of necessaries, but also of articles of luxury, and scarce anything to make a remittance with? And is a play-house proper for a city in such a situation? Are our taxes paid up? Are not the wheels of government clogged for want of money? Have you a single ship of war to guard your coasts or even defend your city from the insults of one armed vessel?"

Noah Webster.

And in all this there is much to read between the lines. The theatre, nevertheless, was reëstablished. Of course there were the usual jugglers, mountebanks, wax-works, and harlequin farces about town to amuse shilling sight-seers.

In its exterior appearance the city steadily improved upon the condition in which the British left it in 1783. The burned districts, the ruined churches and public buildings, the dilapidated residences, stores, and docks, and the wretched streets, were for months a constant eyesore. By 1786 much had been done in the way of clearing up, repairing, and building; much more by 1789. Noah Webster tells us that in 1786 not many houses remained "built after the old Dutch style." The new houses going up were frame or brick; or, as the insurance statements represent, most of them were "framed buildings, with brick or stone fronts, and the sides filled in with brick." Water privileges were limited. "Most of the people," says Webster, "are supplied every day with fresh water conveyed to their doors in casks from a pump near the head of Queen street, which receives it from a pond almost a mile from the city." This pond was the "Collect," long since filled in, and on the site of which now stands the Tombs.

Public buildings were few. The City Hall stood on the northeast

corner of Wall and Nassau streets, having been erected in 1700. When congress assembled in New York in 1785, the city authorities gave up the use of the greater part of it to that body. The main hall, or "congress chamber," was at the east end of the second floor. On an elevated platform on the southern side stood the President's chair, lined with red damask silk, and over it a curious canopy fringed with silk, with damask curtains falling to the floor and gathered with silken cords. The chairs for the members were mahogany, richly carved, and trimmed with red morocco leather. In front of each chair stood "a small bureau table." The walls were hung with the portraits of Washington and the king and queen of France. The mayor's office was on the first floor, the common council chamber at the west end of the second floor. Upon the adoption of the Federal Constitution by the several states, or in the fall of 1788, the "city fathers" resolved to appropriate the entire building to the use of the new government, and Major L'Enfant, a French engineer, was intrusted with the work of remodeling it. Thereafter it was known as the "New Federal Hall," and passed criticism as the most imposing structure in the country. It cost about sixty-five thousand dollars.

The first American post-office in the city opened November 28, 1783, at No. 38 Smith street, in the house formerly occupied by Judge Horsmanden. William Bedlow was postmaster, being a deputy under Postmaster-General Ebenezer Hazard, then at Philadelphia. The first American newspapers were the New York *Weekly Journal*, published by John Holt, who returned with his paper to the city in the fall of 1783, and was succeeded by Thomas Greenleaf; the semi-weekly *Packet*, published by Thomas Loudon, January, 1784; the *Daily Advertiser*, by Francis Childs, begun in the spring of 1785. In January, 1788, Noah Webster established his monthly *American Magazine*, devoted to essays on all subjects, "particularly such as relate to this country."

From fires, crime, and the negligence of officials the city was only passably protected. There were some fourteen or fifteen old-style fire-engines, each pumped by about a dozen men, while citizens with buckets supplied the water from wells. Watchmen patrolled the streets at night, but robberies and knock-downs were not uncommon, and, in the absence also of good lamps, there was not much passing at late hours. The ordinary city force was inadequate to cope with a mob, as appeared in the case of the "doctors' riot," which suddenly broke out on April 13, 1788, when the militia and citizens alone could restore quiet. The mob had been excited to violence by a boy's report that he had seen physicians or medical students dissecting dead bodies in the hospital, a practice which

stirred up a general revulsion. Several persons were killed or wounded during the riot, among the latter John Jay, who with others endeavored to quell the disturbance.

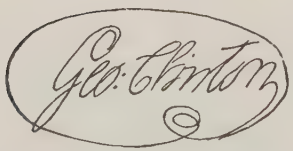
Our earliest local political disputes in the American period were the immediate outgrowth of the war. It was a case where feelings and sensibilities were keenly touched, and, as time sooner or later softens human nature in this regard, the issue did not long continue. Plainly stated, it was a question whether the Tories who remained in the city had any rights the Whigs were bound to respect. Chancellor Livingston clearly defined the parties as they stood in January, 1784. First, the Tories themselves, who "still hope for power under the idea that the remembrance of the past should be lost, though they daily keep it up by their avowed attachment to Great Britain." Second, the violent Whigs, who were for "expelling all Tories from the state, in hopes by that means to preserve the power in their own hands." Third, those who wish "to suppress all violences, to soften the rigor of the laws against the loyalists, and not to banish them from that social intercourse which may, by degrees, obliterate the remembrance of past misdeeds; but who, at the same time, are not willing to shock the feelings of the virtuous citizens that have at every expense and hazard fulfilled their duty" to the country in the recent struggle. The more determined Whigs organized a "Whig Society," whose object was to urge the removal of certain influential, offensive Tories from the state. The society's president was Lewis Morris, and its secretary John Pintard. Outspoken views, public meetings, and petitions to the legislature followed, but the status of the Tories was not eventually disturbed. The measure which affected them most seriously was the trespass act, by which all Whigs who had been obliged to fly from their homes in consequence of the enemy's invasion could bring an action of trespass against those who may have entered and occupied their houses under the enemy's protection. Many Tories had done this, and were held to be liable. In one case, however, that of Elizabeth Rutgers against Joshua Waddington, a wealthy Tory, a decision was rendered in favor of the latter in the mayor's court, on the general ground that the state act was in violation of the provisions of the treaty of peace, under which Tories were protected in property rights. This caused great excitement, especially as Waddington's counsel was none other than Alexander Hamilton, who, as a distinguished officer in the continental army, could be supposed to have none but the most pronounced Whig sympathies. But with Hamilton the war was over, and he discountenanced harsh measures toward those who would in time assimilate with and

be lost in the mass of the people. This position he maintained in some able articles contributed by him to the press, over the signature of "Phocion," and to which Isaac Ledyard replied over the signature of "Mentor." Hamilton's broad, statesmanlike views left their impression, though his professional course excited the anger of his opponents. So bitter were the feelings of some of the more violent among them, that they secretly determined to challenge him one by one to a duel until he fell. When Ledyard heard of this, he immediately prevented the execution of the scheme. This extreme hostility to the Tories died out in the course of a year or two, and soon disappeared in the greater question of the national Constitution which was beginning to engage public attention.

State issues or politics were yet to become prominent. The war governor Clinton had held office for eight years, and opposition interests were bound to show their strength in time. The first attempt was quietly made in 1785, when General Schuyler sounded John Jay as to his willingness to run against Clinton for the governorship at the next election. The general charged that Clinton was striving to maintain his popularity "at the expense of good government," and that reform demanded a change in the office. "But who," he asks, "is to be the person? It is agreed that none have a chance of succeeding but you, the chancellor, or myself. The second, on account of the prejudices against his family name, it is believed, would fail. . . . I am so little known in the southern part of the state that I should fail there." Jay was accordingly the only available candidate, and Schuyler believed he would secure the election by "a great majority." But Jay declined. That he was then the most distinguished citizen in New York would have been conceded. The many services he had rendered the state as a member of conventions and committees; in the wider sphere of the continental congress, of which he was once president; his diplomatic labors abroad as minister to Spain and as one of the commissioners to conclude the treaty of peace in 1783; his present position as the secretary for foreign affairs of congress—all combined to put the state under a special obligation to him as a public character. At this juncture, however, he stood aloof from local or state controversies, and thereby rendered another service in not precipitating a party issue which would have worked unfavorably upon the constitutional problem of the near future. "If the circumstances of the state were pressing," he replied to Schuyler, "if real disgust and discontent had spread through the country, if a change had in the general opinion become not only advisable but necessary, and the good expected from that change depended on me, then my present objections would imme-

diately yield." He was not impressed with the necessity in the case, and furthermore felt that it was his duty to continue in the service of congress at that time. At a later date the governorship will be his.

In the larger field of national politics or of national reorganization, the city played a conspicuous part and exercised a decisive influence. It will ever be to her honor that in the emergency through which our Federal Constitution passed at its adoption, New York kept the state true to its best interests by powerfully assisting in bringing its unwilling convention to ratify that instrument and insure the formation of our "more perfect" union.



The issue in New York, at its culmination in 1788, took a sectional turn. The city and its environs favored concentration of authority in a strong national government; the state at large preferred the confederation, with such amendments or revision as immediate exigencies demanded. In the contest for the new Constitution as finally presented, the city triumphed by converting the state; she triumphed through the wise and well-directed action of her merchants, through the superior ability, persistence, and unremitting zeal of her delegates, and through the moral support of both on the part of a large majority of her citizens. One of the toasts offered at the first public dinner in the city after the war—that given by Governor Clinton on Evacuation day—seemed to serve as the key-note of local sentiment through the following years: "May a *close* Union of the states guard the temple they have erected to Liberty."

The history of the national movement in this state may be traced to the action of the legislature on July 21, 1782, when, in response to a resolution of congress of May 22 preceding, it gave expression to certain decided views and convictions on "the state of the nation." It resolved that the general situation respecting foreign and financial matters was "in a peculiar manner" critical, threatening the subversion of public credit and exposing the common cause to "a precarious issue." It resolved further that "the radical source of most of our embarrassments is the

want of sufficient power in congress to effectuate that ready and perfect coöperation of the different states, on which their immediate safety and future happiness depend;" and it proposed to congress "to recommend, and to each state to adopt the measure of assembling a general convention of the states, specially authorized to revise and amend the Confederation, reserving a right to the respective legislatures to ratify their determinations." Congress postponed action upon this recommendation, which operated unfortunately in New York; for during the next five years delegations and opinions underwent a change throughout the state, and it was only by the most strenuous efforts that it was kept true to its first professions. Those were the gloomy, distracting years after the war, when the weakness of the Confederation made it impossible to regulate trade and commerce, and its defects opened up the question of the reconstruction of the Union under circumstances which made it difficult to discuss it dispassionately. The situation was not an unnatural one. It was a transitional period. The states had been living together for seven years on a war basis; peace, with its new requirements, now called for a readjustment of the supports, and this could not be done without a disturbing effort. In New York a variety of influences combined to complicate the difficulties in the case. A strong state pride developed as the question of surrendering further powers to the Union was agitated; jealousy and fear of such a Union increased; persons and parties in power held tenaciously to the sovereignty which they were enjoying in a practically independent state; and the state's legislation looked toward autonomy. All this was more or less true of every state. In New York it was marked. Not that any such thing as a disunion sentiment found expression; but, in the absence of a binding national tie, local predilections governed.

COLONEL LAMB'S MANSION.

For this state of feeling the governor, George Clinton, and his large body of friends and supporters were mainly responsible. The governor himself was a strong character. A partisan in one sense, he was eminently public spirited in another. He was loyal to the Union and the Confederation, but his hopes and his pride centred on his state. To make that great and prosperous was his first ambition; and his policy and

wishes were reflected in the proceedings of the state legislature. By the year 1788 New York was exercising all but national sovereignty. She had a well-organized militia; she appointed boundary commissions; she issued a paper currency; she levied duties; she maintained custom-houses. Under the act of November 18, 1784, one custom-house was established at the port of New York, and another at Sag Harbor on Long Island. Collectors, surveyors, gaugers, weighers, and tide-waiters were appointed. The first collector for New York was Colonel John Lamb, who commanded the first regiment of continental artillery during the war; and the surveyor was Colonel John Lasher, of one of the early city regiments of levies. Under the impost act of the same date, many articles were made dutiable. Sixpence duty was levied on every gallon of Madeira wine brought into the state, and threepence on other wines; twopence on every gallon of rum, brandy, or other spirits, if imported in vessels owned by citizens of any of the United States, but a double duty for vessels with British registers. There were duties on carriages, chariots, sulkies, gold and silver watches, scythes, saddles, hollow ironware, women's leather or stuff shoes, starch, hair-powder, cocoa, teas, coals, bricks, wools, furs, and similar importations.

But this system had serious defects—defects that were the most sensibly felt by the commercial element throughout the country. A prosperous trade was wanting. There was no power to regulate it. Congress might propose treaties of commerce with foreign powers, but lacked ability to enforce them. No uniform system of duties could be imposed when each state was devising a tariff of its own. New York might draw up an elaborate schedule, but this did not establish the New York merchant's credit in London; it failed to open the West India ports to his vessels. The one remedy in the case was to confer the necessary powers upon congress—"let congress, and congress alone, regulate foreign trade and commerce."

It is here that New York city followed the course that reflects so creditably upon her. As between the policy which the state as such was pursuing, and the policy which the general government should be empowered to pursue, she set herself in line with the latter. Her merchants and her distinguished lawyers and statesmen were the salvation of both city and state. The merchants agitated trade requirements. There was an abundance, indeed a surplus, of foreign goods in town during those early years from 1784 to 1787; but they were largely the importation or consignments of British merchants of ample means, who could wait for a market. The American Whig merchant, entering mercantile life anew,

found himself at a disadvantage, and he saw little relief under the existing system. The merchants in Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Charleston were in the same predicament, and all expressed themselves alike. By the spring of 1785 the situation had become all but unendurable. On March 7 a memorial was published, to be signed by residents of New York, praying the legislature to pass the impost act of congress and to recommend the regulation of commerce by that body. Under the former act, which had been hanging fire since its passage in April, 1783, congress would have been able to pay the interest on the public debt. New York alone of all the states refused to approve it. Sentiment in the city favored the measure. On March 14 the Chamber of Commerce came forward with another and a more formal petition to the legislature, signed by its president John Alsop, calling attention to the failure of the individual states to regulate trade for the common benefit. They could not possibly so regulate it, because, in the words of the petition or memorial, "1st, not being enabled to form treaties, trade cannot in their hands be made the basis of commercial compacts; 2d, because no regular system can be adopted by thirteen different legislatures pursuing different objects, and seeing the same object in different lights; and 3d, because if it even were to be presumed that they would at all times and in every circumstance sacrifice partial interests to the general good, yet the want of harmony in their measures and a common force, would forever defeat their best intentions." In consequence of this loose system, the merchants observed with concern that trade, "the great spring of agriculture and manufactures," was languishing "under fatal obstructions" and daily on the decline. The legislature made no recommendations on these petitions; but public opinion continued to assert itself. In the following May, Boston voted, in town meeting, that, as peace had not brought plenty, and foreign merchants were monopolizing commerce by crushing out the American carrying-trade, congress should be invested with power competent to the wants of the country. In Philadelphia a committee of thirteen merchants was appointed to stir up the state authorities to the same end. The Boston people went further, as in early war days, and invited the coöperation of the New York merchants; whereupon the Chamber of Commerce and "many other citizens," following up their March memorials, called a meeting of merchants and "other inhabitants" at the Exchange, June 15, at which Alderman John Broome presided. Their former sentiments and views were reiterated in a body of resolutions, and a committee was appointed to correspond with the several counties in the state and with committees in other states, in the hope

that "a free and reciprocal communication of opinions" would rouse the country to action. The committee was composed of the most prominent merchants in the city. To the committees in other states it was proposed that they should severally take measures to induce their respective legislatures to confer the necessary powers on congress. "Our union," said the New York committee, "is the basis of our grandeur and our power." To the counties of the state the committee represented that if commerce languished, agriculture would feel a corresponding effect. "By the union of the farmer, the merchant, and mechanic," they wrote, "we have, in the most dangerous crisis, been able to withstand the open force of our enemies; and, if this spirit still actuates us, we shall soon convince them that their insidious politics in peace are of as little effect." The farmer was accordingly urged to send assemblymen with federal views to the next legislature.

What effect these appeals produced at large it would be difficult to determine, but they kept the subject uppermost in popular discussions and clearly strengthened sentiment in New York. The papers of the city, notably the *Packet* and the *Journal*, published the effusions of correspondents at intervals, which indicated the interest felt. "What is to be done?" inquires "Consideration" in March, 1785; and answers, "All the states must give congress ample powers to regulate trade, . . . likewise all other powers necessary for an active and firm continental government." But "Rough Hewer, Jr.," who was known to be Abraham Yates, a pithy writer on the other side, declared that history had established the fact that republicanism can flourish in small states only, and expressed a dread of "a mighty continental legislature," which in time would merge and swallow up the rights of the states. "Unitas" called for assemblymen who could discern with precision "in what particular a local must give way to a more general advantage," and could appreciate the benefits of a general union. "The chain," he exclaims, "should be of adamant, indissoluble, eternal! Should this chain ever be broken, good God! what scenes of death and misery lurk under the dreadful event." "Sydney," on the other hand, saw nothing but despotism and an oligarchy in a congress which could control a revenue exacted from the states by its own agents: "If you put the sword and the purse into the hands of the supreme power, be the constitution of that power what it may, you render it absolute. Congress already have the sword vested in them; the single power wanting to make them absolute is that of levying money themselves. When this is compassed, adieu to liberty!" Such contributions to the press, however, appeared too infrequently to enable us to judge

of the strength of parties at this date. The discussion went on in the coffee-houses and clubs, and two years later the fruits will be seen in test elections.

In the following year (1786) the situation improved so far as agitation led to action. Virginia came forward with her proposition for a convention at Annapolis, Maryland, "to consider how far a uniform system in their commercial regulations may be necessary to the common interest and permanent harmony" of the states. The convention met on September 11, with commissioners present from but five states—Virginia, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York. Their action resulted in the assemblage of the famous constitutional convention at Philadelphia in the following year. In each of these bodies New York city found its representation in the person of Alexander Hamilton; or, while being a representative of the state, he more nearly reflected the sentiment of the city, which was largely coincident with, and influenced by, his own. The possibilities that lay in the Virginia call immediately absorbed his attention. His own proposition for a convention, broached as early as 1780, was a sufficient assurance that all his sympathies would be aroused by any movement that might be utilized for national ends; and the present opportunity was not to be lost. The Annapolis proposition came in January, 1786. Hamilton then determined to make one more effort to induce the state to accede to the impost act of congress, which would be an entering wedge toward granting general powers to the government; or failing in this he hoped to secure the appointment of commissioners to the Annapolis convention. One of his intimate friends was Colonel Robert Troup, formerly aid to General Gates, at this date a rising lawyer in the city, and later judge of the United States district court of New York. He seconded Hamilton's efforts. "In pursuance of the latter's plan," says Troup at a subsequent date, "the late Mr. Duer, the late Colonel Malcolm, and myself were sent to the state legislature as part of the city delegation, and we were to make every possible effort to accomplish Hamilton's objects. Duer was a man of commanding eloquence. We went to the legislature and pressed *totis viribus* the grant of the impost agreeably to the requisition of congress. We failed in obtaining it. The resolutions of Virginia were communicated by Governor Clinton the 14th of March. We went all our strength in the appointment of commissioners to attend the commercial convention, in which we were successful. The commissioners were instructed to report their proceedings to the next legislature. Hamilton was appointed one of them. Thus it was that he was the principal instrument to turn this state to a course of policy that saved our

Country from incalculable mischiefs, if not from total ruin."[1] The other commissioner was Egbert Benson, then attorney-general of the state, who was in perfect sympathy with the objects of the proposed convention, and who turned his business before the supreme court at Albany over to a friend, to hurry on with Hamilton to Annapolis.

The outcome of the brief convention at Annapolis was an urgent recommendation for the meeting of a more representative body at Philadelphia in the following spring. Hamilton, as Benson tells us, was the author of the address to this effect sent to congress and the individual states. The work of the Philadelphia convention is a matter of history. The delegates to that body from New York state were Judge Robert Yates, John Lansing, Jr., and again Hamilton. By the withdrawal of the two former from the convention, on the ground that it was proposed to formulate a new constitution instead of revising the existing one, Hamilton remained alone as the state's representative. The measure of his influence in the convention may be seen in the national character of the Constitution.

There yet remained the problem of the adoption of the new instrument by the states; and here, so far as New York is concerned, the value of the labors of distinguished men of the city appears to highest advantage. The struggle for the Constitution in the state convention was not less earnest and critical than the effort at its framing. Whatever the situation might have been elsewhere, it was well known that in New York ratification could not be secured without a close and determined contest. "True it is," wrote Gouverneur Morris to Jay, October 30, 1786, "that this city and its neighborhood are enthusiastic in the [federal] cause, but I dread the cold and sour temper of the back counties." This sour temper was in reality the Clintonian disposition to resist centralization in the general government. There still survived what Morris called the old "colonial oppositions of opinion," the strong, inherited local feeling, which it was necessary to overcome; and the men of the new order of things set to work to overcome it. The first work in hand was to parry the adverse criticisms upon the proposed constitution, which appeared soon after the adjournment of the Philadelphia convention. The anti-federalist *Journal* for a while abounded with them, over the signatures of "Cato," "Brutus," "Old Whig," "Centinel," "Cincinnatus," and the like. A "Son of Liberty," writing from Orange county, denounced the Philadelphia outcome as "a preposterous and new-fangled system." Some saw in it the loss of state independence, others the ascendency and control of

[1] John C. Hamilton's *Life of Hamilton.*

a government class, others a menace to privileges and personal liberty in the absence of a bill of rights.

It was at this juncture that Hamilton and his associates appeared in the field with their great defense and exposition of the Constitution in the *Federalist* papers. It is to the local controversy in the city and state that we owe that lucid and authoritative commentary on our fundamental law. Of the eighty-five numbers of the work that were published, all of them over the signature "Publius," Hamilton wrote sixty-three, Jay five, Madison (then a member of congress in New York) thirteen, and three were the joint production of Hamilton and Madison. The first number was printed in the *Independent Journal, or Weekly Advertiser*, on October 27, 1787, and thereafter the articles appeared, sometimes two in the same issue, in the *Packet* and other papers, continuing through the summer of 1788.

The New York state convention had been called to meet at Poughkeepsie on June 17, 1788. Delegates were nominated in the counties early in April, and representative men were put forward. All felt the importance of the discussion and the decision. It was at about this time that John Jay reinforced the *Federalist* papers with *An Address to the People of the State of New York*, which he issued anonymously in pamphlet form. It had its effect in strengthening federal views, and, according to a contemporary letter, would doubtless have converted many an honest anti-federalist in the upper counties had it appeared earlier. "The proposed government is to be the government of the people," he wrote; and in 1793 he reiterated this sentiment as chief justice of the United States, in his opinion on the suability of the state: "The people, in their collective and national capacity, established the present Constitution." Two sets of delegates for the state convention were nominated for the city and county of New York. Jay and Hamilton appeared on both tickets.

The Federalist ticket was elected with a clean sweep. Jay received the highest number of votes, or only one hundred and one less than the total cast—two thousand seven hundred and thirty-five out of two thousand eight hundred and thirty-six. Hamilton, Morris, Hobart, and Livingston were less than thirty votes behind. The highest anti-federal vote was but one hundred and thirty-four. But the upper counties were overwhelmingly anti-federalist; and when the convention met, their majority out of fifty-seven members was found to range from twenty-five to thirty. When the convention adjourned, July 26, after deliberating forty days, this majority had been reduced to a minority. The conven-

tion adopted the Constitution by a majority of three votes—a result due almost wholly to the abilities, character, personal force, and effective appeal of the delegates from New York city. Hamilton, Jay, and Livingston bore the honors of the debate. In dealing with this whole question of a stronger government, from the Annapolis to the Poughkeepsie convention, Hamilton's services were the most conspicuous.

Although the Poughkeepsie convention had adopted the Constitution in a certain sense provisionally, and called for its amendment by a new national convention, the final ratification was binding, and the state joined the circle as the "eleventh pillar" of the Union. This result was in itself a triumph for the federalists, and when the news reached the city, on Saturday evening, July 26, great was the rejoicing. Men cheered, bells were rung, and impromptu processions were formed which marched to the houses of the several delegates to cheer again. When the delegates themselves returned to town, they were personally complimented in the same way, with the addition of a salute of eleven guns for each member. "In short," says the *Packet*, "a general joy ran through the whole city, and several of those who were of different sentiments drank freely of the Federal Bowl and declared that they were now perfectly reconciled to the new Constitution." The result was received in Philadelphia with "a glorious peal from Christ church bells."

A feature and expression of the intense interest felt throughout the country in the fate of the Constitution were the popular federal processions held at different places, notably Philadelphia, Boston, Charleston, and New York. The New York procession was the last and grandest. It was held July 23, in honor of the adoption of the Constitution by ten States, and exceeded all previous demonstrations in the country. There were over six thousand men in the line, representing all degrees, professions, trades, and interests. Each one of the ten divisions included representations, flags, designs, and emblems of commerce and labor. There were foresters, plowmen, farmers, gardeners, millers, bakers, brewers, distillers; coopers, butchers, tanners, cordwainers; carpenters, farriers, peruke-makers and hair-dressers; whitesmiths, blacksmiths, cutlers, masons, bricklayers, painters, glaziers, cabinet-makers, upholsterers, civil engineers; shipwrights, joiners, boat-builders, sailmakers, riggers; printers, binders, cartmen, coachmakers, pewterers, goldsmiths and silversmiths, tobacconists, chocolate-makers; saddlers, harness-makers, founders; lawyers, physicians, professors, students, societies, the Cincinnati, merchants, and clergymen. Near the centre of the procession the full-rigged man-of-war or "federal ship" Hamilton, carrying thirty-two guns, with a crew of

thirty men, complete in all its appointments, and drawn by twelve horses, attracted a continuous gaze of admiration from the throngs along the streets. Commodore Nicholson commanded. The costumes, dress, implements, and general paraphernalia of the exhibitors and participants made the whole immensely pleasing and imposing. The entire day was given up to the festivities; for, after the parade had passed from the common down Broadway and around through the streets on the east side, it moved out into the Bowery to Bayard's grounds, where a temporary building,

PROCESSION IN HONOR OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION.

consisting of three grand pavilions, had been erected for a civic and popular feast. Tables were set for five thousand persons. We are told, in the carefully prepared account of the procession published later, that, "as this splendid, novel, and interesting exhibition moved along, an unexpected silence reigned throughout the city, which gave a solemnity to the whole transaction suited to the singular importance of the cause. No noise was heard but the deep rumbling of carriage-wheels, with the necessary salutes and signals. A glad serenity enlivened every countenance, while the joyous expectation of national prosperity triumphed in every bosom."

SETTLEMENTS WEST OF THE ALLEGHANYS PRIOR TO 1776

By G. C. Broadhead

At a meeting of the American Historical Society in Washington, December 31, 1889, a statement is reported to have been made that there were no white settlements west of the Alleghanys when the Revolutionary war began. And Theodore Roosevelt, in *Winning of the West*, makes the statement, that "when the fight at Lexington took place they [the Americans] had no settlements beyond the mountain chain on our western border. It took them a century and a half to spread from the Atlantic to the Alleghanys. In the next three-fourths of a century they had spread from the Atlantic to the Pacific."

We find that in 1673 certain priests established a mission at San Antonio, Texas[1]—now a very important town—and not long after they erected the Alamo, within which was enacted that sad tragedy in 1837, when Crockett, Travis, Bowie, and other heroes consecrated the soil with their hearts' blood, soon destined to germinate and mature as the Lone Star Republic. In 1640 Santa Fé was the capital of New Mexico. In 1668 the mission of St. Mary's on Lake Superior was founded.[2] In 1673 Marquette was on the headwaters of the Mississippi and visited the Arkansas. In 1680 La Salle built Fort Crèvecœur on the Illinois river, near the site of the present town of Peoria. After journeying back and forth to and from Canada, in 1682 he discovered the mouth of the Mississippi. In 1684 La Salle with four vessels sailed from France for America. After experiencing much disaster in seeking to enter the mouth of the Mississippi, he finally landed in Matagorda bay, Texas, early in 1685. Here a fort was built. Of the original two hundred and eighty-five men only one hundred and fifty remained. Seeds were planted but few sprouted. Some of the men deserted. Reverses were met with which, on March 17, 1687, culminated in the murder of La Salle by one of his own men while *en route* to seek aid from a station on the Mississippi.[3] In 1683 Father Gravier founded Kaskaskia, and about 1693 began a mission among the Illinois, and soon after another mission was started at Cahokia.[4]

[1] *Encyclopedia Britannica.*
[2] *Western Annals.*
[3] Switzler's *History;* also *Western Annals.*
[4] *Western Annals.*

Between 1695 and 1702 several attempts were made by the French to open copper mines near the upper Mississippi, but they were kept off by the warlike attitude of the Indians.[1] In 1701 the French explored the Missouri to the mouth of the Kansas. Between 1700 and 1710 D'Ibberville built several temporary forts on the lower Mississippi and in the direction of Mobile bay. De la Motte de Cadillac in 1701 laid the foundation for forts at Detroit; and the first land grants at Detroit were made in 1707. Between the years 1700 and 1716, St. Denis explored the country towards the head of the Red, the Washita, and the Rio Grande below El Paso, and in 1703 he began a settlement on the Washita, keeping his headquarters at Natchitoches.[2] In 1719 La Harpe built a fort on Red river.[3] Spain disputed with France the right to the coast from Pensacola to the Rio Grande. In 1714 the French built Fort-Rosalie, within the territory of the Natchez Indians, and afterwards proceeded to treat the Indians with increasing contempt, until they even went so far as to demand that the natives should abandon their chief town. The wrongs of their injured brethren coming to the ears of the Cherokees, they counselled revenge, and on November 28, 1729, every Frenchman in that colony was slaughtered excepting two, and the women and children. Two months later the French and Choctaws retaliated, and in two years' time scarcely a soul was left of the ill-fated Natchez.

Without dwelling on the continued warfare for ten years between the French and Chickasaws, we proceed to the detail of other settlements. French explorers journeyed westward into the country of the Osages, the Pawnees, and the Missouri Indians.[4] These efforts at possession aroused the jealousy of the Spaniards, and a caravan left Santa Fé in 1720, and marched in search of the Pawnee villages. The intention of the Spaniards was to surprise, if possible, the nation of the Missouris, who at that time dwelt not far from the Kansas river; to conquer them, and to establish a settlement within their territory. At that time the Missouris were at war with the Pawnees, and the Spaniards purposed to join the Pawnees and war upon the Missouris. Instead of finding the Pawnee village, they unwittingly reached a Missouri village and were completely deceived, as the language of the two nations differed but little. The Spaniards were thus entirely thrown off their guard and freely divulged their plans. The Indians did not undeceive them, but requested time to assemble their warriors. Within forty-eight hours two thousand appeared under arms, and a grand feast was enjoyed by both parties. They then rested, but during the night the Indians arose and surprised the Spaniards, killing all

[1] Stoddard's *Louisiana*. [2] *Ibid*. [3] *Western Annals*. [4] Stoddard's *Louisiana*.

excepting one priest. His life was saved, and he was made to instruct them in horsemanship, he selecting the best horse for his own use. After a certain number of days of instruction in riding, he set whip to his horse and escaped to Santa Fé, and told of the disaster. The exact spot where this took place is not certainly known. It may have been near Kansas city, or else in Saline county, Missouri. I have, in fact, seen an ancient fortified place in Saline county, four miles southwest from Miami. This old fortification seems to have covered twenty acres of ground, upon which now stand trees, some of which measure over three feet in diameter, the whole surrounded by three ditches, and walls showing three feet difference in elevation. Near this locality the Missouri Indians did at one time dwell, and were afterwards driven west by the Osages.

After this occurrence the French, becoming somewhat alarmed, sent out De Bourgmont, who built a fort called Fort Orleans on an island in the Missouri, not far below where the town of Brunswick now stands. This island has since been washed away. At that time the Missouri Indians also dwelt upon the north side of the Missouri river, and during the latter part of the last century were driven across, and for a while were established in Saline county, but were finally driven west by the Osages. Fort Orleans only existed five years. De Bourgmont brought about a peace with the various tribes in 1724, and soon after his fort was attacked and totally destroyed.[1]

Kaskaskia must have contained permanent settlements, for there are records of deeds to land there of date 1712, and in 1721 it contained a Jesuit college. In 1766 Kaskaskia contained one hundred families. Cahokia was settled soon after Kaskaskia. Fort Chartres was built in 1719, and rebuilt in 1754. Deeds are of record of lands at Fort Chartres and Cahokia of date 1722. Fort Chartres was for a while the seat of government of the Illinois country, and Colonel Pitman, a British officer who visited the country, says that the commandant or governor in 1756 had his headquarters at Fort Chartres. Beck informs us[2] that after a flood in the river the headquarters of the government were moved to Kaskaskia in 1772. The Illinois country was ceded to the English in 1763, but was not really taken possession of until 1765. St. Ange de Bellerive then commanded at Fort Chartres as lieutenant-governor of the district of Illinois, and retreated to St. Louis in 1765. The first court of justice was held at Fort Chartres in 1768. Vivier, writing in 1750, says: "We have, in Illinois, near Kaskaskia, whites, negroes, Indians, and half-breeds. In the five French

[1] Beck: *Gazetteer of Missouri*, and *Western Annals.*

[2] *Gazetteer of Illinois and Missouri.*

villages within twenty-one miles are perhaps one thousand one hundred whites, three hundred blacks, sixty Indians. Most of the French till the soil; they raise wheat, cattle, pigs, and horses, and live like princes."[1]

Up to 1763 the country on both sides of the Mississippi above the mouth of the Ohio was called the country of the Illinois. When the east side was turned over to the British in 1765, the country on the west was called upper Louisiana, and St. Louis was the headquarters, or capital. The records show that wheat was raised in Illinois in 1720, and in that year De la Motte opened the mines in Missouri still known by his name, and La Renault opened other mines in Washington county from 1721 to 1743, and in 1763 Francis Burton discovered the mines of Potosi.[2] Beck[3] informs us of the early settlements of St. Genevieve and New Bourbon (a few miles south), and they have authenticated traditions of settlements in 1735; and the St. Gens family have records of transfer of property in the post of St. Genevieve of the Illinois dated in 1854. The flood of 1875 destroyed the old town of St. Genevieve, and the present town was built near the bluffs.

Kaskaskia furnished supplies to the smaller towns, including Fort Chartres, St. Genevieve, and New Bourbon, and the citizens spoke derisively of these places, applying the term *misère* to St. Genevieve, *pain court* (short of bread) to St. Louis, *vide poche* to Carondelet, and *pouilleux* (lousy) to Kaskaskia. In 1784 Kaskaskia and Cahokia[4] had a population of four hundred and forty. In 1750 New Orleans had one thousand two hundred inhabitants, and ten miles up the river was a German settlement, where tobacco of good quality was raised. In 1749 the Ohio company obtained leave to settle on a grant of five hundred thousand acres on the Ohio river in the disputed territory. They employed Chris-Gist to explore it. He passed down the Ohio and up the Miami to the town of Twightees, one hundred and fifty miles above its mouth. On June 18, 1752, the treaty of Logstown was effected by the Virginia commissioners with the Northwest Indians, in which the Indians agreed not to disturb any settlements southeast of the Ohio river. Gist then proceeded to lay out a town a little below Pittsburgh at Chartres creek.

The governor of Canada directed the erection of forts at Presque Isle on Lake Erie, at the head of French creek at La Bœuf, and at the mouth of French creek Fort Venango was erected. General (then Major) Washington was sent by the governor of Virginia to remonstrate against these settlements. The after result was the war signalized at its

[1] *Western Annals.* [2] Schoolcraft. [3] *Gazetteer Missouri*, 1823. [4] Roosevelt.

beginning by Braddock's defeat at Point Coupee. In 1754 three hundred families left France for the purpose of settling around Vincennes. In 1768, by the treaty of Fort Stanwix, the Iroquois relinquished all claims to territory south of the Ohio, and by this the other treaties of 1684 and 1726 were confirmed. Sir William Johnson was present on the part of the British colonies, and there were also representatives from New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, together with Delawares, Shawnees, and the Six Nations. In 1758 Dr. Thomas Walker of Albemarle county, Virginia, explored the mountain valleys of southwest Virginia, and east Tennessee, and the upper portion of Kentucky, and gave a name to the Cumberland river and to the Cumberland mountains. In 1769 Colonel Joseph Martin, also of Albemarle, Virginia, with others, took steps to form a settlement in Powell's valley.[1]

These explorers prepared the way for further progress westward; for instance, Daniel Boone, in 1769, visited Kentucky, and in 1775 he again came and erected a fort, and began the settlements at Boonsboro. In 1769 the first settlement was formed on the banks of the Watauga, then others on the Holston; and in 1772 James Robertson and John Sevier adopted laws for the government of the colony. They next called a convention from that and neighboring settlements, including Nolichucky and Carter's valley, to meet at Watauga, and this may be considered the first assembly called together to establish laws for the government of colonies in the then new west. The Kentucky convention met several years later, and was the first that met entirely west of the mountains. Their legislative assemblies continued during six years, until 1778, when North Carolina organized the county of Washington, including all of Tennessee;[2] Virginia claimed all west of Pennsylvania, and Virginia, and the Virginians (or long knives) were the only foe the red man feared. In 1768 a treaty was made at Stanwix with the Iroquois; they relinquishing all title to the country between the Ohio and Tennessee. October 14, 1768, a treaty was effected at Hardlabor, South Carolina, with the Cherokees, confirmed by a second treaty, October 18, 1770, by which the right was confirmed to the Cherokees to hunt on certain territory. In 1772 Virginia made a treaty with the Cherokees, the latter to remain south of a line running west from White Top mountain, latitude 36° 30′. The British agent being likely to cause trouble, Robertson and the settlers on the Watauga made a lease of lands, paying six thousand pounds sterling value in goods. A second treaty was made in 1776 by buying the same territory.

In 1775 Henderson called together the colonists of Boonsboro, Harrods-

[1] *Western Annals.* [2] Roosevelt.

burgh, Boiling Spring, and St. Asaph's, for the purpose of forming some kind of government. The convention adjourned without accomplishing much, and did not again meet. At the earnest request of George Rogers Clark, in 1776, Virginia admitted Kentucky as one of her counties, with Harrodsburgh as county seat. In 1778 all the territory northwest of the Ohio was formed into one county called Illinois, with John Todd commandant; and in 1781 Virginia ceded to congress all her claim to this territory. In 1780 Virginia made grants of land in Kentucky for educational purposes,[1] and in the same year the territory was divided into three counties—Fayette, Jefferson, and Lincoln.[2] In 1781 a territorial organization of Kentucky was effected, and in 1786 Virginia agreed that Kentucky should form an independent organization. In 1785 Kentucky contained twelve thousand inhabitants.

Thus far it seems to be proven that there were settlements west of the Alleghanys prior to 1776. A number of forts were established in the territory now included in the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Michigan, Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, Texas. Mr. Roosevelt informs us that in 1769 a settlement was made in the Watauga valley between the prolongation of the Blue Ridge and the Cumberland mountains. He pays great tribute to the courage and indomitable perseverance of the pioneer settler of the southwest from the Watauga to the Alamo.

The early settlers were largely of Scotch or Irish descent, or a mingling of the two, and were chiefly Presbyterians in religion. A few years later the Baptists came, and still later the Methodists. Classes of more aristocratic origin began to emigrate from Virginia to Kentucky about 1783, but the pioneer element ruled up to 1796, when Benjamin Logan was defeated for governor.

In Tennessee the Indian fighters continued to give tone to the social life in the state up to the time of their death. The first settlers were chiefly of stock originally Irish and Scotch, who drifted down the valley of Virginia, and thence west to Kentucky. To quote Roosevelt once more: "No Europeans could have held their own for a fortnight in Kentucky,[3] and the west could never have been conquered in the teeth of so formidable and ruthless a foe, had it not been for the personal prowess of the pioneers themselves." The land was really conquered not so much by the actual shock of battle between bodies of soldiers, as by continuous westward movement.

[1] *Western Annals.* [2] Mann Butler. [3] Viz., at Boonsboro.

THE HISTORICAL NOVEL AND AMERICAN HISTORY[1]

By Leonard Irving

The historical novel is still with us, as would abundantly appear from our list below. The reading public, however, has been more generously supplied of late with other specimens of the novelist's cunning art. And such other specimens have come forward presumably because they were wanted. The society novel is one much welcomed; people who move within its charmed circle like to read about the doings of the people who are like themselves and their associates. People who are without, but would like to be within, hail this opportunity of learning society's ways, then to turn about and ape these ways in humbler spheres. And, finally, even people who cannot have the remotest expectation of entering society are fascinated by its whirl and splendor as depicted on the printed page. But there is great eagerness displayed nowadays too in the demand for the sensational novel, or that delineating the working of passions violent, fiery, even wicked, for we cannot stop short of these if passions come into play at all. And when we apply the canon of realism here, so much insisted on in other departments of genius, we get some very spicy material served up, which seems to be pretty generally liked. Again, there is the physico-psychological novel, wherewith Appleton's Dutch fiction series has lately made us acquainted, calling itself also the "impressionist" novel, and presenting characters whose passions are so worked upon that they become insane. By the side of all this kind of reading, the historical novel is apt to be regarded as rather tame; therefore there are instances in which it is made to partake of the characteristics of the novels now so greatly in demand. And if that demand is legitimate, if it ask not for too overwrought a presentation of life, it may be well to make the historical novel run into the molds marked out by more modern canons of taste. Yet even then it is questionable whether the

[1] *Standish of Standish.* A Story of the Pilgrims. By Jane G. Austin. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York. 1892.

My Lady Pokahontas. A True Relation of Virginia. Written by Anas Todkill, Puritan and Pilgrim. With Notes by John Esten Cooke. (Same publishers.) 1891.

The Lady of Fort St. John. By Mary Hartwell Catherwood. (Same publishers.) 1892.

Zachary Phips. By Edwin Lassetter Bynner. (Same publishers.) 1892.

"The Columbian Historical Novels" (*Columbia, Estevan, St. Augustine, Pocahontas*). By John R. Musick. Illustrated. Funk & Wagnalls, New York. 1892.

people who are devouring the intensely exciting society novels, the sensational tales of every sort, will not revolt at the serious and sober element infused by the introduction of historical facts or personages.

It is claimed that the historical novel has lately fallen somewhat into disfavor. If it has, the remarks preceding will furnish the hint as to one reason for this. With all its attempts to suit modern tastes, it will not quite come up to the measure of intoxication required by a great many. And on the other hand, while failing in the eyes of some as a fiction, it will fail in the eyes of others as history. This is a scientific age, in the writing of history as in the pursuit of the study of physical nature. We must be careful with our facts, we must clearly indicate our authorities. Unless we can go back to original sources, or unearth documents not hitherto published, or not even seen by other writers, we had better not presume to write history at all. And when we come to disputed points we must present all the pros and cons, and be very cautious about giving our own opinion, if we give any opinion at all—which perhaps we had better not do. And there are some injudicious persons, critics and others, who insist that the historical novel shall conform itself to all these particulars of historical criticism.

This, of course, the historical novel cannot do. It does not take the place of history. Those persons make a great mistake who imagine that they can address themselves to the pleasant task of reading an indefinite amount of historical novels, thereby excusing themselves from the more laborious undertaking of wading through volumes of history. The historical novel can never supplant historical reading or study. As an ingenious critic remarks: "A good three-fourths of all its admirers, one dare guess, are persons who have discovered in it an easy means of settling accounts with conscience. While sacrificing few or none of the delights of a tale, they are, they fancy, extracting from it all the riches of mining into the toughest history."

For the historical novel does not properly *teach* history. It is not intended to give us a list of facts and dates. It does not deal with circumstances and personages in order to make us acquainted with them for the first time. On the contrary, if it is properly utilized it will *stimulate* the study of history. It will send us back to our "history-books" to get a clear and cool understanding of the events or the persons about whom our profoundest interest and warmest sympathies were made to centre by the art of the novelist. So, in this sense, it will be an immense *help* in the teaching of history. But if the teaching has already taken place, if the reader comes to the novel with his mind full of the facts, it will be

readily seen that he is in excellent position to enjoy the fiction. He will move among familiar things, but he will see them in a new light. For, in another sense, the historical novel is an aid in teaching history. The knowledge of history is not properly a mere collection of items—battles, kings, dynasties, revolutions, years, months, days, patriots, tyrants, what not. It is a necessary adjunct to historical knowledge, that we possess some historical imagination, that this jumble of items and actors and dates have some significant inter-dependence or inter-relation among themselves. We must be able to transplant ourselves to these preceding times and circumstances. All those old saws of "History repeats itself," and "Human nature is always the same," mean a good deal. There always will be certain moral forces and intellectual movements abroad among men, whatever be the age, which will exert certain influences that can be calculated. Happy is the student of history who can appreciate the operation of these at different stages of the world's history. It will make every age alive for him with a human interest, and it will make him understand much better the bearings of events in his own age. But for this he needs to cultivate the faculty of historical imagination, to put himself in the place of people in other times. Now it is self-evident that for cultivating this necessary and useful faculty historical fiction will be a prime aid. An historical novel may make very free with the facts; it may quite radically twist actual circumstances; it may even make some havoc among dates; but it will be a poor production if it do not reflect faithfully the age to which it transports the thought, if it do not make us live over again the days of yore. It may send the reader for historical *information* to the school-books, and these may correct many a number or incident; but the novel must guide with unerring hand the reader's historical *imagination.* As some one wrote the other day: "A historical novel which merely paraphrased history would be a deplorable affair indeed. If simple narration of facts is all that we ask, we may well insist that we shall have them uncolored. But the true value of the historical novel is to be sought in its adequacy as a picture of the time."

We notice, therefore, at once that the historical novel may come into conflict very often with an unreasonable demand for scientific historical accuracy and still be a very good historical novel. It cannot, from the very nature of the case, be a scientific treatise. How, for instance, could it deal with mooted points? Upon such, several weighty authorities may perhaps be brought forward, with opinions all differing. A novel writer may happen to have nice historic discrimination and judgment, and hit upon the best opinion, and conduct his whole plot, or turn some crisis or

The cunning hand of the painter follows unconsciously, but inevitably, the idealizing, the thinking of his head. We could not understand the dialect of Ivanhoe, perhaps with difficulty even that of the Earl of Leicester, or of Nigel; we certainly would be shocked out of measure if their speech were exactly transferred to that of our own day. Taine's complaint, while it has philosophy in it, and appeals to the scientific sense, cannot be well taken artistically. We want characters we can like; they need to be a little nearer to ourselves, therefore, than they could have been one, two, three and more centuries ago. We do not mind how exact are the externals—costumes, scenery, etc., but we are somewhat shy of the words and actions. We are glad that "Walter Scott pauses on the threshold of the soul, and in the vestibule of history, selects in the Renaissance and the middle age only the fit and agreeable, blots out plain-spoken words, licentious sensuality, bestial ferocity." We shall understand the spirit and force of former ages sufficiently without entering into the precise details of the latter characteristics. Actual history will help us out well enough in appreciating this grossness. We can afford to have it absent from the pages of our novels, where we have to listen to actual conversations, and where we need to be shocked only at the language and acts of the villains.

Now if there be any history fit for furnishing events and episodes upon which to exercise the inventive powers, that history is American history. What a rich field affords the whole age of the discovery, from the time of Columbus to that of Hudson! How thrilling is it to follow the bare record of De Soto's wanderings, and to look with him for the first time upon the great "father of waters," the Mississippi! Nor could our most artful inventor much improve upon the exciting adventures of a La Salle, who traveled along that mighty stream all the way to its mouth, and then back again and along the great lakes on his return to the St. Lawrence. What work of fiction could exceed the interest awakened by the exploit of Coronado in following up the course of the Colorado river far into the heart of the continent, which was then hardly suspected to be of such vast proportions? And then come the times of the settlements of the various colonies. Tragedy, wildest adventure, noblest endurance, invincible courage, steady perseverance, final success; treachery, meanness, cruelty, revenge—who shall enumerate the immense variety of potent qualities to make up the very best kind of a story, which come to the foreground in the history of all these colonial beginnings? And then the gradual growth of the ideas and the sentiments of solidarity, of national being, of national unity—what materials here for narrative, for the skillful

unfolding of character, for the noblest instructions in political philosophy! We scarcely need mention the many opportunities for apt story-telling which abound through all the dark and thrilling years of the Revolutionary war—what grand characters come to the foreground here; what foolish selfishness, blind partisanship, suicidal injustice to a nation, contrasted with self-devotion, sacrifices, forbearance, and final acceptance of the dangerous challenge. If feeble resources, inadequate numbers, inexperience, and untried powers, in contrast with might and prestige and boundless resource, make a heroic situation, surely here is a fine field for the genius of the "poet," the "*Dichter*," who puts forth his work in the shape of the novel. Nor is our subsequent history—the consolidation into federal union; the marvelous growth in extent of territory, and in wealth and population; the creeping of the *black shadow* over the fair horizon of our prosperity, bursting into the lightning and the havoc of civil war, and followed by the serene calm of a reunion firmer than ever—neither shall these years of the latest century of our American history be found void of intense interest for one who would immortalize them upon the pages of a work of inventive genius.

We accordingly find that prominent names are already identified with this department of American literature. After Cooper, half in jest, half in earnest, had written his first novel, the failure of which only indicated another road to success, he gave to the world his story of *The Spy*, which takes us into the heart of the Revolution. When he was induced to try his hand at sea-tales, and to show that he was a better sailor than the "great unknown" author of *The Pirate*, he wrote *The Pilot*, and it was our first naval hero, John Paul Jones, again of Revolutionary days, whose exploits were detailed, without the naming of his name. Once again the Revolutionary period was laid under contribution by Cooper, and in *Lionel Lincoln* we are carried along the road to Lexington and Concord, we see the British battalions mowed down at Bunker Hill, and are treated to the view of Dorchester Heights fortified by stealth and necessitating the evacuation of Boston. And thenceforth a constant stream of novels, very greatly varying in merit, proceeded from Cooper, touching in *Mercedes of Castile* the undertaking of Columbus; in *Wept of the Wish-ton-Wish* the settlement of Connecticut; in *Satanstoe* and others the conditions of colonial life in the middle of the eighteenth century; in *Miles Wallingford* and others the early days of federal government; and in several more, phases of life at the middle of the present century. Indeed the famous "Leatherstocking Series" reach, in the lifetime of its chief character, from the days of the French and Indian war to the early movements in the

development of the great West after the federal government had been firmly established. It has been the fashion to disparage Cooper somewhat of late, to consider his stories as fit only for juvenile readers, and especially boys. But their standard is higher than that. While his characterization is very feeble; while especially his heroines are all cast in the same oppressively correct mold of monotonous propriety, so that the tiresome young lady of *Precaution* is more or less of a piece with all those who follow her, yet Cooper is a master in narration, is no mean hand at a plot, is unsurpassed as a story-teller of the sea; and, after all, he has succeeded in making one creation of his genius immortal, to-wit, old Leatherstocking himself. But the great merit of Cooper is his love of country, which is with him a passion, and so pervades and burns along his pages as to warm the heart of the coldest of his readers. No American scholar then should be unfamiliar with these tales; if we do not read them for the literature of them, we should do so to stimulate our patriotism. They will incite to a more loving perusal of our country's annals. And we can conceive no higher, no nobler result of the historical novel than to thus enlist the interest and the affection for national history.

Even our great Hawthorne—a master of diction, a delineator of character, a student of motive, as Cooper was not—has found it impossible to resist the fascination of American history. In his *Scarlet Letter* he introduces us to phases of early New England life. Yet we can hardly call it a historical novel. The powers of the author are exercised along their usual lines, not so much to depict historical situations, or to use them to carry on his story, as to show us the workings of the human conscience. In *Septimius Felton*, a work that was left in a state of incompleteness at his death, we get some vivid pictures of that earliest battle of the Revolution at Concord and Lexington. But again its main use is to aid in the unfolding of psychical or ethical possibilities rather than to emphasize history. A specimen of a notable and useful class of novels is the *Hoosier Schoolmaster*. It is indeed more a novel of manners than of history. But in so far as such stories are true to the facts, and are intended to represent these facts as illustrating a state of affairs upon the frontiers that have since become almost the centre of population, they serve a very distinct and a very important historical purpose.

With more or less direct reference to the foregoing remarks, it becomes time now to devote a few pages to the list of novels of recent publication which have given occasion to this article.

Standish of Standish will remind the reader at once, by its very sound, of Longfellow's *The Courtship of Miles Standish*, and it treats indeed of

the same period and persons. It furnishes a picture of the first settlement of Plymouth colony by the Pilgrims, beginning with the arrival of the Mayflower on these shores. Although the author's brother, John A. Goodwin, author of *The Pilgrim Republic* (1887) applies the cold scalpel of historical criticism to the singular mode of courting adopted by the doughty captain, and declares the whole incident absurdly improbable, it is too tempting a tradition for the story-teller's purposes, whether in prose or verse, and we find it duly served up for our delectation in the novel. Yet it must be said that it possesses more of probability as wrought over and presented by Mrs. Austin. It is indeed a very pleasing book. We find an illustration in it of one of our points made above, as to mooted historical facts. This lady adopts the notion that Captain Jones—or *Joans*, as Bradford puts it—was bribed by the Dutch to mislead the Pilgrims, calmly overlooking the fact proved by documents now printed that no bribing was necessary, as the States-General had openly forbidden the Pilgrims to settle on the Hudson river, for very sensible reasons of their own. But of course the novel had to accept one theory or the other, and on the theory of the bribing Jones is made to appear in rather an ugly light throughout, although Bradford is very mild in his allusions to him. The characters of this novel stand out vividly. We like the vivacious Priscilla, and it is well to remind us that she is really a French girl, brought up in Holland, else the demure Puritan maid we have been accustomed to look for in her would have been too violently dissipated. Mary Chilton, her friend, has more of that character. But yet we are compelled to say that this novel fails to place the Pilgrims before us *as* Pilgrims. These people are too worldly, too little of the flavor of religion is in their talk or actions to comport with the motive that brought them to America. Only one incident is characteristic of their known religiousness—Bradford's stopping ball-playing on Christmas—and really it sits somewhat unnaturally upon the rest of the tale.

My Lady Pohakontas is an attempt at the archaic, an attempt to represent a writer contemporary with the events. It is a pleasant little story, not badly told, but the endeavor to reproduce the antiquated style is not very successful. The disguise is constantly broken through ; the pseudo-editor's notes betray too readily the hand of the author. Certainly Anas Todkill is very little of either a Puritan or a Pilgrim ; and it is somewhat of a mystery how he could claim to be both, as there was a very conspicuous distinction between the two characters at the time he is supposed to have written. The Puritans before the days of Cromwell would have been loth to be classed among the Pilgrims. It is doubtful whether

Smith at the age of thirty would have fallen in love with an Indian girl of twelve. It is all very pretty and pathetic to have him do so in the story, and for Pokahontas, when Mrs. Rolfe, to die of a broken heart when she finds Smith alive in England. Even if not true as history, it is the novelist's right to represent the case thus. But we wonder if it be this suppositious chronicle which the author of the Columbian Novels series has accepted as serious authority for giving the same turn to his story of *Pocahontas*.

The Lady of Fort St. John takes us up to the Bay of Fundy, into the ancient Acadia, whose later history has given an incident to be immortalized by the pen of Longfellow. It has the charm of great brevity, but merits perusal for something more than that. It is a little difficult to see why the great Dutch colonial leader Van Corlaer is transferred so far away from his usual surroundings, and made to meet and to marry the lovely Mrs. Bronck there. But they are both presented in a light quite according with their characters and their history as learned elsewhere. The story has a tragic end, but the agony is not overwrought. The final catastrophe is not dwelt upon in all its revolting horror. It is suggested rather than described. The story gives occasion to enforce the general remark as to the historical novel, namely, that history may be deviated from. For instance, if it were a fact of history that the Lady of Fort St. John was really hung (and surely the wretch D'Aulnay was capable of carrying out his threat), it yet was legitimate for the author to make her die a natural death before hanging, because in fiction our personal interest is appealed to more and is more deeply enlisted, and the novelist may deem it more necessary for artistic purposes to give relief to our feelings by a happy issue, than to work them to too high a pitch by the tragedy.

Zachary Phips being introduced to us when a small boy, the writer is enabled to present several episodes of our history through a succession of many years. We first float down the Ohio and the Mississippi in company with Aaron Burr's somewhat mysterious expedition. Next we are in the midst of the war of 1812, and upon the Constitution when she shows her heels to five ships of the enemy, and when, a little later, she immortalizes herself in defeating the Guerrière. But we lose the day with Captain Lawrence in the Chesapeake, and, contrary to his dying order, we give up the ship. Another turn and we are in the Seminole country, and get very indignant with Andrew Jackson for carrying things with so high a hand, taking Spanish forts and hanging English subjects with equal nonchalance. To then settle down in London as private secretary to

Minister Rush, from the United States, seems rather an anti-climax. But still, in spite of that and some other improbabilities—especially in the smooth course which true love is made to take between persons so unequal in stations and advantages—we enjoyed the story very much. It will answer the purpose of the historical novel on the subject of American history—*i.e.*, to stimulate the study of it, and promote the interest in it.

"The Columbian Historical Novels" need detain us but for a few moments. It is a little hazardous to announce that historical fiction will be done to order at such and such a rate of supply, and along a regularly laid out plan of work. That may do for almanacs or cyclopedias, but it can hardly be applied with success to works of genius. Hence we cannot be surprised that neither of the four stories before us evince the marks of genius. It cannot even be said that they reach the plane of serious literature. One paragraph early in the first novel will dispose of their claims to this: "This theory had puzzled older heads than Hernando's. The science of geography and natural forces were in their infancy, and laws of gravitation, now common with every schoolboy, almost wholly unknown." But these stories tell us a good deal of history in a pleasant way, that will, perhaps, be useful for boys. Yet even these will find that their interest and attention will be quite as absorbingly arrested by the pages of Irving. The accounts of the early explorers who followed closely after Columbus, such as Ojeda and Balboa, are transferred almost bodily from the pages of this historian—so far at least as the run of the incidents is concerned—as indeed could not very well be otherwise, upon the plan pursued by this author, who sets out to teach history rather than to produce fiction. The several stories are strung upon a thread of incidents connected with one person and his descendants. He is a boy on the ship with Columbus, reaches manhood when it is necessary to introduce us to Pizarro, Balboa, and Cortez; his sons or grandsons are named Estevan and Stephens, according as they remain among Spaniards, or stray away among Englishmen of a century or so later. The illustrations add much to the attractiveness of the volumes, and will be an additional recommendation to intelligent juveniles. But we cannot think it possible that the barrel in which Balboa placed himself was marked with the unmistakably English legend: PORK! The adventurer could hardly have foreseen so infallibly the use which would be made of his ingenious device by an American novel-writer of the present decade.

WHAT SUPPORT DID JOHN BROWN RELY UPON?

THE FAMOUS RAID AND ITS LOCALITIES

By Robert Shackleton, Jr.

John Brown is yet to be fully appreciated. It is not enough to believe that in his work he all blindly brought about the destruction of slavery; that had it not been for the far-reaching effect of his efforts slavery might, perhaps, even yet be in existence in this country.

One who would justly estimate his career must admit that the attack at Harper's Ferry was a cool, considerate undertaking, well planned; that it was not an ill-judged, poorly conceived scheme, which met with failure because nothing but failure could with reason have been expected.

"It was among the best planned and executed conspiracies that ever failed," declared Vallandigham, after listening to and taking part in a lengthy examination of Brown immediately after his capture; and the words but justly express the truth.

"They are mistaken," said Governor Wise of Virginia, at almost the same time, "they are mistaken who take Brown to be a madman. He is a man of clear head. He is cool, collected, and indomitable."

Exactly what were Brown's plans will never be known. "I do not know that I ought to reveal my plans," said he courteously, when pressed for fuller explanations while under arrest, nor did he ever fully explain them. To have done so would have involved in danger many who have never been suspected. "I will answer freely and faithfully about what concerns myself—I will answer anything I can with honor—but not about others." Such was his calm declaration, and it was a declaration which, when published throughout the land, stilled anxiety in many a distant man's heart. He never intended to carry out his plans with such force as was with him when he seized the arsenal and armory buildings. He relied upon prompt reënforcements, upon a speedy rallying about him of large numbers of ardent helpers.

But he would not tell what he expected, and such of those who were with him, or might have known somewhat fully regarding his plans, were killed in the fight or afterward executed, or, if among the few who escaped, felt themselves bound in honor to follow the example of silence set by their leader. Those who were to have stood by him, but who, at

the supreme moment, failed to do so, will certainly never tell. Rather will they join the cry about the rashness of the undertaking. Rather will they seek to discredit the practicability of the plan, even while constrained to praise the disinterested bravery of the leader whose life was a sacrifice to its failure.

It must not be forgotten that Brown was far-sighted to a remarkable degree, and that he was able to coolly design the successful carrying out of daring plans. It is then extremely unlikely that he would, for a supreme effort at Harper's Ferry, project a movement that was sure to be inefficient. That he expected extensive reënforcements is certain. These were, to a great extent, to come from among the slaves themselves, but he depended upon much of trained white aid as well. When it was suggested to him, after his arrest, that no man in the possession of his senses could have expected to succeed with such a handful of men and backed only by negroes, he replied that he had had promises of ample assistance. In answer then, to a further inquiry, he spoke in an evasive way of slave assistance, and, seeming to think that he had said more than he ought, would not particularize regarding the other ample aid.

To the master of the armory he made a most significant statement. "We are Abolitionists from the North," he said, "come to take and release your slaves. Our organization is large and must succeed." Brown was not a man who was given to idle boasting, and therefore his statement that the organization was large is worthy of careful consideration.

There were with him when the blow was actually struck little more than twenty men, but the fact must not be overlooked that almost every one was an officer under his provisional government, and Brown was not the man to have a following of officers alone. It must have been intended that the officers should have privates under them, and, indeed, we find that Brown's general orders, issued but a few days before the attack, provided for the dividing of his force into battalions of two hundred and eighty-eight men each.

We were very recently at Harper's Ferry, and went with intense interest about the localities associated with the incursion of Brown. We were fortunate, too, in finding a man, Jesse Graham by name, who was one of the prisoners held by Brown as hostages during the struggle. His narrative was clear and graphic, for he told only of what he saw and what he remembered, without any attempt at argument, although personally his feelings were with the anti-Brown faction and in the war he took part on the Confederate side. To his personal knowledge of the momentous events that occurred at Harper's Ferry he has not added by reading about

them in books, and when such a man tells, in unconsciously graphic style, the plain story of his personal experiences, his statements should be listened to carefully and with a large measure of confidence.

Without the slightest idea that such information could be of any special interest to us, he told how, at one time, Brown looked across the river and, seeing quite a party of armed men, in reality more of his enemies, hurrying onward along the road under Maryland Heights, exclaimed that there, at length, were some of his friends; and this statement seemed to us to be of great importance. A few of his own men had been left in charge at what had been the headquarters, or the Kennedy farm, a few miles from the ferry, and had these few men tried to join him in the town they would

HARPER'S FERRY FROM MARYLAND HEIGHTS.

have come by the road under Maryland Heights. It could not, however, have been that Brown believed the force that he saw to be those few men, for Graham distinctly states that the party consisted of a considerable number. It is clear, then, that Brown believed the force to be the first arrivals of the reënforcements so eagerly looked for.

Graham states, too, that, in a lull of the firing, Brown remarked that he had a picket line established from there to the Mississippi river, and this remarkable statement throws new light upon the extent of the plot and the deep-laid plans of the one who conceived it. It need not, of course, be supposed that Brown had a literal line established, but it seems clear that friends and supporters, with whom he had a distinct understanding and upon whose active assistance he was justified in relying, were scattered in considerable numbers throughout the northern states.

The attack upon the government buildings was made one week before the date first decided upon, and this fact will explain the necessary absence of some who could not, upon sudden notice, join the force at an earlier time than had been anticipated and arranged for. Brown himself was always ready, and made the mistake of supposing that his followers were always ready too. He had for years made no arrangements except such as might, on a moment's notice, be thrown aside should the one great aim of his life so demand, and he believed that his recruits were as unreservedly committed to the cause. The reason for the change of date is not known, but it is believed that Brown received some intimation of treachery, and that he had to face the alternative of earlier action than he had planned, or certain ruin through the disclosures of a traitor.

Brown's plan was carefully devised. It was most heedfully matured, with foresight and caution mingled with the daring. It was most bravely undertaken, and failed through circumstances which he could not control. He might, indeed, have escaped to the mountains before his enemies surrounded him in overwhelming force, but rapid retreat was not what he had planned, and he held to his indefensible position in the village in the vain hope that the looked-for help would surely come. Doubtless, in that passenger train which he stopped on the bridge, and which he after a little allowed to proceed on its way, were pale and frightened men who, led thus far by the promptings of honor and the promises upon which Brown relied, could not, when put to the final test, step from the train, and join the band who, defying the law and taking their lives in their hands, had actually begun a rebellion.

Brown was so disappointed by the failure of reënforcements to come from any direction, that his wonderfully clear intellect seemed for a time to be dimmed, and even after his principal followers counseled retreat he still clung with tenacity to the plan of holding the buildings. When clearness of vision again came, he saw, with prophetic sagacity, that all was for the best, and that slavery was doomed. The hero of Harper's Ferry must be ranged by the side of the greatest men that our country has known, and the place itself must be considered one of the most profoundly important localities associated with American history.

The town is situated in the midst of grandly impressive scenery. In its front, two dark lines of mountain heights converge grandly toward each other. The broad Potomac is shadowed by the one. The beautiful Shenandoah, in alternate shallows and depths, glides at the base of the other. Just where the approaching mountains pause, leaving a rugged gap between, the two streams, there uniting into one, pour their waters

through, with the lofty cliffs frowning down on either side. Facing the gap is a high plateau, almost filling the space between the two rivers. It is girt at almost every point with abruptly precipitous banks, and on the narrow strip of low ground at its base is the main street of the town, bending about the rounding plateau point. A straggling street picks its way up the one part where the plateau may be thus scaled, while here and there houses are perched at isolated points along the sides. That John Brown loved mountains as he did, must have made Harper's Ferry seem a peculiarly fit place at which to make his great attempt. His home at North Elba was among mountains, and his admiration for them was intense and strong. When Thomas Wentworth Higginson went to Brown's home, to take Mrs. Brown with him to visit her husband in prison in Virginia, he was assured by one of the family that John Brown loved the location of his home because of the romantic beauty of its surroundings. And on the way to the place of execution, with but a few minutes more to live, Brown glanced with admiring eyes over the dark line of the mountains and exclaimed that it was a beautiful country!

But dearly as he loved mountains for their splendid beauty, there was a still deeper cause. "God established the Alleghany mountains from the foundation of the world that they might one day be a refuge for fugitive slaves!" he had once exclaimed; while at another time he had said, with profound earnestness: "God has given the strength of the hills to freedom. They were placed here for the emancipation of the negro race."

Brown was almost six feet in height, of slender, wiry build, and giving the impression of unusual strength. His gray hair stood up in a dense mass above his forehead. His eyes were keenly alert. His beard was long and full, but could not hide the immovable firmness of the jaw and mouth. He walked rapidly, making way for none, and others instinctively stepped from his path as he approached. Such was the man who, under the mild disguise of farmer and prospector, had rented a farm among the heights near Harper's Ferry, and there carefully completed his preparations. None of his neighbors had suspected that he was other than what he seemed. He was reserved and self-possessed. He regularly attended church. He was ready to do acts of real kindness to those living about him, and his endeavors earned their gratitude. His name, so he said, was Isaac Smith, and none doubted it.

He felt the supreme importance of his work, and with tremendous strength of belief considered himself a foreordained instrument. All that was done was exactly as had been planned countless ages before, and this

he believed, whether his plans failed or were successful. He did not plan to be captured and executed, and yet his clear vision saw beyond the temporary defeat to ultimate victory. He calmly realized, and said, that he would be worth much more dead than living, and thus he showed his prophetic insight into what was to come.

Writing to a friend, from prison, regarding the fact that the slaveholders, through his failure, had learned the nature of his plans, and were thus forewarned against any similar attempt by others in the future, he said: "If Samson had not told Delilah wherein his great strength lay, he probably never would have pulled down the house." Thus clearly did he foresee that in his death he would indeed pull down the house of slavery.

The story of Jesse Graham, told us as we sat with him at the door of his home in the village, brought vividly to mind John Brown and his great attempt. Roused from sleep by a commotion in the street, early in the morning of Monday, the 17th of October, 1859, Mrs. Graham hurried to a front window and saw a neighbor expostulating with several men who, armed with rifles, were taking him along with them. She hurried to her husband, telling him what she had seen, and he, naturally enough, thought that the neighbor must have been charged with some offense and that the armed men were officers sent to arrest him. Dressing himself, he hurried out into the street.

"Halt!"

Close by his door ("Right there!" as he pointed out to us) was a sentinel, grimly surveying him with rifle half raised.

"Halt! You are my prisoner!"

"What for?"

"No matter. Here!" (to another sentinel, a few rods off) "take this man to the guard-house!"

But Graham did not want to go. "Why must I?" he insisted.

"There's no time for words! Hurry along!" was the peremptory reply, whereupon, without further objection, he walked with the sentinel to the "guard-house," a little building within the armory grounds in which were kept the government fire engine and hose cart. Other residents were already there, and every few minutes more were brought in. None knew the cause, and all were in momentary fear of being killed.

"Isaac Smith" was the leader of the lawless force; and as he moved actively about from point to point the prisoners watched him in nervous apprehension, not knowing to what lengths he might proceed.

"You don't know what you are doing!" cried one, warningly.

"Oh, yes, I do; perfectly."

"By whose authority is this?"

"By my own."

Before long there were skirmishing shots; and Graham, looking out, could see men cautiously posting themselves here and there in position from which they could shoot at Smith and his followers. The firing was actively returned, but the assailants rapidly became so numerous that Smith was compelled to relinquish much of what he had originally planned to hold, and the little guard-house became a fort and his headquarters.

OLD ENGINE HOUSE—"JOHN BROWN'S FORT."

"Captain, we can't hold the bridge any longer!" exclaimed one of his men, hurrying in.

"All right," was the reply, made with the most complete calmness.

Once, looking heedfully out, Graham saw that a man was slowly moving along the railroad track which, on low trestle-work, overlooked the armory grounds. He could not see the man himself, he could see only his hat, and he watched its advance with eager curiosity. The hat ceased its motion. The muzzle of a rifle appeared. There was a shot. And a bullet whizzed past Smith's head, tore off some of his hair, and then struck another man on the knee. Smith, sitting on the tongue of the engine, just inside of the open door, merely turned slowly, and with superb cool-

ness, and as he shut the door, nonchalantly remarked that it was a pretty good shot.

"Did you ever read of the battle of Pottawatomie?" said he, suddenly, in a lull of the firing.

"No."

"Then you haven't read much," was the blunt comment, and at this Graham nervously thought that he "remembered something about it."

"Well, I'm Ossawatomie Brown!" And the announcement of this dread name struck with a chill of terror to the hearts of the men who were held prisoners there at his mercy.

One of the raiders, shot in the left breast, came in, pulled off his belt, put down his rifle, unbuttoned his coat, and lay down on the floor.

"Where are you hurt?" said Brown, and the man feebly showed him. Graham then bent down to examine him, and found that the ball had struck a rib and glanced around the body, making a flesh wound only. "Have one of your friends cut it out with a sharp knife!" he said.

The wounded man felt the bullet, and as he did so he flushed deeply over neck and face. Then, without a word, he buttoned his coat, put on his belt, picked up his rifle, and went out, and, taking up a position behind a tall stone gateway pillar which is still standing, fired fifteen or twenty shots with steady aim, while Graham inwardly fumed at this result of his surgical examination. At length, however, the man was again wounded, and this time mortally, although he lingered in agony during that day and the ensuing night before death relieved him.

Another wounded man moaned in pain. "Die like a man!" said Brown, sternly, and the moaning ceased.

Stephens was sent out with a flag of truce—the same Stephens of whom Annie Brown had said, "He tries the hardest to be good, of any man I ever saw"—but the flag of truce was not respected, and he was shot down and lay writhing on the ground.

One of Brown's sons lay down and slowly died. "There will be buckets of blood for every drop of his!" said Brown, sternly, and again the prisoners trembled, fearing that he would demand life for life.

At length the terrible day was over; night came on. Then United States troops arrived, and the garrison and prisoners, with wounded and dying and dead men about them, waited for the morning.

Colonel Robert E. Lee, "a fine-looking man," as the narrator describes him, advanced to a point not far from the building, and sent one of his officers (the afterward famous J. E. B. Stuart, although Graham does not seem to know this) to demand unconditional surrender, promising to hand

the men over to lawful authority, and to protect them against mob violence. But Brown would not accept the terms. He offered, instead, to give up the place if allowed to cross the river with his prisoners. There he would at once liberate them, and take his chances in the mountains. Stuart returned to Lee with this message, and Graham, closely watching, saw Lee shake his head in disapproval. Then Stuart came once more to Brown and repeated Lee's first proposition as being the most favorable terms that could be offered, whereupon Brown said briefly, "That settles it," and shut the door.

And then came the attack of the regularly drilled troops. A heavy ladder was brought, and, used as a battering ram, soon broke through the door. An officer's voice sounded out sharply above all the din and confusion: "First man on the right, go in!"

A man's head and shoulders appeared; there was a shot; and the man fell, and was dragged quickly back.

"First man on the left!"

Another head; another shot; a scream of pain; and the gun dropped, and the man pressed his hand against his mouth, and blood ran through his fingers, and he too was dragged back. And then blinding smoke filled the room, and there were shouts and blows and groans, and Graham was fiercely grasped and dragged outside of the door.

There, apparently dead, lay Brown. His head was gashed and bleeding, and the unconscious body was rolled on its face and then again on its back with careless roughness.

One of Brown's followers, dying, looked full into the face of a man who was questioning him, and it was with a strange expression of peace and firmness and with wonderfully calm eyes.

A shadow passed over his face.

"He's dead!"

"No! no!"

But he was, and his face still wore that expression of wonderful peace.

Brown himself, however, was not dead, and recovered from his wounds sufficiently to be tried for his life for his daring attempt. He was convicted and sentenced to death, and on the day of his execution wrote the following words:

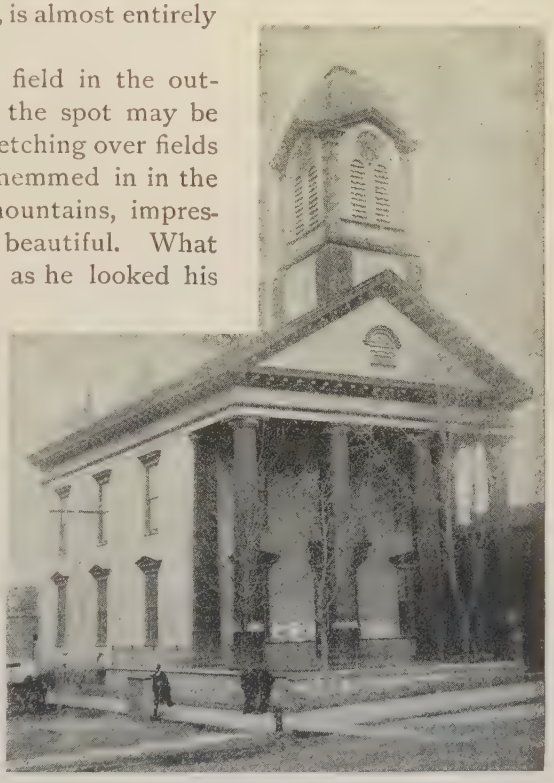
"I, John Brown, am now quite certain that the crimes of this guilty land will never be purged away but with blood. I had, as I now think vainly, flattered myself that without very much bloodshed it might be done."

His grave is in northern New York, among the wild mountains that encompassed his solitary home. It is but a few rods from the house, and

is close beside a great, massive bowlder, into which is deeply cut the inscription :

"JOHN BROWN. 1859."

Charlestown, where he was tried and executed, is a pleasant, quiet, not unattractive town, and yet with nothing distinctive to mark it out from many another. The court house is still pointed out, and yet it can scarcely be considered the same building, as the old structure, with the exception of a portion of the walls, was some years since destroyed, and the present building, therefore, is almost entirely new.



CHARLESTOWN COURTHOUSE, WHERE JOHN BROWN WAS TRIED.

Brown was executed in a field in the outskirts of the town, and from the spot may be seen a wide-spreading view stretching over fields and undulating country, and hemmed in in the distance by the dark blue mountains, impressively grand and solemnly beautiful. What must have been his thoughts as he looked his last at the beautiful sky and those stretches of beautiful heights! And what must have been his reflections of mingled joy and pain, as he gazed at the distant gap in the mountains which marked the site of Harper's Ferry! The arsenal building at Harper's Ferry long since disappeared, and a hotel now stands upon its site. Across the street from the arsenal was the entrance to the inclosure in which stood most of the government works, including musket factory, forge, and workshops. The inclosure was walled, and was about two hundred feet in width and one-third of a mile in length.

These buildings long since disappeared, and where they stood is now a desolate scene. Even the engine house, Brown's fort, which, strangely enough, survived the alternate occupation of the town by rival armies that tried to excel each other in the destruction of public works, was recently

torn down, and its bricks were shipped to Chicago to be there rebuilt for exhibition at the coming World's Fair. The marks of its foundation walls may still be seen; weeds and broken brick are all about the spot; some stables are close by; several saloons are near at hand; some of the iron pickets which were on top of the wall which surrounded the inclosure have been most prosaically put to the use of constructing a pen for the keeping of pigs. The tall stone gateway pillars at the entrance to the inclosure are still standing. Close by Brown's fort once stood the paymaster's building, and while it, like the other structures, has disappeared, some iron doors, once used to protect government treasure, are still standing erect among the ruins.

On an old broken dam, which stretches in a long half-circular sweep across the stream, we one day crossed the Shenandoah toward Loudon Heights, and a dense mass of foliage met us on the farther side. Trees and bushes and vines grow in rich profusion right up the steep ascents, except where, in places, there are bare and precipitous stretches. And there, a little up the slope, and tucked oddly against the hillside, we found a log home, whitewashed and picturesque. No wagon road leads to it, and the little farming that the owner does is done by hand. A strangely isolated spot it is, although within plain sight of the town, but we found there something more than picturesqueness and solitude.

"Would you like to see the grave of some of John Brown's men?" said the owner, and then he led us to a small potato patch some little distance from the house. In the centre of the patch was a little space covered with tall weeds, and the owner, brushing these aside, showed us the little, rough, unmarked stone which he himself placed there to mark the resting-place of the buried men.

The spot is directly across the river from the rifle factory, of which Kagi, one of Brown's most trusted followers, had with a few companions endeavored to hold possession, and when they saw the hopelessness of the effort and endeavored to escape to the farther side of the stream, they were shot or drowned. Then their bodies were buried together, in one grave, on that lonely mountain side, there to remain unheeded, except for the care of this man, who, a stranger to them all, assisted at the burial and still is the only one to in any way care for the grave.

Within view of the town that they helped to capture; at the side of that river, rushing and surging onward among the rocks; and at the foot of those lofty heights, towering upward in splendid abruptness—could there be a more striking spot for the last resting-place of men who were killed in the momentous raid?

Albany 30th May 1854

Dear Wife

I expect to leave here tomorrow on my way to Wolcottville Ct, & expect to be in that Neighbourhood several days, & would be glad to hear from you there, (Care of Charles B Smith Esqr.) I am in hopes to get on my way home before the Week is out, but am not certain today. I have no new instruction for the boys exept that after they get done planting I would like to have them repair the fences around the Meadow, & upper Corn field. There are some rails down in the Woods below the Calf pasture towards Prentisses that may be gathered up for that purpose, & there is a little wood in the Meadow that had better be hauled out before the Grass gets too high I would be glad to hear from Fred'k if I can before I get back. I would also be glad to have the boys as soon as they have time see how the fences, & feed are at the old Portage. I want Mc allisters Steers, & Sheep to be kept there as much as they can.

Your Affectionate Husband

John Brown

NOTE—The above letter of John Brown is indicative of the simplicity of his life and character. As it was written in 1854, it has a connection of peculiar value with the portrait forming our frontispiece; both placing him before us at a period when the plain farmer had not yet been revealed to the world as a hero and martyr. The facsimile is presented through the courtesy of Mr. Walter Romeyn Benjamin of 28 West Twenty-third street, New York.

THE RIDE OF PAUL REVERE

By Howard Alden Giddings

"He said to his friend, 'If the British march
By land or sea from the town to-night,
Hang a lantern aloft in the belfry arch
Of the North Church tower as a signal light.'"

Colonel Paul Revere's ride, commemorated by Longfellow in his famous poem, was but one of a series of momentous incidents in which as messenger and express to Portsmouth, New York, and Philadelphia, he carried intelligence on occasions of emergency. As a messenger he is said to have been steady, vigorous, sensible, and persevering, and he was the favorite courier of the continental congress. Revere was an ardent patriot, an associate of Hancock, Warren, Adams, and other leading patriots, and a chosen member of the Boston committee of correspondence, inspection, and safety.

At the time that he was selected by Dr. Warren, the president of this committee, for the important service of arousing the country at the first hostile movement of the British, he was thirty-two years old, and is described as being a handsome young man with dark hair and eyes, and strong and expressive face. He filled many high military offices, and was one of the chief actors in that memorable event the "Boston tea party."

Paul Revere in a letter to the Massachusetts Historical Society, dated January 1, 1798, has given his own account of the events preceding that historic night, "the eighteenth of April in seventy-five," and his adventurous ride, in the following words:

"In the fall of 1774 and the winter of 1775 I was one of upwards of thirty, chiefly mechanics, who formed ourselves into a committee for the purpose of watching the movements of the British soldiers and gaining every intelligence of the movements of the tories.

"We held our meetings at the Green Dragon tavern. We were so careful that our meetings should be kept secret, that every time we met, every person swore upon the Bible that he would not discover any of our transactions but to Messrs. Hancock, Adams, Warren, Church, and one or two more.

"In the winter, towards the spring, we frequently took turns, two and two, to watch the soldiers by patrolling the streets all night.

"The Saturday night preceding the 19th of April, about twelve o'clock at night, the boats belonging to the transports were all launched and carried under the sterns of the men-of-war. We likewise found that the grenadiers and light infantry were all taken off duty. From these movements we suspected something serious was to be transacted.

"On Tuesday evening it was observed that a number of soldiers were marching toward Boston common. About ten o'clock Dr. Warren sent in great haste for me, begging that I would immediately set off for Lexington, where were Hancock and Adams, and acquaint them of the move-

NEWS FROM LEXINGTON.

ments, as it was thought they were the objects. On the Sunday before, I agreed with a Colonel Conant and some other gentlemen in Charlestown, that if the British went out by water, we should show two lanterns in the North church steeple, and if by land, one, as a signal; for we apprehended that it would be difficult to cross over the Charles river or get over Boston neck.

"I left Dr. Warren, called upon a friend, and desired him to make the signal. I then went home [he lived in North square], took my boots and surtout, and went to the north part of the town, where I kept a boat. Two friends rowed me across the Charles river, a little to the eastward of where

the Somerset lay. It was then young flood, the ship was winding, and the moon was rising. They landed me on the Charlestown shore."

"Meanwhile his friend, through alley and street,
Wanders and watches with eager ears."

Captain John Pulling, a "high son of liberty," and an intimate friend of Paul Revere from boyhood, was entrusted with the arduous duty of making the signals when it should be certain whether the British went by land or sea. This was a critical and hazardous enterprise. Christ church, the place selected from which to display the signals, was the most northerly church in Boston and had a very tall steeple, at that time one hundred and ninety-one feet high. Standing on high ground it formed the most conspicuous landmark for vessels entering the harbor, and was well known as the "North church." The British soldiers patrolled the streets near the church, and not only was there risk of the signal light being observed in that quarter, but, as Pulling said, "he was afraid some old woman would see the light and scream fire."

At half past ten that night Lieutenant-Colonel Smith with eight hundred grenadiers and light infantry embarked in long boats at the foot of Boston common. General Gage that evening told Lord Percy that he intended to send a detachment to seize the stores at Concord, under command of Colonel Smith, who knew he was to go, but not where. The object of the expedition was not yet known, and he begged Lord Percy to keep it a profound secret. As this nobleman was passing from the general's quarters home to his own, he perceived eight or ten men conversing together on the common. Approaching them, one of them said: "The British troops have marched, but will miss their aim." "What aim?" said Lord Percy. "The cannon at Concord," the man replied.

Captain John Pulling, as soon as he was certain the troops were embarking, ran to the house of the sexton of Christ church, in Salem street, and demanded the keys. He being a vestryman, the sexton could not refuse them. He went to the church and, locking himself in, climbed to the upper window of the steeple and hung out the two lanterns, by which the watchers on the Charlestown shore should "know that the British were going by water."

"Meanwhile, impatient to mount and ride,
Booted and spurred, with a heavy stride,
On the opposite shore walked Paul Revere."

"When I got into town," continues Paul Revere, "I met Colonel Conant and several others, who told me they had seen the signal. I told

them what was acting, and went to get me a horse. I got a horse of Deacon Larkin. While the horse was preparing, Richard Devens, one of the committee of safety, came to me and told me that he came down the road from Lexington that evening, after sundown, and that he met ten British officers, all well mounted and armed, going up the road.

"I set off upon a very good horse; it was then about eleven o'clock and very pleasant. After I had passed Charlestown neck and got about opposite where Mark was hung in chains, I saw two men on horseback under a tree, whom I discovered were British officers. One tried to get ahead of me and the other to take me. I turned my horse very quick and galloped toward Charlestown neck, and then pushed for the Medford road. The one who chased me, endeavoring to cut me off, got into a clay pond. I got clear of him and went through Medford over the bridge.

"In Medford I awakened the captain of the minute-men, and after that I alarmed almost every house till I got to Lexington. In Lexington I was joined by a Mr. Dawes and Dr. Prescott. We rode towards Concord alarming the people. After proceeding nearly half way, the Doctor and Mr. Dawes had stopped to alarm the people in a house, and I was about one hundred rods ahead, when I saw two men in nearly the same situation as those officers were near Charlestown. I called for the Doctor and Mr. Dawes to come up, when in an instant I was surrounded by four. They had placed themselves in a straight road that inclined each way, and had taken down a pair of bars on the north side of the road where two of them were under a tree in the pasture. We tried to get past them, but they, being armed with pistols and swords, forced us into the pasture. The Doctor jumped his horse over a low stone wall and got to Concord. I observed a wood at a small distance and made for that. When I got there, out started six officers on horseback and ordered me to dismount. One of them, who appeared to have the command, examined me, where I came from and what my name was. I told him. He asked me if I was an express. I answered in the affirmative. He demanded what time I left Boston. I told him, and added that their troops had catched aground in passing the river and that there would be five hundred Americans there in a short time, for I had alarmed the country all the way up.

"He immediately rode toward those who stopped us, when all five of them came down on a full gallop. One of them, whom I afterwards found to be Major Mitchel of the Fifth Regiment, clapped his pistol to my head, called me by name, and told me if I did not give true answers to his questions he would blow my brains out. He asked me questions similar to the others and, after searching me for arms, ordered me to mount and pro-

ceed in front of them. After riding a little way, he ordered a sergeant to ride beside me, and told him to blow my brains out if I attempted to run.

"We rode till we got near Lexington meeting-house, when the militia fired a volley of guns, which appeared to alarm them very much. The major inquired of me how far it was to Cambridge and if there were any other road. He then rode up to the sergeant and asked him if his horse was tired. (He was a sergeant of Grenadiers, and had a small horse.) He answered him he was. 'Then,' said he, 'take that man's horse.' I dismounted, and the sergeant took my horse, when they left me and all rode towards Lexington meeting-house.

"I went across the burying ground and some pastures and came to the Rev. Mr. Clark's house, where I found Messrs. Hancock and Adams. I went with Mr. Lowell, a clerk to Mr. Hancock, to the tavern to get a trunk of papers. On the way we met a man at full gallop, who said the British were coming up the rocks. We went up chamber, and while we were getting the trunk we saw the British very near upon a full march. We hurried towards Mr. Clark's house. On our way we passed through the militia. They were about fifty. When we had got about one hundred yards from the meeting-house the British troops appeared on both sides of it. In their front was an officer on horseback. They made a short halt, when I saw and heard a gun fired which appeared to be a pistol. Then I could distinguish two guns, and then a continual volley of musquetry; when we made off with the trunk." Revere concludes his letter with some charges and information against Church, who proved to be a traitor in the continental congress.

THE BOSTON MASSACRE.

Colonel Paul Revere took part in many military enterprises during the Revolution, and rose from the rank of second lieutenant to that of lieuten-

ant-colonel. In the Penobscot expedition, the most disastrous expedition sent out from Boston during the war, Colonel Revere commanded the artillery. He was an artificer—for the most part self-taught—in many trades. He cast bells, some of which are still hanging in church steeples; and cannon, now widely scattered as the spoils of war. In 1805 a bell was placed in the steeple of the new North church in Boston, weighing one thousand three hundred pounds, and costing eight hundred dollars, from the foundry of Paul Revere. There are still in existence many products of his skill as a silversmith and graver. He also produced a large number of engravings and caricatures. There is now a colored engraving of the Boston massacre, "Engraved, printed and sold by Paul Revere," in the possession of the Connecticut Historical Society; and Revere's agreement for engraving and printing the paper money of the continental congress, dated December 8, 1778, is still preserved in the Massachusetts archives.

When it was discovered by the British authorities that the signals which aroused the Americans were made from Christ church, "a search was immediately set afoot for the rebel who made them." The sexton, Robert Newman, was suspected and arrested, but he protested his innocence, and declared that the keys were demanded of him at a late hour that night by Captain Pulling, who, being a vestryman, he thought had a right to them. Meantime Pulling had been warned by friends that he had better leave town as soon as possible with his family, and this he did, disguised as a laborer, on board a small craft loaded with beer for the men-of-war in the harbor. Mr. Pulling and his family were put ashore at Nantasket, where they lived in want until they returned to Boston after the siege was raised, only to find their property all destroyed.

An attempt has been made to set up a claim that the sexton Newman hung out the lanterns, but it is altogether improbable, even if there were no evidence, that Paul Revere would have entrusted this hazardous enterprise to a stranger, after swearing on the Bible not to discover the transactions of the committee but to certain trusty men. Another claim has been made that Richard Devens was the "friend" who hung out the lanterns; but Revere himself says, in his letter, that when he reached Charlestown, Devens came to him and told him of meeting British officers that evening on the Lexington road. As the lanterns had only just been hung out at that time, it is manifestly impossible that Devens was the person who made the signal. It is generally admitted that Captain Pulling was the man.

It has also been claimed that the North meeting-house, and not Christ church, was the place from which the signal was made; but this claim is

absurd, as the North meeting-house had no steeple, and a light could not have been seen from it, while Christ church (then known as the "North church") stood on high ground directly across the Charles river from Charlestown and had a very tall spire. A tablet has since been placed in Christ church bearing this inscription: "The signal lanterns of Paul Revere displayed in the steeple of this church, April 18, 1775, warned the country of the march of the British troops to Lexington and Concord."

THE FIRST ATTEMPT TO FOUND AN AMERICAN COLLEGE

By Wm. Armitage Beardslee

Scattered through the records of the Virginia Company, of London, which received its first charter from King James I. in 1606, and was dissolved by order of the same king in 1624, there are a number of references to the founding and endowment of a college at Henrico, one of the settlements on the James river in Virginia; and as the effort there made was perhaps the first attempt to provide an institution of higher learning within the present bounds of the United States, it may be of interest to have these scattered notices gathered together, and the history of that movement reconstructed so far as the fragmentary accounts will allow.

The first official notice of this college comes from the hand of the king himself. In the year 1617 James wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury authorizing him to send letters to the English bishops giving order that "collections be made in the particular parishes four severall tymes within these two years next coming," and that the moneys thus collected should be transmitted half-yearly to the treasurer of the Virginia Company, "to be employed for the Godly purposes intended and no other." According to the treasurer's report, given May 26, 1619, these collections had then amounted to one thousand five hundred pounds or thereabouts.

In the meanwhile (November 18, 1618) the Virginia Company had given ten thousand acres of ground "for the endowing of said University and Colledge with convenient possessions." This land was partly within the territory of Henrico, where the buildings were to be erected, and partly farther up the river, a little below the present site of Richmond. During the same year the charge of the college was offered to the Rev. Thomas Larkin, who thus expresses himself in one of his letters: "A good friend of mine propounded to me within three or four days a condition of going over to Virginia, where the Virginia Company means to erect a college, and undertakes to procure me good assurance of two hundred pounds a year and better, and if I should find there any ground of dislike, liberty to return at pleasure. I assure you I find preferment coming on so slowly here at home, as makes me much incline to accept it." He determined, however, to "do nothing rashly," and he never came.

The prospects of the college during the next three years (1619–1621) seemed to be constantly growing brighter.

On May 26, 1619, when the treasurer reported the amount of the collections above referred to, it was decided by the company that they should not at once "build a Colledge, but rather forbeare a while, and begin first with the monees they have to provide and settle an Annuall revenue, and out of that to begin the ereccon of the said Colledge." It being "a waighty busines," a committee of seven choice gentlemen was appointed. One month later (June 24, 1619) their report was given, the substance of which was that fifty "single men, unmarried," were to be sent out and settled on the college land, "to have halfe the benefitt of their labors, and the other halfe to goe in getting forward the worke and for mayntenance of the Tutors and Schollers." These "single men, unmarried," were to be "smiths, carpenters, brick-layers, turners, potters, husbandmen, brick-makers." A minister was to be "entertained at the yearly allowance of forty pounds," and there was also to be a captain to have charge of the people on the college land, for it was situated in the wilderness, almost surrounded by Indian tribes. The ship carrying these men was "to sett out soon after the middest of July at the furthest, that by the blessing of God they may arrive there by the end of October." Toward the end of that year Sir Edwin Sandys, who was thoroughly acquainted with Virginia, proposed that the next spring the number of men on the college land be increased by one hundred, estimating that the hundred men thus added, being rightly employed, would not yield less in value than one thousand pounds yearly revenue.

On June 21, 1619, an unknown person, evidently of high church tendencies, presented to this frontier college, "A Communion Cup with a cover and vase, a Trencher plate for the bread, a Carpett of crimson velvett, and a Linnen Damaske table cloth." The next year (February 20, 1620) another unknown person left the college a legacy of five hundred pounds. On the 15th of November of the same year, "a straunger stept in presentinge a Mapp of Sir Walter Rawlighes contayninge a Descripcon of Guiana, and with the same fower great books as the Guift of one unto the Company that desyred his name might not be made knowne, whereof one booke was a treatise of St. Augustine of the Citty of God translated into English, and the other three great Volumes wer the works of Mr. Perkins newlie corrected and amended, wch books the Donor desyred they might be sent to the Colledge in Virginia, there to remayne in saftie to the use of the collegiates."

During this same year two large amounts of money came to the

college; the first, of five hundred and fifty pounds in gold, "for the bringinge upp of Children of the Infidles, first in ye knowledge of God & true religion & next in fitt trades whereby honestly to live"—evidently given by one who knew where it was necessary to begin in this fine scheme for the higher education; and the other a sum of three hundred pounds "for the Colledge in Virginia to be paid when there shel be tenn of the Infidles Children placed in itt." The same year also the Rev. Thomas Bargrave of Virginia died, leaving to the college his library, valued at about seventy pounds.

These various gifts and bequests show that the proposed college was generally known and excited considerable interest at the time. The conversion of the Indians was one of the popular enthusiasms, and no small part of the apparent success of the plan for a college is due to the sentimental interest taken in the "infidel children of the forest." This was soon, however, to receive a rude shock. In the spring of 1622 the news reached England of the great massacre of March 22d, which fell so suddenly and so terribly on the Virginia plantation, when along with many other settlements the little palisaded village of Henrico, the place chosen as the site of the proposed university, was utterly destroyed.

Nevertheless, the plan for a college was not yet abandoned. The very letter which contained the famous Virginia scheme of Indian extermination for the sake of revenge contained also directions for the ordering and resettling of the college tenants, who, henceforth, were to be left to their own disposing and government, and that they might "reduce the uncertaintie of halfe to the certaintie of a Rent, we have therefore agreed shal be every pson twenty bushells of corne; 60 waight of good leafe tobacco, and one pound of silke to be yearly paid together with six dayes labors"; and, furthermore, "as for the Brick-makers we desire they may be held to their contract made with Mr. Thorpe, to the intent that when opportunitie shal be for the erecting of the fabricke of the Colledge the materialls be not wanting."

But the end was drawing near. The next year (1623) the company fell still more into disfavor with the king, and on June 16, 1624, their charter was declared to be null and void. The last notice relating to the college is under date of June 18, 1623: "Edward Downes peticoned that his son Richard Downes havinge continued in Virginia these 4 yeares and being bred a schollar went over in hope of preferment in the Colledge there; might now be free to live there of himselfe and have fifty acres of land to plant upon. The Court conceaving his suite to be verie reasonable have recomended the graunt thereof to the next Quarter Court."

Nothing more is known of this first attempt to found a college on American soil. By the wreck of the Virginia Company, which acted as its trustee, it lost possession of its extensive lands, and the thousands of pounds which had been so freely bestowed upon it by way of endowment; nor is there any trace of what became of the communion set with its "carpett of crimson velvett," nor the curious "Mapp of Guiana," nor the "three great Volumes" of Mr. Perkins, and the library of the Rev. Thomas Bargrave.

Yet had it not been for the wrath of King James, who hated the policy pursued by the Virginia Company, this college might to-day be the most venerable of American universities, thirteen years older than Harvard; founded, indeed, before the Mayflower had yet set sail for her voyage to Plymouth Bay.

GENERAL MERCER AT PRINCETON

By Charles D. Platt

Here Mercer fell, with bayonet-pierced breast,
Facing his country's foes upon the field,
Scorning to cry for quarter or to yield,
Though single-handed left and sore opprest.

He, at his chosen country's high behest,
Was set to be a leader and to shield
Her threatened life:—with his heart's blood he sealed
That trust, nor faltered till he sank to rest.

Mourn not for him; say not untimely death
Snatched him from fame ere we could know his worth,
And hid the lustre of a glorious name:
Such souls go forth, when fails their vital breath,
To shine as beacons through the mists of earth
And kindle in men's hearts heroic flame.

AN ACCOUNT OF TWO MANUSCRIPT VOLUMES NOW IN THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, AT WASHINGTON, D.C.

By Alexander Brown

The regular set of books kept by the Virginia company of London consisted of—*first*, "The blurr books," on the order of our "blotters:" *all* business transactions were entered in them; *second*, "the court books," which were compiled from "the blurr books," and which contained only such items as were to be brought before the courts of the company; and, *thirdly*, *The Records of the Courts*, which were especially prepared to be read by "the generality of the company;" that is, they were really *the reports* of the courts, or to speak more definitely, *the organ* of the administration for the time being, containing only such matter, and presented in such manner, as the court of the company at the time thought advisable to make public. A copy of this third set of books, *The Records of the Courts*, during the Sandys-Southampton administrations, from April 28, 1619, to June 7, 1624, is now preserved in the library of congress, and it is the history of this most interesting relic which I purpose giving.

The management of the company was largely in the hands of men of affairs until April 28, 1619, when the enterprise had grown to be a matter of real importance in the affairs of the nation, and it became more and more a factor in English politics until, for reasons which it will not be necessary to explain here, Chief Justice James Ley, on June 16, 1624, declared the patent or charter of the company "thenceforth null and void." On June 26, 1624, the privy council of England ordered: "Mr. Nicholas Ferrar, The Deputy for the late Company of Virginia, to bring to the Council chamber all the Patents, Books of accounts, etc., to be retained by the Keeper of the Privy Council chest till further order." On July 15 the commission was sealed to the committee (appointed June 24), consisting of fifty-six leading men of the period, who were ordered "to take into their hands and custody, all Charters, Letters-Patentes, grantes and Instructions, all Bookes, orders, Letters, Advices, and other writings and thinges in anywise concerninge the Colony and Company of Virginia, in whose handes soever the same be."

The making of the said copy of *The Records of the Courts* had begun about June, 1623, soon after the books were returned by the first commis-

sioners of April–May, 1623, and it was completed on June 19, 1624, just seven days before Nicholas Ferrar was ordered to bring all books, etc., of the company to the privy council chamber. The copy is in the archaic handwriting of the period; it is bound in two volumes, and they are fully described in the following memoranda:

The first volume, beginning with the court of April 28, 1619, and ending with the court of May 8, 1622, contains three hundred and fifty-four pages, and concludes with this statement:

Memorandum, that wee, Edward Waterhouse and Edward Collingwood, secretaries of The Companies for Virginia and the Sumer Ilands, have examined and compared the Booke going before, conteyning one hundred seventy-seven leaves from Page 1 to Page 354, with the originall Booke of Courts itself. And doe find this Booke to be a true and perfect copie of the said originall Courte Booke, savinge that there is wanting in the Copie, of Court of the 20th May 1620, and the beginning of the Qr. Court held 22nd; but as farre as is here entered in this copie doth truly agree with the originall itself.

And to every Page, I, Edward Collingwood, have sett my hand and both of us do hereby testifie as above that it is a true copie.

Jan'y 28. 1623 [i.e. 1624, present Style].

Edw: Waterhouse, secret.
Ed: Collingwood, secret.

The second volume contains three hundred and eighty-seven pages, and is concluded with the following:

Memorand. That wee Edward Collingwood, Secretary of the Company for Virginia, and Thomas Collet of the Middle Temple, gentleman, have perused, compared and examined this present booke, beginninge att page 1, att a Preparative Court held for Virginia the 20th of May 1622, and endinge at this present page 387 att a Preparative Court held the 7th of June 1624. And wee doe finde that this coppie dothe perfectlie agree with the originall books of the Court belonging to the company in all things, save that in page 371, the graunt of 800 acres to Mr Maurice Berkley is not entred, and save that in page 358 we wanted the Lord's letter to Mr Deputy Ferrar, so that we could not compare itt and likewise saving that in Page 348 wee wanted the Governor and Counsell's Letter from Virginia in which respect, I, Edward Collingwood, have not sett my hand to those three pages, but to all the rest I have sett my hand severally to each in confirmation, that they agree truly with the Originals. And in witness and confirmation that this booke is a true Coppy of the Virginia Courts, wee have hereunder joyntly sett our hands the 19th day of June 1624.

Thomas Collett.
Edward Collingwood, Secr.

I have found only three contemporary accounts of these volumes. Like the volumes themselves, they were prepared by members of the Sandys-Southampton party, and are *ex-parte;* but they are very interesting. The first is found in *The Discours of ye Old Company of Virginia*,

which was addressed in April or May, 1625, to the lords of the privy council of Charles I. It contains about fifteen thousand words reviewing the colonial enterprise in Virginia from 1607 to 1625. It is severe on "Sir Thomas Smith, Alderman Robert Johnson, and that opposite party." The purport of the paper being that the affairs of the colony of Virginia should be taken out of the hands of the commissioners, in which they then were, and should be replaced into the hands of the Sandys-Ferrar party, who, according to this "Discours," had managed the colony with much success. The document has never been printed; my copy, from which I extract the following account, was made for me in the British museum, where the original manuscript now is:

> . . . Nor that ever they [The Commissioners.] will do ye Adventurers of ye late Companie right in matters of their Estates; that have so violently endeavoured to do them wrong in their Honours and Reputations, having intended, as themselves wright, a Reformation and Correction of the Originall Court bookes of ye late Companie, then possessed by them, if they could have gott into their hands certayne copies of them which Mr Nicholas Ferrar late Deputy, had at his owne charges caused to be transcribed. But before their severe order came to him, he had delivered his Copys to the Earle of Southampton :—who sent the Commissioners word that he would as soone part with the evidences of his Land as with the said Copies; being the evidence of his honour in that service: so by this meanes have the Originall Court-bookes yet escaped purging :—And with all duety wee humbly beseech your Lordships that they may hereafter be protected from it. And that howsoever your Lordships shall please for the future to dispose of the Companie, that the records of their past actions may not be corrupted and falsified.

The copy of the second volume, as we have seen, was attested on June 19, 1624; the order on Ferrar issued on June 26; the commission sealed on July 15; the Earl of Southampton began enlisting troops in England to fight against Spain early in June, and about August went over to the Netherlands, where he died on November 10, 1624. So it seems that these copies must have been placed in his hands after June 19 and before June 26, and that his answer was sent the commissioners after July 15 and before August, 1624.

The second contemporary account is found in "*A Short Collection of the most Remarkable Passages from the Originall to the dissolution of The Virginia Company.*—London. Printed by Richard Cotes for Edward Husband, at the Golden Dragon in Fleet Street. 1651." This date—"1651"—is the only date in the whole tract; but the manuscript was originally written at an earlier date, probably between 1635–45, by Mr. Arthur Wodenoth, evidently in the interest of Sir John Danvers, and for some special purpose. It was not published, however, by the author, but was placed by Mr. W. Wodenoth, the author's cousin, into the hands of

some one, who signs the preface with the initials A. P. It was this person who had the manuscript published in 1651, and it was not revised (corrected, dates supplied, etc.) as Wodenoth requested.

. . . It may not be unfit in this place to call to mind some speciall acts of Sir John Danvers, wherein he took opportunity faithfully and kindly to serve his worthy friends. One whereof was this, that shortly after the judgment against the *Virginia* Company, one Mr. Collingwood came to him, recounting his acknowledgement of great obligations for recommending him to the place of Secretary to the *Virginia* Company, which was growing every day more valuable in case it had been happily continued: and at the same time acquainted him, that three Merchant men, one after another had been with him at his house, commending his parts and abilities for imployment, and much pittying his case to be now destitute of meanes for the maintenance of him and his family but concluding in a subtil & soothing way, that as he might perceive the King's displeasure against the Earl of Southampton and Sir E. Sandys, so would he gain imployment and great benefit to himself for all the days of his life, by saying or discovering ought of their transactions, or otherwise, that should bring any ill reflection upon their persons. When his answer was—That he knew nothing but honor and justice in their ways, nor upon any terms would bee drawn to such unthankfulnesse, as to offer the least matter against them. It is true (said he) they mentioned nothing relating to yourself (which he thought was forborn in regard of the particular relation and obligation he had to him) . . Nor could Mr Collingwood think it possible openly to detect and convinct those Merchants of this wickedness; because they came singly unto him, and by the same knavery would deny their attempts, but that this only was to be taken as a caution against such kind of base insinuation.

Sir John Danvers asking further, whether there was any of relation to those affairs that might be tempted to such Villany:—he answered there was an indigent person, whom he had made use of to write and make entries for his assistance, whose handwriting and intelligent apprehension had caused him to be sent for divers times to Southampton House, and employed in dictates by that Earl and Sir Edwyn Sandys, and he being of unsettled or loose life, might possibly be drawn to serve the turns of Malevolents, etc.

Sir J. Danvers took speedy course to ingage him for a long time, most whiles lockt up in a chamber, til he had fairly copyed the Leiger-Court books of all the main transactions of the Company of Virginia, accordingly attested for true copies, and then encouraging him into the country to see his friends, giving him a part of reward for his pains, and obliging him to come to him again for the remainder, by which meanes he kept him wholly out of the way and from temptation. And as soon after as he could speak with my Lord of Southampton, carryed him the said authenticall copies, declaring the information of Collingwood, and that having sometimes heard of a great governing court Lady, who was desirous to dispossess a female Heir that had married a young gentleman, as to make her eather a wife to a creature or attendant of her owne, and after working somewhat in diverting their affections, each from other, a legall prosecution was had to disprove the marriage, which not-with-standing was affirmed by all sorts of circumstances and witnesses, yet by corrupting a Register, who in his entries put a negative for an affirmative, He that was Judge of the cause, *secundum allegata et probata*, expressed on the Registry, declared a nullity of the former marriage, whereby

the heir was remarried to a second person. This, said, Sir John Danvers, gave him to consider how the malice against the Earl, etc., failing in all other inventions, might possibly in like manner corrupt the records of The Virginia Company, getting them, as they did not long after into their custody and power. Wherefore he presented his Lordship with those true copies to be alwaies ready for his justification.

The Earl was so affected therewith that he took Sir J. Danvers into his arms with very great thankfulnesse, saying—Who could have thought of such a friendship, but Charles Danvers his brother, who was the truest friend that ever man had? and thereupon calling his kinsman, Mr Wriothsley chiefly entrusted by him, declared the whole discourse, and in conclusion said, Let those books bee carryed and safely kept, at my house at Tichfield, they are the evidence of my honour and I value them more than the evidence of my lands.

The foregoing account is written "in a subtil and soothing" way, and I doubt if it be strictly accurate. The evidence that Nicholas Ferrar, Jr., and not Sir John Danvers, had these copies made, seems to me to be very strong, if not conclusive. And this account is in several other ways confusing. For instance, the copying could not have begun "shortly *after* the judgment against the Virginia Company"; because the first volume was attested on January 28, several months *before* the said judgment, and the second was completed on or before June 19, only three days *after* the said judgment. Mr. Arthur Wodenoth, who is said to have been the original author of this document, was a constant friend to the poet George Herbert, whose eyes he closed at death, and whose executor he was.

The third contemporary account is found in the "*Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Nicholas Ferrar.* By P. Peckard, D.D., Master of Magdalen College, Cambridge. MDCCXC." These memoirs are based on *The Complete Church of England Man exemplified in the holy Life of Mr. N. Ferrar.* Written by his brother and predecessor in the office of deputy treasurer, Mr. John Ferrar. The date of this original manuscript is not certainly known, but it was probably written about 1654. The author of it died in 1657.

. . . He [Nicholas Ferrar] did not therefore depend upon the present promising appearance of their [The Virginia Company] affairs: he knew that malice was at work; and he had frequently seen a temporary calm precede the most destructive storm. Being under apprehensions of this sort, about a year before the dissolution of the Company, he procured an expert clerk fairly to copy out all the court books, and all other writings belonging to them, and caused them all to be carefully collated with the originals, and afterward attested upon oath by the examiners to be true copies. The transcribing of which cost him out of his own pocket above £50.; but this he thought one of the best services he could do the Company.

When the Lords of the Council therefore had (as before related) seized the originals, Mr. Ferrar had all these attested copies, as yet unknown to any of the company safe in

his possession. But now when the Lord Treasurer [Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex] had procured sentence in form against the company, and all their muniments had been taken from them, Mr. Ferrar informed Sir Edwyn Sandys and some other of his most intimate friends, what a treasure he had yet remaining in his hands; and desired their opinion how he might best dispose of them. On hearing this they were equally surprised and overjoyed, and unanimously desired him to carry them to their late worthy Governor the Earl of Southampton. He did so, and farther told his Lordship, that he now left them entirely to his Lordship's care and disposal: that if hereafter there should be opportunity, he might make use of them in justification of his own, and the late Company's most honourable and upright proceedings.

The Earl of Southampton cordially embracing Mr. Ferrar, said to him:—You still more and more engage me to love and honour you. I accept of this your present, as of a rich treasure, for these are evidences that concern my honour. I shall value them therefore even more than the evidences that concern my lands: inasmuch as my honour, and reputation are to me of more estimation than wealth or life itself. They are also the testimonials of all our upright dealings in the business of the late Company and the plantation. I cannot therefore express how highly I think myself obliged to you for this instance of your care and foresight.

Soon after this interview, Lord Southampton was advised not to keep these books in his own house, lest search should be made there for them; but rather to place them in the hands and entrust them to the care of some particular friend. Which advice, as the times then stood, he thought proper to follow. He therefore delivered them into the custody of Sir R. Killegrew, who kept them safely till he died. He left and recommended them to the care of Sir Edward Sackville, late Earl of Dorset, who died in May 1652: and it is hoped that this noble family still hath them in safe keeping.

The Rev. Mr. Peckard, writing about 1790, makes the following note on this passage. "On application to the Duke of Dorset, his Grace with the utmost liberality of mind, and most polite condescension directed his library to be searched for this manuscript. The search was fruitless; but some detached papers were found which his Grace most obligingly sent to me," etc. However, they had no bearing on the copies in question. I doubt the transfer to the Earl of Dorset, although he was a leading member of the Sandys-Southampton party in the Virginia Company, not only because no trace of them was found in the library of that noble family; but also, as the volumes were bought by Colonel Byrd of Virginia directly from the executors of the Southampton estate in England, the inference is that they were kept at Tichfield from 1624 until they were sold to Byrd. I also doubt the accuracy of the assertion in this last account, that the earl transferred the volumes to the custody of Sir R. Killegrew, because Killegrew was a member of the commission from which we are told the manuscript was to be especially concealed.

The last account places the delivery of the copy to the Earl of Southampton *after* "all their muniments had been taken from them"—while

the first account places it "*before* their severe order," etc.; but it agrees in the main question with the first account, and not with the second. Of course, it is possible, though not probable, that there were two sets of copies, the one made for Ferrar, and the other for Danvers, and that both sets were given to the Earl of Southampton, who received them with very similar words of thanks; or it may be that Ferrar and Danvers were jointly interested in having the same copy made.

Henry, third Earl of Southampton, and last treasurer of the Virginia Company of London, was succeeded by his son Thomas Wriothesley as fourth earl, who inherited the copies in question. He also succeeded his father as a member of the council for New England, and was present at the meeting on April 25, 1635, at the Earl of Carlisle's chamber, Whitehall, when the declaration for the resignation of the great New England charter was issued. In 1641 he was sworn of the privy council to Charles I. In November, 1647, the king took refuge in his house at Tichfield, and it may be that these volumes were then looked over by that unfortunate monarch. On January 30, 1649, at the execution of Charles I., Lodge says: "Southampton was perhaps the very last of the faithful servants who were torn from his royal person." He remained in England in peace and safety during Cromwell's time. And on the restoration, Charles II. invested him with the order of the garter, appointed him lord high treasurer, member of the privy council of England, and one of the council for foreign plantations. He died May 16, 1667, at Southampton house near Holburne (where the court of the Virginia Company of London had frequently met in former times), and was buried at Tichfield. He left no male heirs. Elizabeth Lady Noel, his eldest daughter, inherited Tichfield; his second daughter, who married secondly the unfortunate Lord William Russell, is known in history, to which her life contributed a beautiful page, as "the Lady Rachel Russell;" his third daughter married, *first*, Joseline Percy (the eleventh and last Earl of Northumberland of that noble family), and *secondly*, Ralph, Earl of Montagu, whose town house occupied the present site of the British museum.

Sometime after the death of the fourth Earl of Southampton, the manuscript volumes were sold by the executors of his estate (probably for the benefit of the aforesaid daughters and co-heirs) to Colonel William Byrd for sixty guineas. The exact date of this sale is not known. The purchaser is known as "Colonel William Byrd the first of Virginia." He was born in London in 1652, and first came to Virginia in 1671, when he was probably too young to take an interest in such things. He married

about the year 1673, Mary, daughter of Colonel Warham Horsmanden, a great-grand-nephew of Sir Thomas Smith, the first treasurer or governor of the Virginia Company of London. I infer that this family alliance had an influence on the purchase, and that it was made after his marriage, while he was on one of his visits to England between 1673 and 1688. The first American owner of these volumes died at his seat "Westover" in Virginia, on December 4, 1704, and left them to his son Colonel William Byrd the second, who was born on March 28, 1674, and died on August 26, 1744. He is alluded to by the Rev. William Stith the historian as "The Honourable William Byrd, Esq.," and his volumes (the originals of which, and these copies thereof, were prepared under the direction of "the opposite party" to his ancient uncle Sir Thomas Smith) were used very vigorously by Stith in his history of Virginia, against his said ancient uncle's administration of the Virginia enterprise from 1607 to 1619.

The first reference to these volumes in an American book is found in the preface to the aforesaid history, which was written by Stith at Varina in Virginia, on December 10, 1746.

"But I must confess myself most endebted in this Part of my History, to a very full and fair Manuscript of The London Company's Records, which was communicated to me by the late worthy President of our Council, the Honourable William Byrd Esq. . . . As these Records are a very curious and valuable Piece of the Antiquities of our Country, I shall give the Reader an Account of them, which I received many years ago in conversation with Col. Byrd and Sir John Randolph. . . . This copy was taken, by *the order*, [?] and for the Use, of the Earl of Southampton, the company's Treasurer at that time. . . . They were carefully preserved in the family. . . . After the Death of that Earl's son, the *Duke* [Earl] of Southampton (the worthy Partner in the Ministry with the Earl of Clarendon, after the Restoration), which happened in the year 1667, the late Col. Byrd's father, being then in England, Purchased them of his Executors, for sixty guineas."

The volumes were inherited from his father by Colonel William Byrd the third, who was born September 6, 1728, and died January 1, 1777. Some years before his death he lent them to Colonel Richard Bland, who died October 26, 1776. When Bland's library was sold, it was purchased by Thomas Jefferson, and these volumes came to Jefferson with that library, as the following extract from his letter of October 4, 1823, to Colonel Hugh P. Taylor, will explain:

". . . The only manuscripts I now possess (relating to the antiquities of our country) are some folio volumes; two of these are the proceedings of the Virginia Company in England. . . . The account of which you will see in the Preface to Stith's History of Virginia. They contain the records of the Virginia company, copied from the originals, under the eye, if I recollect rightly, of the Earl of Southampton, [?] a member

of the company, bought at the sale of his library by Doctor [?] Byrd of Westover, and sold with that library to Isaac Zane. These volumes happened at the time of the sale to have been borrowed by Colonel R. Bland, whose library I bought, and with this, they were sent to me. I gave notice of it to Mr. Zane, but he never reclaimed them. I shall deposit them in the library of the University [of Virginia], where they will be most likely to be preserved with care."

Isaac Zane represented Frederick county, Virginia, in the Revolutionary conventions of 1775 and 1776. I do not know when Colonel Byrd's library was sold and purchased by him. The volumes were entered in the catalogue of the Westover library as "Records of the Virginia Company, two vols. folio." Thomas Jefferson died on July 4, 1826, and in the course of time these volumes passed through the hands of his heirs to the library of congress, where they now are.

As certain copies of the foregoing original copies have been almost invariably confused with these originals, in order to make this sketch complete it will be necessary to give a brief account of them. They were made for Colonel Richard Bland from Colonel Byrd's volumes, and passed to his son Theodorick Bland of Cawson's, the grandfather of John Randolph of Roanoke, to whose hands they finally came. It is probable that these copies should have passed to Jefferson with the Bland library, and that the original copies, which should have gone to Zane, were sent to him by mistake.

This Bland-Randolph copy is written in the clear and plain handwriting of the eighteenth century. The first volume begins at "A quarter Court held for Virginia at Sir Thoˢ Smith's house in Phillpot Lane, 28 of April 1619," embraces the proceedings to "3 July 1622," and ends on page 635. The second volume begins with a court held "17 July 1622," embraces proceedings to "7 June 1624," and ends on page 489.

The Bland-Randolph volumes were used by John Burk when writing his *History of Virginia* in 1804; and he refers to them in his preface thus: "*Chance* has thrown in my way two large manuscript volumes containing the minutes of the London Company." He frequently refers to them in the course of his work as "*MS. penes me*," and was under the erroneous impression that he had the original copies before him.

Hening in his *Statutes at Large*, vol. i., p. 76, *note*—written about 1809—was also under the impression that these copies were the original Byrd copies which had come into the possession of Randolph. He says: "The late John Burk, Esq., who had completed three volumes of the *History of Virginia* when he was snatched away by a premature death, was favored with the use of these manuscripts by John Randolph Esquire, into

whose hands they had fallen." Burk's reference to "*Chance* throwing the books in his way," was a curious acknowledgment to make to John Randolph of Roanoke.

Owing to Randolph's numerous wills and codicils these MS. volumes seem to have been thrown into abeyance. In a codicil written in 1826, he bequeathed them "to the Master and Fellows (and their successors) of Trinity College, Cambridge, Old England, the first college of the first University of the World." In a codicil of 1831 he left his "library to his niece E. T. Bryan." He died May 24, 1833. The volumes were still in the library at Roanoke on Wednesday, January 11, 1843, on which day the late Hon. Hugh Blair Grigsby examined them, and described them in his diary: "The handwriting is in good style and the ink black enough for all purposes. The second volume has the name of Samuel Perkins of Cawson, written on the inside of the board." Mr. Grigsby also mentions these volumes in a letter about this library which was published in *The Southern Literary Messenger* for February, 1854. Like Burk and Hening he regarded them as the original Byrd copies. He says that they "were substantially bound in vellum," and "passed through the Blands to M^r^ Randolph, I presume, as they bore the book plate of Cawson's." Randolph's library was sold in 1845, but these volumes remained in the hands of his friend and executor, the late Judge William Leigh.

On June 22, 1868, the late Hon. Conway Robinson of Washington, D. C., wrote to the late Mr. Charles Deane of Cambridge, Mass., as follows: "Many years ago, I read the MS. volumes in the Library of Congress which had come from Mr. Jefferson. . . . Afterwards Judge Leigh deposited with me the volumes which came from Mr. Randolph. . . . The handwriting of these volumes is clear and distinct, very different from the handwriting of the volumes in the Library of Congress." On June 26 Mr. Robinson went to Richmond, Virginia, where the Randolph volumes then were, examined them, and on July 1st wrote Mr. Deane a full description of them. In 1872 Mr. Deane came to Richmond and saw them himself; but where they now are I do not know.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENT

LETTER OF LUZERNE TO JEFFERSON

Within two years of the close of the Revolutionary war there was a complete shifting of the scene of war from the north to the south. Boston had early to be abandoned by the British; Philadelphia, later, had been taken and again evacuated, without much purpose in the one act or in the other, and with certainly no serious consequences to the American cause in either case. The blow at New York had told with lasting effect; but it failed to be of much use in that other and more skillful manœuvre which had for its object the severance of the colonies by the possession of the Hudson river from mouth to source.

While Washington still hovered about the Hudson and kept the British hemmed in within New York, Clinton began to think of carrying the war into the south, and Cornwallis was dispatched on the errand. This necessitated a movement in the same direction on the part of the patriots, and the question was, Who should match so important an officer as the English general? Who but one who had already accomplished so brilliant a feat at the north? Burgoyne had been captured by him; who should doubt but that Cornwallis must be his next victim? True, General Gates had not come out of the Conway cabal with the brightest of colors. But still the glamor of the success at the north had not been quite extinguished, and Gates was appointed to the chief command at the south. The battle of Camden finally and forever dissipated the poor weak man's factitious glory, and nothing now stood in the way of appointing Washington's first choice for commander in the south. General Greene succeeded the eliminated Gates, and his splendid generalship, aided by the bold and successful exploits of the subordinates whom he knew how to employ most effectively, soon changed the face of things in the south. Cornwallis was manœuvred out of South Carolina and out of North Carolina, and early in 1781 changed his field of operations to Virginia.

Now came the dark hour before the breaking of the day. Lafayette was intrusted with the command in this state, but his forces were altogether inadequate to cope with those of Cornwallis. It was to his exceeding great credit, not that he fought battles and won victories, but that he so skillfully avoided battle and managed to escape capture. But when his forces were so insufficient as to make this policy the supreme wisdom, and the

state was so weak that its own militia could not swell the patriotic army for its proper defense, it may be imagined that the march of the British hither and thither through the state was marked by the waste and the ruin wrought by the sword and by fire.

Thomas Jefferson was governor of the state at this harrowing period. At four several times during the spring of 1781 governor and legislature were compelled to fly precipitately from the localities where they were in session. The governor's country seat at Monticello was marked for attack, and Jefferson himself nearly captured there. Another of his estates, on the James river, was desolated by the enemy, who destroyed all the growing crops, all the barns, killing the colts, and carrying off all the horses and twenty-seven slaves. Such things were done as part of a deliberate plan of campaign, and surely the burden of war pressed heavily and painfully upon the devoted state.

But she was not forgotten. Plans were maturing in Washington's mind upon which the situation of affairs in Virginia had a most vital bearing. The alliance with France was coming to be of a more practical utility than it had manifested before; and the aid expected from that quarter was intended to relieve especially the distressful condition of the south. This was not only Washington's intention, but it appears from the letter which we subjoin that the very troubles at the south had served to stimulate the sympathy and generosity, and withal to promote the promptness, of the French king, or government. In the midst of his distress, Thomas Jefferson received from the Chevalier de la Luzerne, envoy of Louis XVI. to the United States, these encouraging lines:

PHILADELPHIA, *June* 4, 1781.

SIR,

Unavoidable obstacles have prevented the dispatching of our second division at the time when it had been purposed to send it. I can not enter just here into a detailed account of the reasons for this change in our plans; but I have done so in part to Congress, and that body, notwithstanding the hurtful effect this may have upon the campaign, could not refrain from appreciating the wisdom and prudence of the King in the part which he has pursued. We await however some reinforcements; but they are in no sense equal to what the King's friendship towards the United States has induced him to do to make up for this delay in the plans previously arranged; he has granted them a gratuitous subsidy the disposition of which has been left to Congress. Mr. Robert Morris, Superintendent of the finances, has been charged to consider the gradual application which he shall make of it to the needs of the army of the South. For the rest, Sir, although I can not enter into the detail of the plans which are to be adopted for the assistance of the United States, I can assure you that they will be efficacious, that the King is firmly resolved to aid them to the full extent of his power, and that if they will on their side make efforts to resist the enemy some time longer, they may count confi-

dently upon a happy issue of the glorious cause for which they are striving. I can assure you, moreover, that the calamities and peril of the Southern States furnish an additional motive for His Majesty to redouble his interest in their behalf, that his affection derives therefrom additional stimulus, and that the event will prove that they are perfectly justified in not allowing themselves to be discouraged by the difficulties of the present juncture.

I have the honor to be, Sir, with the most sincere and the most respectful attachment,

Your Excellency's Very Humble
and Very Obedient Servant,

de la Luzerne.

His Excellency
Governor Jefferson.[1]

This certainly is a letter full of noble encouragement to struggling patriots in a glorious cause; replete with assurances of deep interest not only, but profound and affectionate sympathy on the part of the writer's royal master. Indeed it is all so very fine that we are inclined to regard it merely as the high-flown courtesy of diplomatic correspondence, in a language where fine words are easily uttered, flowing glibly from tongue or pen without a necessary connection with inward sentiment. The very man to whom they were addressed stood aghast a few years later at the spectacle of horrible oppression directed in the name of this same king against his subjects. How could a cause really seem glorious to him which, if it had become that of his own people, would have hurled him from his throne; and which, when the infection of its example had at last struck France, not only hurled him from his throne but brought him like a felon to the scaffold? At any rate his words of encouragement were wise and sound. The event did indeed soon prove that with a little more perseverance, a little longer holding out against the enemy, the happy issue of the glorious cause was assured. But it was due largely to the fact that the fine words were preceded by the more material encouragement afforded by the arrival of that "second division" announced at the beginning.

In 1780 Count de Rochambeau with some six thousand troops had arrived from France, had landed in Rhode Island, and had there intrenched himself in fortified quarters, awaiting whatever plans should be made for the use of his contingent. The "second division" consisted of some three thousand more troops, besides a powerful fleet under Admiral De Grasse. Here entered a new and important element into the warfare

[1] The original of this letter is in the possession of the well-known autograph collector, Mr. Walter Romeyn Benjamin, of 28 West 23d St., New York, by whose courtesy we are enabled to present herewith a facsimile of the last page.

de la glorieuse cause qu'ils défendent.
Je puis d'ailleurs vous assurer que les
calamités et le danger des états
méridionaux sont un motif de plus
pour S. M. de redoubler d'intérêt
en leur faveur, que son affection en
reçoit de nouvelles forces et que
l'événement prouvera qu'ils étoient
parfaitement bien fondés à ne pas
se laisser décourager par la difficulté
de la conjoncture présente.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec le plus
sincère et le plus respectueux attachement

Monsieur

De Votre Excellence

très humble et très
obéissant serviteur

Le Mis de la Fayette

of the American Revolution. D'Estaing had been over before, but the joint operations of the American land forces and the French fleet had been mainly signalized by magnificent defeats, both at Newport in the north, and Savannah at the south. Things were now in a somewhat different shape. Washington was to conduct the joint operations himself, and the French army and navy officers were very much better men. Barring those two dismal and sporadic occasions, the American army never had had before the chance for a combination with a navy. The patriots simply had no fleet, while the enemy had the best in the world. But now conditions were reversed. Washington not only had a fleet at command, but it was so good a one, and the English as the result of some blunder were at such a disadvantage in this respect just at this juncture, that the Americans actually enjoyed the supremacy of the sea at the moment.

Events were therefore ripe for the culmination of the war. Cornwallis having had the free range of all Virginia, toward the close of the summer of 1781 carefully withdrew into a *cul de sac*, with broad waters on nearly all sides of him, and a narrow strip of land in front, which the alert Lafayette was not slow in occupying and fortifying. Next Washington and Rochambeau came down from the north. It was a long distance from which to strike so true a blow, but the aim had been carefully calculated, and the vital point was not missed. On October 19, 1781, Lord Cornwallis surrendered Yorktown.

It was by a number of delicate concatenations of circumstances that this fortunate result was brought about. In the first place, it required a graceful and cordial submission on the part of the proud French noble, Count de Rochambeau, to the conditions under which he was appointed to the command of the French contingent in America—that he act in all matters not only in concert with but under the orders of the American commander-in-chief. It was a striking—shall we not say a providential?—circumstance again that the French officers among themselves gracefully yielded points of supremacy in rank. De Barras, who commanded the squadron which had brought over Rochambeau in 1780, although the senior of De Grasse, declared that in this campaign he would waive all personal consideration, and serve under the latter's orders. The three thousand troops landed from De Grasse's fleet in order to assist Lafayette to coop up Cornwallis in Yorktown were commanded by the Marquis de Saint-Simon, who was Lafayette's superior in the French army; but, without a word of objection, he yielded obedience to the young major-general, because he was in the American service. Frictions between these various officers might have ruined the whole scheme, so much depended

upon harmony. At the same time Rodney, who alone could have defeated the superior French fleet, went away to England, so that the English ships who sought to dispute the possession of the Chesapeake were utterly routed. And Cornwallis's position would have been entirely tenable, and even advantageous, had the English retained their usual supremacy in American waters.

Yet with all these other circumstances there was need to combine a very important one, and that this was present may have been due to the letter under consideration. The perseverance and courage of the people of Virginia was an element contributing to the glorious result. Had they failed to antagonize Cornwallis, or to side with Lafayette's endeavors, the English general would not have been so completely reduced at last to the single and difficult position he was made to occupy on Virginia soil. It was indeed as Luzerne wrote. He could not display all the plans of operation which were to make the king's troops efficacious. But it was a fact that, "with all his power," his majesty was aiding the cause of the colonies. There was a large and finely equipped army under Rochambeau. The fleet of De Grasse consisted of twenty-eight ships of the line and six frigates; it carried seventeen hundred guns, and twenty thousand men. Who shall say that it was not this assurance of sympathy backed so very substantially which induced the people, already so greatly tried, to "resist the enemy a little longer"? Thus they could heed the injunction not "to let themselves be discouraged by the difficulties of the present juncture." And taking all the circumstances together, the king's envoy was justified in assuring the afflicted and struggling colonists, in the name of his master, "that they might count confidently upon a happy issue of the glorious cause for which they are striving." Sooner than any one dared to hope this prophecy was fulfilled.

California in the Civil War[1]—In Mr. Norton's "United States in Paragraphs"—Magazine of American History for January, 1893, p. 62—is a reference to the 15,725 soldiers furnished by California in the civil war. In this I find the statement that these troops "were mainly employed as home guards to repress Indian outbreaks." I am convinced that a more careful examination of the historical evidences pertaining to that period in the history of California will leave a different impression than that afforded by the "Paragraphs," and that the following facts will be conspicuous: California's regiments were not taken away from the Pacific coast, for the sole reason that secession was rife in every direction in this then remote quarter of the national domain. The War Department was not only afraid to take any loyal soldiers from this coast, but it also kept a portion of the regular army here. California, very largely made up of Southern men, was by no means a safely Union state. And as went California, so would go the entire Pacific coast. Early in the war a well-organized conspiracy to take the state out of the Union was frustrated—the seizure of the forts and arsenals having been all carefully arranged for. It was due to the *constant vigilance* of these same soldiers that civil war did not make its appearance in California. With the loss of California to the Union, with its gold as sinews of war, who can say the war would not have resulted differently?

It is true these regiments were engaged in arduous Indian campaigning, in a field of operations extending from the British Columbia line to the Rio Grande, and as far east as Salt Lake, rendering most important service in the westward march of civilization. This service was obscured, if not wholly lost sight of, owing to the critical events which were transpiring elsewhere. But all this was only incidental to the main object of keeping California in the Union at all hazards.

A Lost History of New England—When the Rev. Cotton Mather was engaged upon his monumental work, the *Magnalia Christi Americana*, he had the advantage of using a history which is inaccessible to investigators of this day. This was the *Annals of God's Blessing of N. E.*, written by Samuel Stow. It does not appear that this composition ever got so far as the printing press, and Mather consulted the original manuscript. Through him we learn of the existence of this history, for one; and one other proof thereof we possess, inasmuch as the court of election held at Hartford in May, 1695, took occasion to put into a resolution their thanks to the author for "his great pains in preparing a History of the

[1] Contributed by Captain F. K. Upham, U.S.A.

Annals of New England." Their gratitude unfortunately did not materialize into an offer to bear the expense of publication. It would almost seem as if the author himself despaired entirely of his production being ever reduced to book form, for he tells some one that his manuscript was arranged in "Decads"; each of which was composed of a number of sheets tied together with a ring, or loop, through one of the corners, whereby they might be suspended out of the reach of rats and mice.

This was not Mr. Stow's only venture in the field of literature; another, and equally unsuccessful one, was a work entitled *Ten Essays for Conversion of the Jews*. This was placed by the author in the hands of Judge Sewall, of diary fame. The latter sent it to Nathaniel Higginson, at London, with the expectation that some wealthy patron might be found who would defray the cost of publication in return for some fulsome dedication, as was the way of doing in those good old times. Such patron was not found, however. The following details of the author's life have recently been placed before the public:

Samuel Stow was born about 1622, probably in Kent. He may have been related to the English annalist or chronicler, John Stow. With his five brothers and sisters and their parents, John and Elizabeth Stow, he arrived in New England in 1634. He was graduated at Harvard in 1645, and in 1653 went to Middletown, Conn., where he preached for a number of years, but was not ordained, as no church was gathered until November 4, 1668, when Rev. Nathaniel Collins was ordained the first pastor of the place. For several years previous to this event there seems to have been a "troublesome difference" between Mr. Stow and the people of Middletown, or some of them, which the general court more than once took notice of. During King Philip's war he supplied the place of some ministers employed in the country service, for which the governor and council voted him an allowance. Subsequently he preached at Simsbury for about four years, but was not settled there. He returned to Middletown about 1685, where he continued until his death, May 8, 1704, at the age of eighty-two.

Fountain-heads of American History—More than fifty years ago, New York state, after thirty years of agitation of the matter on the part of the New York Historical Society, sent an agent to Europe to collect original documents, or copies of such, bearing on the history of the state. Mr. Brodhead, the agent selected, went to London, to The Hague, and to Paris. He found that he was just twenty years too late at The Hague. The archives of the West India Company had been kept complete until about 1820; then many of the papers were sold at auction, and Mr. Brodhead had to be content with what was left. Since his day many papers that beyond a question formed a part of the "lost" West India documents have come to light, and several of these, indeed, have even strayed into New York city. But the state government has not seen fit to follow up the laudable effort of 1841, and the dark caverns of many an archive-

vault in Holland, at least, to say nothing of England and France, may now be hiding from our view many facts of historical importance to one member of the American Union.

But of this indifference to historical sources all the states are equally guilty. Only of late has George Bancroft's almost pathetic appeal to his country borne fruit in a resolution in Congress looking to the purchase of the venerated historian's invaluable library, replete with original authorities illustrating the history of the republic. His own researches have indicated the direction whither we should henceforth particularly turn for important additions to our stores of knowledge. England, Holland, France, have already furnished treasures of this kind, and may yet yield greater if the mines be properly worked. But Germany should not be forgotten. A vast amount of material relative to military events of the war of American independence still lies unpublished and almost unknown in the archives of Berlin and those of the smaller German states. Most of the officers who served in the German contingent of the British army during the Revolution were men of intelligence and education, who kept journals of the events through which they passed while in this country, and which are to-day among the most valuable materials for a history of that eventful period. There are hundreds of such journals, to say nothing of the letters, reports, and other papers sent home by them during the course of the struggle.

It is to be sincerely hoped that the bill before Congress anent the purchase of the Bancroft library will become a law. Meanwhile citizens generally, and especially German-American societies, should interest themselves in securing the material above indicated, so obviously valuable, and so readily obtainable.

Papers Sent by the Pope to the Columbian Fair—In view of the connection of the occupants of the papal chair with the discovery of America, it is both graceful and appropriate that the present incumbent should be heard from on the occasion of the celebration of Columbia's feat by means of the World's Fair at Chicago. The papal contribution is in the shape of interesting historical documents, which are described as follows :

The first is a paper of 1448, which contains a statement of the northern land, or what half a century later proved to be the American continent. Pope Nicholas V. having been informed that the Christians of Greenland had been attacked by pirates, who had plundered the country and carried away into captivity many of its inhabitants, and that no priest had been allowed by the invaders to remain there, granted authority to the Norwegian prelates to ordain priests and to provide the vacant churches with pastors.

The second document is the bull of Alexander VI., *Intercætera divinæ majestatis beneplacita*, dated at Rome on the 3d of May, 1493, granting to King Don Fernando and Queen Donna Isabel, in regard to the Western Indies discovered and to be discovered the same privileges which had been granted to

the kings of Portugal in respect to the western coast of Africa.

Document No. 3 is an amplification of the same privileges.

Document No. 4 is a confirmation of the bull aforesaid, praising the discovery made by Columbus, and marking the famous division between Spaniards and Portuguese by means of a line drawn from the arctic to the antarctic poles, at a distance of one hundred leagues west of the Azores.

Document No. 5 is the brief granting Father Boyle, the priest who accompanied Columbus on his second voyage, power and authority to administer the government of the discovered islands in spiritual and religious matters. This brief is dated June 25, 1493.

Document No. 6 is a papal rescript of the early part of the sixteenth century, in which Jules II. asks of the king a kind and gracious reception for Diego Colon, the son of the great discoverer, and Bartolomé Colon, the brother of the latter, who were about to visit his majesty.

Document No. 7, dated June 7, 1526, is a brief of Pope Clement VII., addressed to Father Juan de los Angeles, the general of the Franciscan friars, praising his zeal for the preaching of the Gospel in the Indies, and granting him permission to personally superintend the said preaching there.

Document No. 8 is a letter of the same pope to Emperor Charles V., authorizing him to send to the new countries 120 Franciscans, 70 Dominicans, and 10 Jeromites.

Besides these documents, His Holiness has engaged to send two ancient charts, one of which is the famous one drawn in 1529 by Diego Ribera, Cosmographer Royal of Spain, largely from data furnished by Estevan Gomez, who in 1525 had visited the coast of the United States, and had discovered the entrance of the Hudson River.

Administrations in Alaska[1] — Alaska became Russian property about the middle of the last century, by the right of exploration and settlement, and remained as such until sold to the United States in 1867.

It is to be greatly regretted that romance and legend have so far usurped the province of history during the Russian administration as to give us a long line of officials for Alaska who never existed. As to the so-called "Russian governors," only one, Prince Marksutoff, was duly commissioned by the Russian government. All the others were merely agents of the Russian-American Company, and as such had considerable power in managing the natives, and directing the affairs of the colony. Of these agents, only one, Baron von Wrangell, the distinguished Russian explorer and naval officer, is deserving of especial mention.

Baron Ferdinand Petrovitch von Wrangell was born in Pleskau, Esthonia, December 29, 1796, and was educated in St. Petersburg. In 1812 he entered the Russian navy, and five years later accompanied a scientific expedition to Siberia and Kamtchatka. In 1820 he led an expedition to explore the Russian polar seas, and did not return to St. Petersburg until four years later, during

[1] Contributed by Laurance F. Bower.

which time he penetrated as far north as 72° 2′ north latitude. In 1825 Wrangell circumnavigated the globe, and in 1831 went to Alaska—then known as Russian America—as the agent of the Russian-American Company, where he remained till 1836. His administration was marked by very great improvements in the condition of the natives, by the making of roads, the building of bridges, the opening of mines, the erection of buildings, and many other internal improvements. He returned to Russia in 1836, and during the next year was made rear-admiral, but in 1839 he resigned from the navy to accept the presidency of the Russian-American Company. He returned to the navy in 1854, as chief director of the hydrographical department, and the next year became chief assistant to the High Admiral Grand Duke Constantine. In 1858 he became a member of the council of the empire, and in 1859 admiral and aid-de-camp to the Czar Alexander II. He died in Livonia, June 10, 1870.

Following is a complete list of the agents of the Russian-American Company, who, even though they were not so called, were practically governors of Alaska:

Grigor I. Shellikoff, at Kodiak, August 3, 1784–July 27, 1791; Alexander Baranoff, at Sitka, July 27, 1791–January 11, 1818; Captain Hagaymaster, at Sitka, January 11, 1818–1819; Lieutenant Yanovisky, at Sitka, 1819–January, 1821; M. I. Mooraveff, at Sitka, January, 1821–1826; G. Chrisstiakoff, at Sitka, 1826–1831; Baron F. P. von Wrangell, at Sitka, 1831–1836; I. A. Kooprianoff, at Sitka, 1836–1840; Lieutenant Commander A. A. Etolin, at Sitka, 1840–1845; Lieutenant Commander Tebenkoff, at Sitka, 1845–1850; Lieutenant Commander Rosenberg, at Sitka, 1851–1853; Commander Vaevotsky, at Sitka, 1854–1859; Commander Foornhelm, at Sitka, 1859–1864.

In 1864 the third twenty-years lease of Alaska to the Russian-American Company expired, and the Russian government commissioned Prince Demetrius Marksutoff as governor. He continued as such for three years, or until the country became the property of the United States.

The purchase of Alaska was due to the influence of Secretary Seward, who, March 13, 1867, concluded a treaty with the czar's government whereby Alaska was ceded to the United States for the sum of seven and a half million dollars. This treaty was ratified by the senate the 9th of the following April, and the money paid to Russia on the first day of August, 1868.

General Lovell H. Rousseau was sent to officially receive Alaska from the Russian government, and to assume control of the territory. This he did October 18, 1867. He remained in command of the troops in Alaska until he was recalled in 1868 to testify in the impeachment trial of President Johnson, when he was succeeded by General Jefferson C. Davis, who was in command until 1873, when he was ordered against the Modoc Indians in northern California. From this time until the act of congress dated May 17, 1884, by which the District of Alaska was organized, Alaska was under naval rule, the senior naval officer being commandant.

The civil government was inaugurated September 15, 1884, since which time the governors by presidential appointment have been: John H. Kinkead of Nevada, republican, September 15, 1884–September 15, 1885; Alfred P. Swineford of Wisconsin, democrat, September 15, 1885–April 2, 1889; Lyman E. Knapp of Vermont, republican, April 21, 1889.

Instantaneous Duel at the Battle of Lexington—In Hawthorne's posthumous novel, "Septimius Felton," the hero exchanges shots with a young British officer, in the course of the desultory warfare carried on upon the glorious day of Concord and Lexington. The Englishman falls mortally wounded, and dies soon afterward, and his grave is dug by the victor; whence, for the latter's benefit and to promote the characteristic and weird purpose of the novelist, proceeds a peculiar flower which shall furnish Septimius with the desired elixir of life, and make him immortal, he having a very strong objection to death.

Such an encounter, what may be called an instantaneous duel, did actually take place on that memorable day, but with fatal results to both parties. The name of the American was James Heywood, of Acton, Mass., and to commemorate this event the state of Massachusetts coöperated with the town of Acton, in 1852, in erecting a monument, a granite shaft suitably inscribed. The representative from Acton in the legislature at the time, in advocating the measure, gave the following account of the historic incident: "At Fiske's Hill, in Lexington, they had, as some thought, the severest encounter of all the way. The road ran around the base of a steep, thick wooded hill. James Heywood, who had been active and foremost all the way after the British had passed on, came down from the hill and was aiming for a well of water—the same well is still to be seen at the two-story Dutch roofed, red house on the right from Concord to Lexington, not two miles from the old meeting-house. As he passed the end of that house he spied a British soldier still lingering behind the main body plundering. The Briton also saw him and ran to the front door to cut him off. Lifting up his loaded musket, he exclaims: 'You are a dead man!' Heywood immediately said, 'So are you!' They both fired and both fell. The Briton was shot dead, and Heywood mortally wounded, the ball entering his side through this hole (holding up a pierced powder horn), driving the splinters into his body. He lived eight hours. Before he died his father asked him the question, 'Are you sorry that you turned out?' 'Father, hand me my powder horn and bullet pouch. I started with one pound of powder and forty balls. You see what is left of them (he had used all but two or three), you see what I have been about, I am not sorry I turned out.'"

The old powder horn with the suggestive bullet-hole is sacredly preserved by the town. An old slate stone was placed originally at the head of Heywood's grave, but now it lies on one side of the mound upon which the monument is erected. The following lines are inscribed upon it:

This monument may unknown ages tell
How brave young Heywood like a hero fell
When fighting for his countries liberty
Was slain, and here his body now doth lye—
He and his foe were by each other slain,
His victims blood with his ye earth did stain.

Upon ye field, he was with victory crowned
And yet must yield his breath upon that ground,
He expressed his hope in God before his death,
After his foe had yielded up his breath.
Oh, may his death a lasting witness lye
Against oppressor's bloody cruelty.

MISTAKE ABOUT GENERAL CHARLES LEE—Professor John Fiske, in a recent lecture before the New England Historic Genealogical Society, spoke as follows about this singular and not very savory figure of revolutionary times:

"It is singular how many people seem to be unaware of Charles Lee having been a foreigner. I have often been asked what was his relation to the great Lee family of Virginia, and I have even seen it stated in print that he was the father of General Robert E. Lee, a fact from which the writer seems to derive the latter's hereditary propensity to treason. He was born in Cheshire, England, and commissioned a captain at the age of eleven. This was not such an unusual thing in those days, a more remarkable instance being the act of a certain lord, who commissioned his infant daughter a cornet in his own regiment as soon as she was born, and she retained the commission until in her twenties, when she surrendered it in exchange for a pension, a contrivance which seems to have been overlooked by the present framers of pension bills. He was one of the men who were attracted to the American side in the Revolution solely by the love of adventure and the thirst for notoriety and rank. He had a variegated and adventurous career, serving during the first forty-two years of his life all over the world: in the French and Indian wars, during which he was adopted into the Mohawk tribe, and in Turkey, Poland, and Portugal. He did good service during the earlier stages of the Revolution, when he was intrusted with high commands, under the impression that he was really a great European soldier, and enjoyed the reputation of a great master of the art of war. He was given the most important subordinate commands, and the utterances of John Adams and others seem to indicate that, while Washington was appointed commander-in-chief for political reasons, the real reliance was put on Lee's supposed military talents and experience. Lee himself encouraged this idea, and strenuously endeavored to nourish the idea that he was the man to achieve American independence. But his selfish scheming and refusal to coöperate with Washington's plans, amounting to downright insubordination, was disastrous to the American arms, and his capture by the British, when he so carelessly exposed himself away from his troops, was a blessing in disguise."

ARNOLD'S RAID ON CONNECTICUT AVENGED—In the local paper of Groton, Connecticut, Mr. Austin Chester, a venerable resident of that place, tells an interesting story about his ancestors. Groton, a picturesque place on the banks of the Thames river, was the home of "Mother"

Bailey, the famous old woman who, at the time of Arnold's massacre at Fort Griswold, took off her red flannel petticoat and gave it to the fort's defenders to be used for gun wadding. Connecticut people never tire of hearing of that massacre, how the male members of the large and only Christian church in the place were cut down in the fort, and how forty widows garbed in mourning occupied desolated seats in the church on the following Sabbath. Mr. Chester intimates that the Groton massacre was finally avenged at Fayal, one of the Western Islands, by Captain Reed in the privateer General Armstrong. Much has recently been printed concerning Captain Reed and his famous battle with the British, and the article shows how it was that Captain Reed was able to conduct himself so bravely and determinedly. He came from fighting stock, and his mother's connection with the scenes following the massacre at Groton is lent an additional interest by a thread of romance running through them.

Rebecca Chester was a Groton girl, and all of her family except herself were slain at the time of Arnold's massacre in 1781. She saw that battle, and helped to care for the dead and dying. Peace came, and with it a young lieutenant of the English navy, who asked her to become his wife. She refused him, although she loved him, and when he persisted in his suit she finally told him, "I will never be the wife of an English officer." Lieutenant Reed, the young officer, then, determining to win her, threw up his commission and became an American citizen. Again he sought Rebecca, and she willingly capitulated. And so they were married. A son was born to them, to whom she gave the name of her father, James Chester. In 1814, thirty years from that time, says Mr. Chester, "that boy, then Captain James Chester Reed, stood upon the deck of the General Armstrong in the harbor of Fayal. There was within him the spirit of his mother, Rebecca Chester." The English fleet ordered him to surrender. How the British were repeatedly repulsed with a loss of 125 men, how Captain Reed finally scuttled his vessel by firing through her bottom with his "long tom," and how an Englishman wrote, "If this is the kind of men that Yankees are, the Lord deliver us!"—are matters that have been told in prose and poem. Mr. Chester makes the point, in concluding, that the Fayal battle was so destructive to the English fleet, which was on its way to New Orleans, that it never reached that port and New Orleans was saved.

Dramatic Ending of John Quincy Adams's Career—For a number of months past *Scribner's Magazine* has presented its readers with exceedingly graphic descriptions of "Historic Moments," the range covered including other countries than our own. In the March number, the event thus signalized took place within our republic, and we deem it eminently worthy of attention. The "moment" is that of the death of the "old man eloquent," John Quincy Adams, on the very spot of the later triumphs of his career, which made him a more conspicuous figure in our country's history, and has sent his name down to posterity with a more lasting

fame, than the fact of his occupancy of the presidential office over a score of years before.

The article is from the pen of the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, who was speaker of the House of Representatives at the time, was an eye-witness of the startling occurrence, and was, moreover, on intimate, and even affectionate, terms with Adams.

"On Monday morning, the 20th [of February, 1848]," writes Mr. Winthrop, "he was in his seat at the house, with his proverbial punctuality. Prayers had been offered by the chaplain. The yeas and nays had been called by the clerk, and I was proceeding to make some announcement or to put some formal question, when Mr. Adams rose impulsively—I had almost said impetuously—with a paper in his outstretched hand, exclaiming with more than his usual earnestness and emphasis: 'Mr. Speaker! Mr. Speaker!' The reiteration rings again in my ears as I write these words. But before he could explain his object, or add another syllable, his hand fell to his side and he sank upon the arm of his chair, only saved from dropping to the floor by being caught by the member nearest to him. An exclamation was almost instantly heard, 'Mr. Adams is dying!' Business was at once suspended, and the excitement and confusion which ensued can be imagined better than described. More than two hundred representatives, in all parts of the hall and from all parts of the country, were seen rising from their seats and pressing forward toward their beloved and revered associate, almost at if it were in their power to reverse the will of God, and rescue him from the power of the great destroyer.

"Few persons of equal eminence—or of any eminence—have been distinguished by such a presence at their death-scene. Fortunately there were several physicians among the members of the house. Dr. William A. Newell, afterward the Governor of New Jersey, had the seat immediately in front of Mr. Adams, and took the lead in repressing the throng, securing air for the sufferer, and rendering all the medical aid which was possible. He coöperated with others in removing Mr. Adams on a sofa into the rotunda, and thence, with but little delay, at my urgent instigation, into the speaker's official chamber.

"'This is the end of earth,' was heard from his lips, as he fell, or when he was placed on the little couch which was hastily prepared for him, with the addition, as was alleged, 'I am composed,' or, 'I am content.' But all signs of consciousness soon ceased, and he lingered, entirely insensible, until a quarter past seven on Wednesday evening, the 23d.

"I was with him during a large part of this time, and in company with my colleagues from Massachusetts and a few others, was at his side when he ceased to breathe. Neither the house nor the senate transacted any business during the three days, but adjourned from morning to morning, until the end came. The anniversary of Washington's birthday was one of the intervening days, but it was recognized with few, if any, of the customary festivities. The impending death of Mr. Adams cast a gloom over the whole city."

THE JOURNAL OF A COLONIAL SOLDIER[1]—We present below a copy of a diary of the expedition of General Amherst against Crown Point and Ticonderoga in 1759, kept by John Hurlbut, the uncle of the George Hurlbut who distinguished himself in the action at Tarrytown, an account of which was given in the MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY, November, 1890. The original is the property of Mr. Barbour's mother.

THE GIRNAL OF JOHN HURLBUT, JR.

Hartford, May, 9th—Then I marched from there to Albany, where we encamped.

Albany, May, 20th, 1759—Then we encamped there.

May, 29th—Then was old haince (?) shot to death at Albany, 1759.

June, 14th, 1759—Then we encamped there.

[1] Communicated by George Hurlbut Barbour, Allegheny, Pa.

June 17th a flag of truce came in there at half way brook between Fort Edward and the Lake.

Half way Brook, June 26—We have built a small picket fort here.

June 30th, 1759—There was a frost here and as cold as at Indian harvest time, and there was two men came in that has been prisoners amongst the indians. One taken in 1756 and other 1758 and they were 27 days passage.

July 2nd, 1759—There was 7 guard(?)men killed at the lake and 5 taken prisoners by the indians and 3 wounded.

July 3d—A cannon went from Ft Edward to the lake.

July 14th—Then we marched to the lake and encamped there.

July 16—Captain Shelding came in at the lake with his company of new recruits.

July 17th, 1759—A flag of truce came in at Lake George.

July 21, 1759, Lake George—We embarked and July 22 we land without resistance and July 23 we marched up to tiantarog write into their intrenchments.

July 27 we are making a fasen battery on side of the brestwork and droughing up the canon and mortar pieces—July 27 about midnight the French march out of fort and our men march in. The French set the fort on fire when they marched outside and destroyed all they could. We never fired one gun but they fired canon and flung bums. When the French marched from the fort, Rogers fell upon and killed a great many of them and took a hundred of them. Cabbage is very plenty and all sorts of greens which they got in the French garden. They had a fine garden large anuf to give the whole army a mess. We have not lost one man nor had one man wounded in our regiment. In the whole loss of men was 16 killed, one colonel, one ensign, belonging to the 17th regiment and 50 wounded in the siege of Ticontaroga. They had in the fort a fine stable of horses over the magazine which they blew up and killed about Fifty. The burnt up a great many guns and they left 16 canons and six mortar pieces. Ticonderoga is a very strong fort, stronger than fort Edward.

July 30—Captain Shelding died at the mills at Ticonderoga.

August 1, 1759—The French blew up Crown Point and went off.

Ticonderga, August 3—There was a man hanged here for deserting.

Aug. 4, 1759—Our army marched up to Crown Point.

Aug. 14—Captain Haul (?) died at Ticonderoga.

Ticonderoga, Aug. 25—There is about 200 men to work at the fort and has been ever since we have been here.

Sept. 1, Ticonderoga—They built a sloop here in about 16 or 18 days, so that they launched her and she will carry upward of 200 ton.

Sept. 14, 1759, Ticonderoga—They are builting another sloop hee. The other is almost fit to sail. The men are yet at work at the fort our regiment and Colonel Worster's all except a relief to guard.

Sept. 6, 1759—They fired the guns on board the brig twice round and the next day launched the sloop fired ten guns more on board the brig.

Oct. 10, 1759, Ticonderoga—The sloop sailed for Crown Point and went about two miles and fired two guns. She carries 16 guns.

Oct. 20—general amhars went to Sandy Creek and took one sloop and returned back to Crown Point. Then it snowed here at Ticonderoga.

Oct. 30—Then the brig came down from Crown Point, the redow. Our men took one sloop of 8 guns and four swiffels and brought her in at Crown Point.

Ticonderoga, Nov. 2—The Boston men ris and went off from the mills. General Lyman and his regiment went down the South bay to stop them but they did not go that way. Twenty Boston men went from Ft. Edward as far as Ft. Miller and four regulars brought them back again. The Redow came down from Crown Point here and took 1600 barrels of provisions and went back again.

Nov. 10—There was 24 canon fired here because it was the king's birthday.

Nov. 25, Ticonderoga—Then we marched over the lake and encamped there.

Dec. 2, 1759—We came into number four.

4th—We marched to Major Bellowses

5th—to Talos at the river

6th—to Montag"

7th—to Hadley new

Dec. 8th, 1759—I came home from Ticonderoga.

QUERIES

LAFAYETTE'S BODY GUARD—Where can be obtained a list or muster-roll of the body guard, or company, of about one hundred men said to have been brought over from France, armed and equipped by Lafayette at his own expense, when his services were accepted and he was appointed an officer in our army, in the Revolution? G. W. V. S.

I DESIRE information in regard to the Indian war of 1835 in Alabama and Georgia. I am very desirous of obtaining a captain's name who served in this war under Winfield Scott, in the vicinity of Lagrange, Ala. Does any one know of a muster-roll to which access can be had?

G. W. STEVENSON

REPLIES

THE OLDEST DWELLING HOUSE IN NEW YORK STATE [xxix. p. 185]—The oldest dwelling house erected in New York state may be "the old Moore house at Southhold, Long Island, New York. The tradition is that it was built in 1647, which is considered approximately correct. As early as 1673 the old Dutch commissioners dined there. It is owned now by J. H. Cochran, Esq." I copy the above from a very interesting and illustrated pamphlet by Messrs. Vanderbilt & Hopkins of New York, which contains a picture of this old house and several others. T. L. CORNELL

HOUSE OCCUPIED BY LAFAYETTE—In reply to the inquiry in March number, I would say that there is an old stone house in the village of Ringoes, Hunterdon Co., New Jersey, whose occupants claim that Lafayette stopped there for several weeks while suffering from sickness. They could not tell whether it was while recovering from his wound, or some other ailment that confined him to the house. D. E. T.

FIRST PLACE OF WORSHIP ON MANHATTAN ISLAND—The exact location of the mill in whose loft the first religious exercises were held, may not be easily determined. But there are possibly some plausible conjectures in regard to the question. The location of the fort is well known; it occupied the ground now bounded by Bowling Green, State street, Bridge street, and Whitehall street. Directly east of it were erected the stone or brick storehouses (*Winkels*) on a line running from Bridge or Stone, to Beaver or Marketfield street, about half way between Whitehall and Broad. Now, keeping on in an easterly direction we cross Broad street, and strike what is South William. But this used to be Mill street in English times, and *Molen straat* in the Dutch days. Why may not this name have been derived from the historic mill, whose loft first resounded with the swelling strains of Dutch psalmody? Later, about midway in the block (the street is only one block long), on the north side, stood the Jewish synagogue. Is it not supposable that the spot, or the actual building, may have supplied a place of worship to this thrifty race?

NOTES FROM THE HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

CONNECTICUT—At the regular monthly meeting of the New Haven Colony Historical Society, it was announced that the new building erected for the society by the son of Governor English as a memorial to his father and mother would be dedicated on June 22. Several new volumes were received. A paper was read on the "Surrender of Detroit by General Hull." The reader gave a vivid picture of the political and warlike policy of the times, with a glowing account of the circumstances which led up to and attended the surrender, and concluded with a strong appeal for justice for General Hull. The paper was published in the local paper, and has created great interest in Detroit and other western localities.

—The Connecticut Historical Society, at its meeting in February, at Hartford, listened to a paper giving an exhaustive description of the historical treasures, literary and otherwise, in its possession. An application has been made by the society to the legislature for an appropriation in order to aid it in preserving this valuable material, which is of the greatest interest to the entire state.

—At the meeting of the Fairfield County Historical Society at Bridgeport, in March, a paper was read on "Connecticut's East India Company; or, The Story of Wyoming," a graphic account of an interesting chapter in the state's history.

DELAWARE—The Historical Society of Delaware, at its session in February, took appropriate action in regard to the death of ex-Chief Justice Joseph P. Comegys, who was one of its vice-presidents.

GEORGIA—At the annual meeting of the Georgia Historical Society at Savannah, in February, General Henry R. Jackson was elected president. The reports of the various officers indicated the condition of the society, and special attention was given to the proper management of the Telfair gallery, which is under its care.

—At Macon a historical club has just been formed consisting of ladies and gentlemen. Its proposed manner of work is worthy consideration, and is described as follows: "The subject of the next meeting will be English history from the Norman conquest to the Magna

NOTE.—This department aims to present such notes of the proceedings of historical societies throughout the country as are of general historical interest, with such items of a local nature as will serve to stimulate the formation of new societies, or to encourage the activities of those already established. Thus we hope to furnish a comprehensive survey of the character of the actual historical work done by these organizations, and to indicate the growth everywhere of the historical spirit.

Charta. Each member will send in to a committee appointed for the purpose six questions on the above subject, answers attached, and from these that committee will select the most useful questions, which will be propounded at the meeting and discussed.

"The manner in which the questions will be answered is unique, and adds greatly to the interest of the occasion. The members seat themselves four or five at a table, there being about six tables, and six questions at a time, written out upon a slip of paper, are left at each table, and as soon as that table has done its best to write answers to each, the slips containing questions are exchanged, thus passing from table to table, so that, in the course of an hour or so, each group of four has answers ready to some two or three dozen questions, and then the answers are compared. Some answers may miss the mark a long distance, but the correct answer is finally made known to all."

ILLINOIS—The quarterly meeting of the McLean County Historical Society was held at Bloomington, in March, at which several characteristic papers were read, of value to citizens of the west. Among them was one on "Sports and Amusements of the Pioneers," and another related "Experiences in Crossing the Plains and in California in its Early Days."

IOWA—The board of trustees of the Iowa historical collection at their last meeting at Des Moines decided to revive their publication of the *Annals of Iowa*, a historical quarterly published by the Iowa Historical Society at Iowa City, but suspended several years ago for lack of funds. It was full of the most valuable historical materials, such as will soon be lost by the death of the old settlers unless preserved in some permanent form like this. The first number will be issued some time in February, and will contain several valuable historical papers now ready.

—There has been presented to the State Historical Society a printing press curio in the shape of a funeral notice dated February 25, 1854. The notice is by no means one of the handsomely printed announcements on a four-page leaflet of book paper, such as we see these days. On the contrary, it is on a thin strip of "proof" paper a couple of inches wide and a few inches long.

—An addition has been made to the Aldrich collection of the Iowa Historical association. It is a bronze medal of the poet Tennyson with a medallion portrait of him on one side, and the "Tennyson" in large raised letters on the other side. This medal, which was presented by Senator Aldrich to the association, was purchased by him when in London. The association has made arrangements by which it will shortly come into possession of complete files of the census bureau at Washington, from 1840 up to the present date. The census of 1840 shows that there were from twenty-five to forty slaves held in the state of Iowa, partly in Dubuque and Des Moines counties.

KANSAS—It is hoped that the legis-

lature this session will provide room in the state house for the library of the State Historical Society (Topeka). At Topeka the materials of the history of the whole state are being saved in this library. It is the most remarkable library in the country, in that it is preserving the regular issues of all the newspapers published in Kansas, and has been for seventeen years past. In all, the library contains nine thousand and fifty-four volumes of Kansas newspapers. These have been the free gift to the state by the publishers. These files alone are worth more to the people of Kansas than all the Historical Society has ever cost the state. The library not only contains newspaper files, but books, pamphlets, manuscripts, pictures, and numberless historical relics. The institution has created a world-wide interest, and has attracted gifts from every quarter, until it numbers now upwards of seventy thousand volumes. Earnest endeavors are making all over the state to induce the legislature to provide suitable quarters for this valuable historical collection. At its last meeting it received a pair of scales and weights used in weighing coins, a manuscript table of coins adopted by the New York Chamber of Commerce in 1784, and an autograph letter of Aaron Burr.

Maine—The Maine Historical Society has been promised the gift of a sword which was taken from the British brig Boxer during the naval battle between the American ship Enterprise and the Boxer, a short distance from Portland. The sword was obtained from the widow of Mr. Charles Harding, who received it from his brother-in-law, the late Captain William Cammett. The sword is a reminder of that memorable conflict that our own Longfellow has sung about, and bears the scars of active service. It will be a valuable addition to the already large group of interesting relics in the possession of the society.

—The annual meeting of the Sagadahoc Historical Society was held on January 27th. The board of officers who have served the past year were re-elected. Papers are projected on the Huguenots of Dresden, on Ferdinando Gorges, and on Arrowsic.

Maryland—At the monthly meeting of the Maryland Historical Society, held at Baltimore, March 13th, an interesting paper was read on a Columbus monument erected in that city in 1792, a description of which appeared in the *Mail*, or *Claypole's Daily Advertiser*, Philadelphia, August 22, 1792. There was a story that the monument was erected by a French gentleman, appointed a consul of France in 1778, in memory of a deceased horse of which he was very fond. But the monument bears the inscription: "Chris Colombus, Octr. 12, MDCCVIIIC;" and this would indicate clearly enough the real purpose of its erection.

At the annual meeting of the society in February, the reports of the officers showed a prosperous condition, and the library has received numerous donations of pamphlets and books. Besides the papers read before the society at the successive meetings, giving accounts of historical investigations made by the

members, it has issued two volumes of the *State Archives;* one being composed of documents connected with the colonial history of the state, and the other being the records of the *Council of Safety*, to whom was entrusted the management of the state's affairs during the Revolutionary war. These are a valuable contribution to the materials for the history of the country, and have hitherto been practically inaccessible for historical purposes.

—The Frederick County Historical Society, a notice of whose recent organization appeared in our preceding number, is enlisting the interest and attention of the citizens of that section of the state. The spirit of research has taken hold of the people, and valuable material for a historical collection has been unearthed. As time advances the treasures will accumulate, until the city of Frederick will have a historical museum of great value and interest.

—The quarterly meeting of the Harford County Historical Society was held in January last, at Bel Air. Donations in great numbers were made of documents and pamphlets. Several of these were presented by President Gilman of Johns Hopkins university. Among other curiosities donated were specimens of iron ore (probably bog ore) from a long abandoned mine on the new road from Bush to Harford station, which was worked by the Bush River Iron Company about 150 years ago. It is now filled with water. The wood-work of some parts of the machinery is still to be seen.

—The German Historical Society of Maryland held its annual meeting in Baltimore, in February. The society was presented with a German book printed in Philadelphia in 1705, twenty years after the settlement at Germantown. It had not been known that German books were printed in Philadelphia before 1735. It has been discovered that a German correspondent existed in Baltimore in 1809, and in 1830 a Baltimore gazette was printed in German. The secretary's report shows the society has gained commendation throughout the country. It has eighty members.

Massachusetts—In February the Berkshire Historical Society listened at Pittsfield to an address by Prof. John Bascom, on Mark Hopkins, prominent as president of Williams college, and one of the most representative men New England has ever produced.

—In January the Beverly Historical Society held an interesting meeting, Columbus being discussed among other topics. Steps were taken towards securing a desirable room to receive gifts and exhibit them. There is a plan to give the society a suitable place for this purpose, and a valuable and interesting collection of articles can soon be placed on exhibition.

—At its annual meeting in January, the Hyde Park Historical Society appointed a committee to get up a proper celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the town, which takes place in April, and one to arrange for lectures under the auspices of the society. One thousand volumes have been added, dur-

ing the year, to the library, and there is a prospect of getting a larger room for the society, when still further additions would be made to the library.

—The Fitchburg Historical Society, organized only a little over a year ago, has increased in membership very satisfactorily, and is on a firm basis financially. It is expected that a permanent home will soon be secured, where the society will hold meetings and have its collection of books, pamphlets, etc., safely stored and readily accessible to all persons desiring information. The amount of historical material collected during the past year (over one hundred bound volumes, over six hundred pamphlets, besides maps, manuscripts, papers, etc.), is very gratifying; mainly donated by a few persons, mostly members of the society. A few interested friends, not yet members, have kindly sent contributions which were highly appreciated.

—The Weymouth Historical Society, in response to his generous offer, noticed in the preceding number, passed the following resolution:

Whereas, Hon. Charles Francis Adams has generously offered to give the town of Weymouth a monument to commemorate its first settlement and the spot where Miles Standish fought and defeated the Indians; therefore, be it

Resolved, by the Weymouth Historical Society, that the park commissioners are requested to take such steps as they deem necessary to secure a proper site for said monument by Hon. Charles Francis Adams, and to recommend an appropriation by the town for the payment thereof.

—The Massachusetts Historical Society at its meeting in February, in Boston, was presented with a silver watch once owned by Cotton Mather and an original miniature of Increase Mather. These interesting relics were sent for presentation to the Society by Mrs. Elizabeth A. B. Ellis, a lineal descendant of Cotton Mather. In her letter Mrs. Ellis writes that the watch is "the one carried by him among the Indians, who, hearing the ticking, were frightened and thought he carried the devil in his pocket, and ran away from him. It has been handed down from one generation to another" in the family. Personal reminiscences of Bishop Brooks were then given by Colonel Henry Lee, W. S. Appleton, and C. F. Adams, who had known him almost from infancy, and who narrated several interesting facts connected with his early life, and Dr. Brooks' experience as a teacher in the Boston Latin school.

—At Franklin, the example of the Dedham and Medfield Historical Societies is stirring up the citizens to form a similar society. Several prominent men have started the movement, which will no doubt be successful.

—The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, of which Dr. Benjamin Apthorp Gould is president, is the name of the new historical association whose formation we announced in our March number under the title of the Massachusetts

Society. The name was changed as above in order to avoid possible confusion with that of the Massachusetts Historical Society. At the first stated meeting, Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis read a paper on "Historical Work in Massachusetts," giving the origin, history, and a sketch of the labors of the several societies in this state devoted to that branch of research. The announcement was also made at this meeting, of the revival of the Lady Mowlson scholarship at Harvard university. The existence of this scholarship, or, at least, the identity of its founder and the availability of the "foundation" may be said to have been discovered by Mr. Davis. The Lady Mowlson scholarship is the first "foundation" of the sort in this country, and amongst the oldest in the world, having been made in 1643. Its revival at this time comes as another link between Harvard university and its venerable past.

—In Lowell there is an Old Residents' Historical Association, which holds quarterly meetings, at which sketches are given of the lives of prominent citizens who have passed away.

—The Dedham Historical Society held its annual meeting at its Historical Building, March 1, and the re-elected officers for 1893–94 included President Don Gleason Hill and Librarian John H. Burdakin. The reports showed that the society was in a prosperous financial condition; that many bound books and historical pamphlets had been added to the library during the past year, and that its publication, the *Dedham Historical Register*, just entering upon its fourth volume, was a success. The *Register* is in every way a credit to the society.

—At its meeting in March, the Watertown Historical Society arranged for making a "Revolutionary Night" of it, by the papers and discussions presented then.

Minnesota—The State Historical Society is confidently expecting the passage of the bill through the legislature, appropriating $150,000 for the erection of a fireproof building for its use. At its session in March, a member introduced the subject of opening the library to the public Sunday afternoons and evenings. There are a great many, it was urged, who are too busy on week days to even visit the historical rooms. The question was referred to the library committee without any discussion. The society has just issued a volume entitled "The Mississippi River and its Source." In this treatise the ultimate source of the river is declared to be in a partially inclosed basin containing many ponds, lying directly south of Lake Itaska, and distant from its head about three miles. For all practical and popular purposes, therefore, Lake Itaska may continue to be known as the source of the Mississippi. The state of Minnesota has set apart the region about Lake Itaska as a state park.

Missouri—The State Historical Society was lately presented with a curious

relic of slavery times. It was a shackle once worn by a slave at Lexington, Missouri. His master had attached it to his leg, with a chain four feet long, and a weight of twenty-five pounds at the end of the chain, to prevent his running away. A humane iron founder relieved the poor negro of this painful appendage, throwing the ball and chain into a well, and keeping the shackle, which he donated to the society.

—At the regular monthly meeting of the ex-Confederate Historical and Benevolent Association held in February, at St. Louis, the treasury was reported in a healthy condition, and a member was deputed to find the St. Louisan who was with Jefferson Davis when he was captured, and invite him to give a correct account of the event at the next meeting.

Montana—The State Historical Society has among its collection over four hundred volumes of the newspapers of Montana, which some day will be of great value as a foundation for a history of the state. It has also diaries, letters of historic interest, and many manuscripts of value, in addition to volumes of historical interest. Indian relics are also to be secured. The Indian race is fast disappearing, and a few years' work in collecting and putting in form the manners and customs and legends of the various Indian tribes in Montana will be of great value at some future day.

New Jersey—The annual meeting of the State Historical Society was held at Trenton in January. Besides the election of officers, an item of general interest was the report of a committee that the die for the centennial medal which the society had adopted was finished.

New York—The New York Historical Society is arranging for the celebration, on April 8, of the two hundredth anniversary of the establishment of a printing press in the New York colony by William Bradford, the exact date of which was April 10, 1693. On the same occasion the founding of the first newspaper, the *New York Gazette*, October 23, 1725, will also be commemorated. The paper was printed on the site of the present Cotton Exchange, and it is in the main room of the exchange that the celebration will take place, its use having been tendered to the society. On the day of the celebration two tablets will be set up—one on the site of the old newspaper, and the other where the printing press stood. Beginning with April 4, some of the Bradford imprints will be on exhibition at the library of the society for two weeks.

—At the regular meeting of the Yonkers Historical and Library Association, in March, a paper was read on "The Battle of Phillipse's Bridge," an event in Revolutionary history which took place in the vicinity of the city of Yonkers.

—At the annual meeting of the Suffolk County Historical Society at Riverhead, Long Island, in February, the usual election of officers took place, and steps were taken to secure a building. The venerable local historian, the Rev. Epher W. Whittaker, read a very able and interesting bio-

graphical sketch of Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, who was a leading and active member of the society. The sketch was not only eloquent, but a tender and loving tribute from a life-long friend. A vote of thanks was tendered the reader, and the sketch ordered placed on file.

—The Rockland County Historical and Forestry Society held its annual meeting at Nyack, in February. The usual dinner was enjoyed, officers elected, and a display made of recently acquired historical relics. Rockland county is rich in historic relics and teems with history of patriotic events in this country's early struggles for liberty. It seems to be proper, then, that the objects for which the Historical Society was formed ought to receive earnest recognition from every portion of the county.

—The Historical Society of Newburgh Bay and the Highlands held its annual meeting at Newburgh, on March 1. E. M. Ruttenber, the well-known authority on the Indians of the Hudson River region, was re-elected president. Newburgh has already a place of deposit for relics of the past at Washington's headquarters, but the society is not on that account debarred from the anticipation of some day having a building of its own. At any rate the organization is doing useful work in gathering and putting into form for permanent preservation valuable records of past events in that region that would, but for its care, be irrecoverably lost. Some notable contributions to local history have already been made at the instance of this society.

—The Troy Conference Historical Society has received a valuable relic from a Baltimore (Maryland) contributor. It consists of a picture of Charles Wesley, 1708–1788, occupies one half of the space, and on the opposite side is a musical page from the *Gospel Magazine*, 1776. The framed relic is highly prized and will be placed in the archives of the society.

—A meeting of the Minisink Valley Historical Society was held in Port Jervis, in March. Interesting exercises were held, consisting of the reading of a poem written expressly for the celebration of February 22, and brief addresses by different speakers selected for that purpose, interspersed with music, both vocal and instrumental.

—The Johnstown Historical Society, at its meeting in February, received a present of great historical value—an autograph letter of Sir William Johnson, the celebrated secretary of New York colony for Indian affairs, whose home was at Johnstown.

—At the monthly meeting of the Oneida Historical Society held in February, at Utica, the librarian reported a large number of gifts to the society. The committee to whom was referred the matter of a monument to General Nicholas Herkimer prepared a bill which would be sent to Albany. It was urged that all influence be used in favor of the bill. It is entitled "An act to provide for enlarging and enclosing in a suitable manner the family burial lot upon which are interred the remains of

General Nicholas Herkimer, and also to erect thereon a monument to his memory, and making an appropriation therefor." The consideration of the proposition to admit women to membership of the society was decided favorably, and many were duly elected members of the society, the constitution being amended so as to exempt women members from the payment of annual dues.

—At the February meeting of the Rochester Historical Society, a paper was read by Henry C. Maine of more than usual interest. The subject was "An Unknown Exile," the mysterious personage who immediately after the French Revolution bought a large tract of land in Madison county, in this state, and built a chateau on a high hill in Georgetown, where he lived in strange seclusion, yet like the French gentleman that he plainly was. Mr. Maine made it clear, from a mass of evidence, that he might have been the Duke of Artois, a brother of Louis XVI. (afterward Charles X. of France), in hiding from Napoleon Bonaparte.

—It is gratifying to observe that a meeting has been held and steps have been taken for the formation of an Orleans County Historical Society.

Ohio—Among the relics in possession of the Newark Historical Society which will probably have a place in the Ohio department at the World's exposition at Chicago is the likeness of Johanna Heckwelder, the first white woman born on Ohio soil. She was born in Salem, one of the Moravian missionary stations, in Tuscarawas county, April 16, 1781. She died at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, September 18, 1868, aged eighty-seven years, five months, and two days.

—The New Century Historical Society and the Pioneer Society of Marietta have assumed the responsibility of furnishing the vestibule of the Ohio building at the Columbian exposition. Many relics and bronze tablets appropriate to the commemoration of the first settlement of the "northwest territory" will figure conspicuously in these decorations.

—The trustees of the State Archæological and Historical Society, at their meeting last evening, elected General R. Brinkerhoff of Mansfield, president, to succeed the late ex-President Hayes. It was decided to have a celebration at Greenville in 1895, on the anniversary of the making of "Mad" Anthony Wayne's treaty with the Indians. There was an informal discussion upon the question of omitting the word "archæological" from the title of the society and calling it simply the Historical Society, but no action was taken. The superintendent of Fort Ancient was authorized to make certain changes in the roads and buildings for the preservation of the property. The relics collected for exhibition at the World's fair are many and rare, among which is a silver tankard brought over in the Mayflower and used at the first communion service in this country at Plymouth. An old millstone used in the first mill in Ohio has also been loaned to the society by the Dodge family of Beverly, Ohio. Mrs. Dodge will also

furnish two remarkable dresses, one of which was worn at a ball in commemoration of the battle of Yorktown.

Nova Scotia—The Nova Scotia Historical Society held its annual meeting in February, at Halifax. The treasurer's report showed a balance to the society's credit of $426.66. Officers were elected, and a short but interesting paper, entitled "The Log of a Halifax Privateer in 1757," was read by Professor MacMeehan.

Pennsylvania—The Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania held its monthly meeting in February, at Pittsburg. A paper was to have been read on "The Beginning of Iron and Steel Manufacturing in Western Pennsylvania;" it was postponed to the March meeting. In membership and finances the society is in a most flourishing condition.

—The Dauphin County Historical Society of Harrisburg expects to celebrate its twenty-fifth anniversary on June 4.

—At the annual meeting of the Montgomery County Historical Society, at Norristown, in February, a committee was appointed to memorialize the legislature to appropriate $30,000 for the purchase of Valley Forge, and another committee to consider the purchase of historical works by local authors. A proposition was made for changing the name of the organization to Montgomery County Historical and Genealogical Society, but action was deferred.

—A list just issued by the Moravian Historical Society shows the total number of its members to be 289. Of these there are 239 members resident in Pennsylvania, 15 in New York, 7 in Ohio, 5 in New Jersey, and 23 in other states and foreign countries. Bethlehem has 129 members, Nazareth has 52, Lititz has 8, while Easton and South Bethlehem have only 4 each. The headquarters of the society are at Nazareth, in the old Ephrata house, begun by George Whitfield in 1740. The society has published three volumes of transactions, containing many valuable papers on the early history of the country. The fourth volume, now in process of publication, has articles on the Moravian settlement at Broadbay, Maine, by John W. Jordan; on the history of Nazareth, by James Henry; a historical sketch of the widows' house at Bethlehem, by John W. Jordan; and the diary of a journey from Salem, N. C., to Bethlehem, in 1815, by Rev. Gotthold Benjamin Reichel.

—The regular quarterly meeting of the American Catholic Historical Society was held in its library, in the Athenæum building, in Philadelphia, in March. From the proceedings it was learned that the society has about ten thousand works in its library, all of rare historical interest to Catholics, and during the past quarter thirteen hundred new members were elected, exclusive of about fifty enrolled at the meeting yesterday. The financial secretary reported having received since the last meeting eight hundred and forty dollars.

—At the annual meeting of the Wy-

oming Historical and Geological Society, held at Wilkesbarre, in February, the usual election of officers took place. The secretary reports to us that the handsome building erected for the permanent quarters of the society by the trustees of the Osterhout Free Library was ready for use. The trustees were appointed to arrange for a public opening of the rooms in April. The treasurer reported a completed building, permanent and free quarters, and an invested fund of eight thousand dollars.

Rhode Island—A paper was read before the Rhode Island Historical Society in Providence, in February, on Samuel Gorton, one of the early colonists of Rhode Island. Mr. Sheffield spoke of the antagonisms under which the colony was settled, and of the material which the historian found for study in the widely differing views of the people who were active in bringing about the settlement of Rhode Island. At the meeting in March a paper was read on "The World of Commerce in 1492." The paper was an exhaustive one, treating of the methods of conducting commerce in the latter part of the fifteenth century, and the limited facilities at the command of the different nations engaged in commercial enterprises.

Tennessee—The regular meeting of the Tennessee Historical Society, held in February, at Nashville, was of more than ordinary interest. This was due to the very entertaining and instructive paper read by Mr. T. M. Hurst on "The Battle of Shiloh." Mr. Hurst was not a participant, but lived near where the battle was fought, and, as a boy, witnessed the battle. His paper was a description of the battle as he saw it.

Virginia—Success attends the newly organized Richmond Literary and Historical Association, mentioned in our March number. In February a largely attended meeting of this association was held. In response to the invitations sent by the secretary quite a number of ladies were present. The constitution was read, after which the president explained the objects of the association. The names of about twenty-five ladies and several gentlemen were added to the roll. The meetings of the association will be held the first and third Tuesday of each month hereafter.

Wisconsin—A bill has been introduced in the state senate, to authorize the construction of a building for the accommodation of the collections of the State Historical Society, the library of the state university, and such other libraries as may be placed in the custody of such institutions, or of either of them. The bill appropriates two hundred thousand dollars to the university fund income, which shall be used by the board of regents of the university for the partial construction of such building, and provides that there shall be levied and collected annually, for four years, a state tax of one-tenth of one mill for each dollar of the assessed valuation of the taxable property of the state, which amount is appropriated to the university fund income, and, so far as needed, shall be used by the board of regents for the completion and equipment of such building.

EDITORIAL NOTES

There is no telling what this searching for relics of Columbus will end in. The cask in which he placed an account of his discovery, and which he then threw overboard, is as yet missing. But the Columbian Fair has not opened at the present writing, and there is still time for it to "turn up." In the meantime a journal, from the sober and truthful Quaker city of Brotherly Love, placidly informs us that one of the anchors of the Santa Maria has been discovered and is now on the way to Chicago. It was found at Cape Haytien, on Hayti, or the old Hispaniola. The Santa Maria went to pieces on the coast of that island, and this anchor has considerately concealed itself until they were ready to give it an honorable place at the Exposition.

***

It is somewhat discouraging to enter too microscopically into the details of history during periods that are usually regarded as most heroic. William of Orange encountered untold difficulties growing out of petty jealousies between provinces, cities, and religious denominations. Harrowing also beyond expression were the annoyances to which Washington was subjected by reason of sectional envy in the army and in Congress. It required all the force and fervor of the few great spirits that made such epochs heroic, to brush away the pygmies whose only power lay in annoyance, and to advance their generation up the heights of achievement of which all their contemporaries now share the renown.

True greatness attracts. Where we find it to be genuine our minds and hearts are taken captive. As Emerson has said: "It is natural to believe in great men. Nature seems to exist for the excellent. The world is upheld by the veracity of good men: they make the earth wholesome. They who lived with them, found life glad and nutritious. Life is sweet and tolerable only in our belief in such society; and actually, or ideally, we manage to live with superiors. We call our children and our lands by their names."

***

Necessarily, so recently after Mrs. Lamb's death, we come upon touching evidences among her papers of some of her characteristic traits as a literary worker. Upon one envelope covering an article she had written: "Must see Sparks," indicative of her conscientious industry. Another brief note seemed like a wail of despair from an overburdened heart or an overworked brain. It was found on an envelope containing some voluminous article, not written in the most comfortable of chirographies, and on a subject none of the liveliest. One can imagine her looking at it in a weary way, contemplating the mass of similar work pressing upon her time, with the relentless days revolving steadily and bringing around ever more swiftly the fatal "publishing day." And then comes this unhappy MS. like a block in the wheels of progress. Evidently it was too much for her, for on the envelope she wrote these significant words, speaking volumes to those who know

what an editor's vexations are: "*Don't see when I can get time to go through this.*"

***

Of General Mercer, who forms the subject of the sonnet in this number, an interesting account occurs in Hageman's *History of Princeton.* When one of the Virginia regiments was to be officered, the house of burgesses was greatly embarrassed because no applications were made except for field officers. At this juncture a scrap of paper was handed in, on which was written: "Hugh Mercer will serve his adopted country and the cause of liberty in any rank or station in which he may be appointed." Mercer was a veteran soldier, bred in European camps, highly esteemed by Washington. This evidence of modesty and patriotism led the house at once to appoint him colonel of the regiment.

***

If what we adduce below is to be entirely relied on, we seem to get important light on a very interesting question. It is among the theories which endeavor to account for the population of the American continent, that the human race swept over into it from the human beehive of Asia across that narrow channel to which the vast space of ocean is reduced at Bering strait. But it has been earnestly contended that even this theory must fail, because the crossing of Bering strait is impracticable except in vessels much beyond the arts of primitive times, and that as the strait was never closed up by ice, it could not have been crossed in that manner. A recent graduate of Hanover College, Indiana, Mr. W. T. Lopp, went out to take charge as teacher of a mission school at Port Clarence, Alaska. In a letter to the president of his college, dated August 31, 1892, he writes, speaking of the preceding winter: "No thaws during the winter, and ice blocked in the strait. This has always been doubted by whalers. Eskimos have told them that they sometimes crossed the strait on ice, but they have never believed them. Last February and March our Eskimos had a tobacco famine. Two parties (five men) went with dog sleds to East Cape, on the Siberian coast, and traded some beaver, otter, and marten skins for Russian tobacco, and returned safely. It is only during an occasional winter that they can do this. But every summer they make several trips in their big wolf-skin boats, forty feet long. These observations may throw some light upon the origin of the pre-historic races of America."

MISCELLANEA

An officer of the Essex Institute at Salem makes this statement regarding the objection to the proposed "Witchcraft Monument," on Gallows hill in that city: "The reason why some people object to the erection of this monument is because they do not know or do not care to know its purpose. It is not to commemorate the awful witchcraft delusion of two hundred years ago; it is not to commemorate the deaths of the unfortunate victims of the delusion. But this monument will be erected to perpetuate and commemorate the absolute extermination of the delusion. If people would only learn to look at it that way, the objection would cease."

There is a proposal to establish a state historical museum in Maryland. There is an abundance of material to make a beginning with. Among other treasures ready to hand are some flags captured from Cornwallis at Yorktown, and many bundles of pamphlets and books which have been stored away for generations in the state house cellar. A number of these books, it is stated, throw light upon the early history of the state. The senate and executive chambers and the hall of the house of delegates contain enough paintings to fill a gallery devoted to their display. In the executive chamber, for instance, there is a fine three-quarter portrait of George Calvert, first Lord Baltimore, who was secretary of state to James I. and Charles I.; another of Frederick, sixth Lord Baltimore; and one of Thomas Holliday Hicks, Maryland's war governor. A large painting in the senate chamber reproduces the surrender by Washington of his commission as commander-in-chief of the American army. It is by Edwin White. In the house of delegates is a picture of Washington receiving the terms of surrender accepted by Cornwallis. With the commander-in-chief are Lafayette and Colonel Tench Tilghman, of Maryland, and the American troops are represented passing in view. Many framed autograph letters of Washington also decorate the walls.

It is reported from Cedar Rapids, Iowa, that workmen excavating a cellar in Adams county, that state, recently came upon an interesting memento of some long-forgotten race. They struck what at first appeared to be a solid ledge of rock, or coal, and sitting down to rest, one of their number began idly to peck at an apparent fissure, when a solid block nearly two feet square disappeared with a dull thump. The men set eagerly at work, and, removing the bottom of the pit, discovered a chamber with a fifteen-foot ceiling and twelve by twenty feet in extent, the walls being of neatly seamed stonework. Ranged in rows on rudely constructed platforms were skeletons, each with a tomahawk and an arrow at his side, ear-rings and bracelets of lead lying where they were dropped, and piles of what appeared to have been furs in the centre of the platform, each pile crumbling to dust as soon as exposed to the light. A number of tools made of

copper were also unearthed, and fresh discoveries are constantly being made.

One of the oldest, if not the oldest, house in the lower section of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, is the little three-story building, No. 30 South street. The original deed of the property is still preserved. It is of parchment, and sets forth in antiquated phraseology the fact that on the tenth day of May, 1689, Josiah Wharton became proprietor and owner of the property in question. The document is signed by William Penn himself. Over a hundred years ago the building was known as the Monument house, and was a favorite resort among the British officers when the city was in their hands during the Revolution. General Gage gave a banquet in the house shortly before the evacuation by his troops, and less than a month later the same banquet hall was occupied by the officers of the colonial army, who there celebrated the recapture of the city. Early in the present century the old inn underwent a complete metamorphosis, and became a ship chandler's shop. It was next occupied as a tavern by Arthur Nugent, who continued in possession until 1865. It then became a grocery store, boarding house, china store, junk shop, and candy store in rapid succession. It is now a clothing store.

The historical committee of the United Confederate Veterans, of which General E. Kirby Smith is chairman, have had under consideration the preparing of a school or family history of the United States which shall be acceptable to southern people. The main object of the committee was to devise and suggest the best plan of securing a general history of the United States, which shall be non-partisan, but shall give special prominence to southern literature and the causes which led to the war between the states, the war itself, and the period since the war.

General Hill explained that the committee was gratified to report that several histories of the United States suitable for use in schools and academies have been written in the past few years, which, though non-partisan, deal fairly with all questions touching the south and the war between the states. This evidence that the best thought of southern as well as northern writers is now directed to this matter, encourages the hope that the long and sorely felt want of a correct history for our children will soon be, if it is not already, supplied. He also suggested that the president of this committee be requested to confer with the best-informed historical experts in the country touching the merits and demerits of such school histories as are likely to be applicants for adoption in the southern schools.

Recent Historical Publications

The French War and the Revolution, by William Milligan Sloane, Ph.D., L.H.D., Professor in Princeton university. With maps. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1893. (The American History Series.)

The second volume of this interesting and instructive series more than satisfies the expectations awakened by the first, Dr. Fisher's *Colonial Era*, noticed on p. 191 of this volume of the Magazine. It, of course, takes up the thread of history where the other dropped it, and presents two clearly marked and important epochs in our country's annals. Like two electric shocks they caused the chaotic elements of nation-building, which had been brought into unorganic juxtaposition by the progress of our colonial history, to be welded together into an organic form and union, such as resulted in national being.

The French war had to be, to make possible the Revolution and the Federation. It had to teach the colonies what they were, or could be, to each other; they were too selfishly isolated in feeling and action before, perhaps an inevitable result of their separate origin and the varying causes for their existence. The French war, too, was to remove a threatening and disturbing element from their borders, which while it remained kept several of the strongest and most influential colonies from thinking much about anybody but themselves. Imperfectly, but yet to a sensible degree, unified in action and sentiment by the war against the French and Indians; and rejoicing in the relief from threatened massacring expeditions from Canada; they were in a condition to act an independent and national part should the occasion arise therefor. The mother country, ruled by mediocre talent under a narrow-minded but despotically inclined king, stupidly furnished the occasion. The English nation rejoiced exceedingly over the conquest of Canada; by the irony of fate and the blunders of their own rulers, it was but the prelude to a far more serious loss.

This fact is brought out very clearly by the excellent little treatise before us. Concise as it is, it does not stint space for the more philosophical reflections which the subject under discussion so temptingly affords. The titles of the chapters furnish a suggestion as to the mode of treatment, which rightly attributes more importance to the political and other conditions bringing about the events of the two wars which give the title to the book, than to those events themselves. Three chapters at the beginning treat respectively of "The English People in the Eighteenth Century," "Institutions of the English Colonies," and "The English and French in North America." In the course of the last chapter the author has occasion to deal with the Indians,

which he does with some fullness, discussing a few of their personal traits, as well as their capacity for political and military combinations. There is not a very marked air of admiration running through this treatment, and as to the theory of their religious ideas, in which some people recognize a rather surprising purity and spirituality, Professor Sloane has some very unmistakable words to the contrary. "The darkest form of fetichism, which some would dignify by the name of ancestor worship, was the cement of their society, but their spiritual strivings were somewhat higher in character, being a form of nature worship. Each object had its spirit, or manitou, and among these spiritual essences were orders, some regulated by locality, some by inherent inferiority or superiority, but the prevalent notion that they had a conception of one supreme personal spirit is false."

In the transition from the one war to the other, a period of about fifteen years elapses. Professor Sloane says of it: "The years from 1760 to 1775 are among the most important in the history of constitutional government, because in them was tried the issue of how far under that system laws are binding on those who have no share in making them." We find, accordingly, that the second war period is again preceded by an array of chapters treating of the political lessons which the preparation for it furnishes. They are: "A New Issue in Constitutional Government," "The Stamp Act," "Conflict of Two Theories," "The Constitutional Revolution," and "Resistance to Oppression." Synoptical as the book must necessarily be, Professor Sloane is bound to abandon that necessity when it comes to studies of the situation; for after we have had a view of Lexington and Bunker Hill, he inserts three chapters on "Overthrow of Royal Authority," "The Movement for Independence," and "Independence and Confederation." We are, of course, all interested in battles; but possibly they have had sufficient attention, and we are not apt to overlook them at any rate. But we can hardly ever get enough of a thorough study of the political philosophy of the revolutionary period. The battles have been fought and are over; the lessons in politics and patriotism have a bearing and an application for the present and for the future. We are glad to notice that Professor Sloane has no golden opinions of the alliance with France, which indeed stood us in good stead in a supreme moment of the war, but which was made serviceable even then only by the masterful genius of Washington. Yet the adverse opinion seems to have crystallized only in the title of a chapter, "Evil Effects of the Foreign Alliance," for in the chapter itself those evil effects are to be faintly inferred rather than directly indicated.

PRIZE COMPETITION DEPARTMENT

BALLAD AND SONNET

The wide-spread interest aroused by the historical prize competition has been very gratifying. That part of the competition which seems to indicate a new departure in the shape of lighter veins of historical writing has been especially commended. The first contest of this character, that of the ballad and sonnet, closes within a month, on May 1, and contestants who have been preparing contributions in this class, and have not yet sent them in, have still a few weeks in which to give their efforts a little more polish.

A consideration of the work of our best known poets, as indeed of the entire range of American literature, discloses the fact that historical studies have seemed to inspire less in the shape of the ballad, and what may be designated as the historical sonnet, than they have in any other form of literature. Our most famous poet, Longfellow, is the one who is probably most indebted to American history for the themes of his poetry. And, indeed, the works which have established his reputation, *Hiawatha*, *Evangeline*, and *Miles Standish*, are in a remarkable degree merely what might be called poetical historical studies. This fact, from the standpoint of the historical student, might fairly seem to entitle Longfellow to the claim often made for him, that he is the most "American" of our poets.

And yet even Longfellow has done very little in the way of the ballad—founded on American history, at least—notwithstanding our national story is rich in episodes and events inviting this sort of treatment, and that this seems one of the forms of the muse easiest attainable. It is true that perhaps the best known American ballad is Longfellow's *The Ride of Paul Revere;* yet the poet never did anything else in the same line that was very remarkable.

The truth is, that almost the entire range of American history is a virgin field for the balladist, and if he cannot create something worthy, at least he cannot plead that every theme is hackneyed, and that there is no space left for the treatment of a fresh and original story. The ballad of *Paul Revere* seems rather too familiar for interesting discussion, yet it may be said that in form and method of treatment it conforms well to the traditional ballad style, of which Scott's *Young Lochinvar* is a fine example. None of Longfellow's poems are of so high and soul-stirring a spirit as the creations of many other poets, and in this respect perhaps, *The Ride of Paul Revere* is equally lacking.

Whittier furnishes us with another famous poem, which while not conforming to the traditional type so closely as *Paul Revere*, must yet be classed as a ballad. We refer to the story of *Barbara Fritchie*. This poem embalms an extremely interesting episode (which does not lose its interest, even though the story be apocryphal as regards its main facts), and is told with much spirit. And the modification of the ballad form

is perhaps a gain in this case, if it can be shown that this has helped the interest and spirit of the narrative. Another familiar and spirited American ballad, and one which also breaks away from the traditional form of the ancient examples, is *Sheridan's Ride* at Winchester. The martial spirit which pervades this creation is finely appropriate to the theme treated.

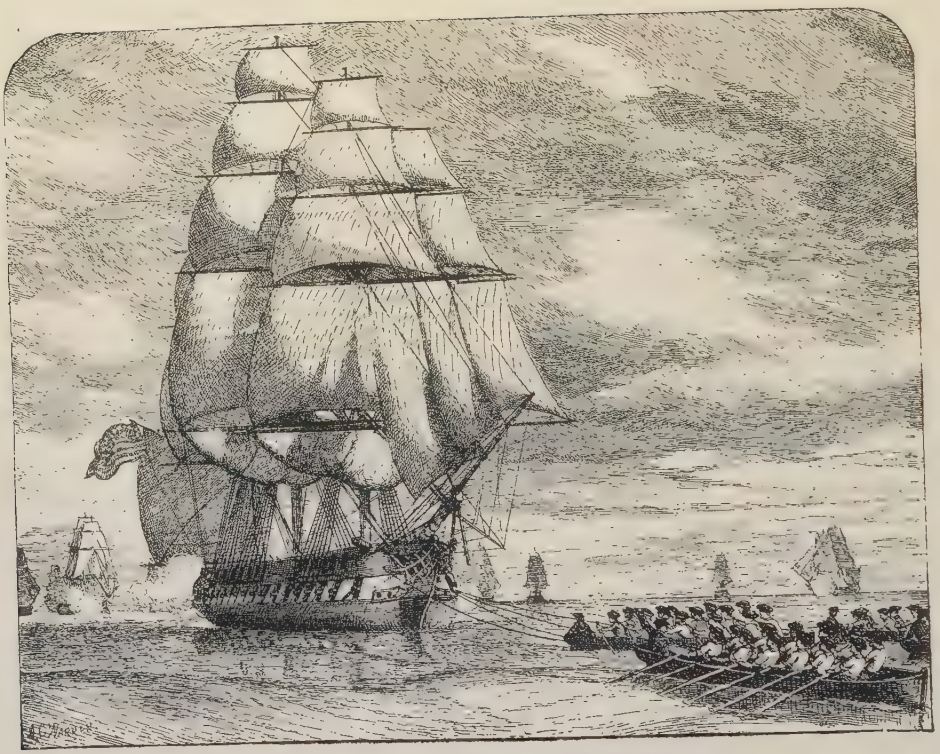
The historical sonnet requires but little specification. It is not uncommon in literature. There is many a figure in history, and many an event or principle personified, which the poet can only treat adequately in sonnet form.

No competitor should forget that the number of his contests in the different classes open to him will in no wise influence against him in the decision in any given case. All are cordially welcome to compete in every class in which they are interested. This, indeed, has been one of the main motives for fixing intervals as long as practicable between the times of closing the various classes of the contest.

As was said last month in this department, every manuscript must be received *on* or *before* the date, in the respective class in which it is entered. This rule is imperative, and authors should see that all manuscripts are forwarded in time to avoid the possibility of exclusion on these grounds.

It is also very desirable to accompany each article with a brief summary or catalogue of the various books, periodicals, or manuscripts that have been examined in the preparation of the article submitted in competition. It will be found that nothing is so potent an educative factor in making one skilled in historical work as this carefulness concerning authenticity.

In answer to various inquiries on the subject, the rule will be, that no article is eligible *which has ever been in print or presented before any organization.* It is imperative that any manuscript submitted must be prepared *originally* for this competition. We reserve remarks on the historical novel in this department until a later number.



ESCAPE OF THE CONSTITUTION.—(*See page* 438.)

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. XXIX MAY—JUNE, 1893 No. 5

THE SECOND WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN

BY JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS

GREAT BRITAIN, driven to acknowledge the political independence of the United States, even in the hour of defeat cherished hopes of a reconciliation, if not a reunion, with a part of her old colonies. In the negotiations for peace her statesmen had naturally seen the sectional jealousies of the American commissioners, and discerned in them the germs of discord which might mature to a disruption of the new western empire—a disruption from which she hoped to profit. The British ministry observed the antagonism of the different sections of the new nation to each other—an antagonism which had no place or reason under the colonial system, but was a consequence of their new condition. If all that was desired could not be wrested from Great Britain, each section was naturally tenacious of what it held to be vital to itself.

It is interesting to note in this the dawn of the republic the slight dark spot on the horizon which developed into the dark cloud of civil war —the political struggle between the northeast and the southwest; the one for a conservative limitation, the other for an unrestricted territorial expansion. In the negotiations themselves Adams alone represented an immediate vital sectional interest—that of New England in the fisheries. The communities from which Franklin and Jay came were not directly concerned except in the matter of the boundary and frontiers. Neither of these wise, patriotic men was governed by any narrow or selfish consideration. Henry Laurens, at the close, gave a discordant note in a demand for a clause prohibiting the carrying away of negroes by the British troops on their evacuation. The British commissioners were ready to grant the

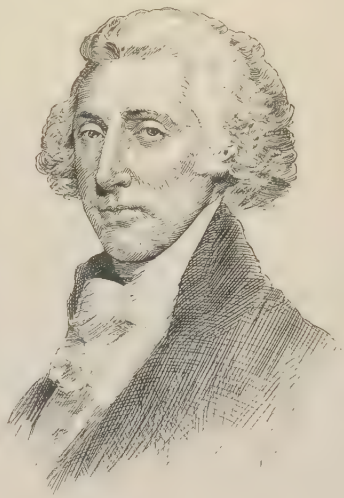
NOTE.—The original figurehead of the Constitution was a bust of Hercules. This was shot away during the war with Tripoli, and replaced by the billet-head shown in the engraving above. The latter was the one borne by the Constitution during the war of 1812, and is now supported on a post at the head of the dry-dock in the navy-yard at Charlestown, Massachusetts.

"liberty" of the fisheries, but hesitated long before they would concede the "right" on which Adams insisted. The third article of the "provisional treaty" secured to the United States this "right" of fishery, as also the liberty of the coasts of the English banks; the eighth established the Mississippi River to be forever open to the citizens of both countries.

In the course of the negotiations England had resisted any intermeddling of France. Lord Shelburne held it to be the true policy of Great Britain to settle her differences with her kinsmen without outside interference. Pride dictated that such concessions as must be made should seem voluntary and not forced. The wisdom of this policy in the removal of any probable cause of friction in her relations with New England was later seen. But while Great Britain tardily and grudgingly acknowledged the political independence of her former colonies, her policy was set on maintaining her own commercial supremacy. The old restrictions on the trade of the American continental seaports with the British West India islands were maintained. Her statesmen little dreamed that there were no bounds to the horizon of American commerce, and that within a little more than a year from the day when the treaty was signed an American ship was to carry the flag of the Union to the China seas. The right of search for British seamen on board of American vessels is not mentioned in the articles of peace.

The instant need of Great Britain was tranquillity at home and abroad, by which her finances might be reorganized and the future expansion of her trade determined. This great undertaking had fallen to Pitt. A commercial treaty with France and a convention with Spain settled all standing disputes concerning settlements on the coasts of America with that power; this, followed by treaties of alliance with the United Provinces and with Prussia, secured the peace of Europe, and left the western powers free to oppose the ambitious schemes of Russia with the aid or connivance of Austria, and establish firmly a balance of power for the mutual security of European states. There were elements in motion, however, the forces of which were but ill-gauged by the most far-seeing statesmen and philosophers—an internal convulsion which, in its upheaval, was to destroy the strata and change the face of modern society. The torch of liberty may be said to have been lighted in America. It was rekindled in France in 1789. It became a burning brand when the dissolution of the monarchy was decreed by the national convention after a scene of carnage in 1792. In the struggle of principles which followed, it was not possible for any of the great powers of the Old World either to maintain neutrality or to hold itself aloof. One after the other they were actively involved. The break-

ing out of the French revolution instantly divided England. Fox warmly espoused the cause of liberty; Burke denounced the summary reversal of the established orders of government and society. With these great leaders at variance, there was an irreconcilable schism in the Whig ranks. Pitt profited by their dissensions, but kept a discreet silence on the merits of the revolution—a cautious reserve in which he was imitated by his ministers. But when a powerful society sprang up, under the name of the "Friends of the People" (a significant adaptation of the name of the famous French organ *L'Ami du Peuple*), which included men high in political and literary ranks as well as members of parliament, and which organized a movement for reform in representation; and when still another, the London Corresponding Society, composed chiefly of tradesmen, demanded universal suffrage and annual parliaments, Pitt showed his hand by a royal proclamation against the distribution of seditious writings and illegal correspondence. In his defense of the proclamation he took occasion to denounce the "daring and seditious principles which had been so insidiously propagated amongst the people under the plausible and delusive appellation of the rights of man."



Wm Smith[1]

The decree of the French government opening the navigation of the Scheldt, in contravention of former agreement, touched England at her most sensitive point; and although the French ambassadors sought to convince Pitt that, while the decree was irrevocable, it was not intended to apply to England, the act itself was sufficient. Warlike measures were adopted. The execution of Louis XVI. ended all hesitation, and the French ambassador was at once ordered to leave the British dominions. The French replied with a formal declaration of war. In the long contests of the eighteenth century, France had always the aid of Spain under the family compact of the house of Bourbon—an aid of incalculable value on the sea. Now she was to encounter single-handed the vastly superior

[1] Colonel William Stephens Smith, a native of New York city, married the only daughter of John Adams. He was aid-de-camp to Washington, and in 1813–15 was a member of Congress.

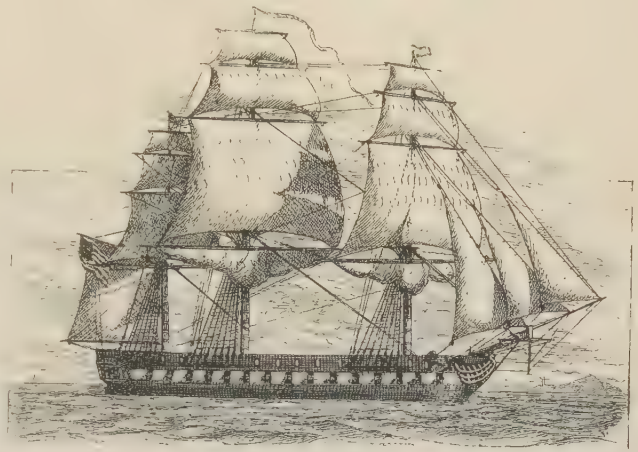
naval force of Great Britain. Yet the great discrepancy of force by no means secured England and her possessions from the depredations of an innumerable fleet of French privateers.

In this condition of affairs the United States saw her opportunity. The adoption of the Constitution had consolidated the States into a nation, and there was a universal desire to profit by the advantages which the change promised. The chain of causes which was to divert the carrying-trade into the hands of her young marine was complete. The vast naval superiority of Great Britain compelled France to resort to privateers. The success of the privateers determined the change of traffic to a neutral flag. The United States was the only maritime nation to which neutrality was possible. The change was immediate. From a total of twenty million dollars value in 1789, the exports from the United States to England and France had reached in 1800 the amount of seventy millions, of which nearly forty-seven millions were of articles of foreign product. American tonnage was already over nine hundred thousand tons, and second only to that of Great Britain; and of this nearly seven hundred thousand tons were engaged in the foreign or oceanic trade. In this department New York had already far outstripped all her American rivals, having one-sixth of the whole, and much more than Pennsylvania, which was second on the roll.

Neither of the belligerent powers looked with complacency on this rapid development of the maritime resources of the United States. France chafed because of what she held to be American ingratitude in standing aloof from her in her struggle for freedom from monarchical rule; Great Britain, alarmed at the growth of a new naval power which threatened her supremacy, had the additional chagrin of seeing her late rebellious colonies taking profit from her own distresses, and assuming the carrying-trade of the world. Lord Nelson, the sailor hero of Great Britain, foresaw the maritime struggle. It is related of him that, after seeing the evolutions of an American squadron in the bay of Gibraltar during the Tripoli war, he said: "There was in those transatlantic ships a nucleus of trouble for the maritime power of Great Britain. We have nothing to fear from anything on this side of the Atlantic; but the manner in which those ships are handled makes me think that there may be a time when we shall have trouble from the other."

While the United States was profiting by her mercantile advantages as a neutral in a material sense, she was forced to submit to many mortifications to her national pride. Chief among these was that caused by the constant impressment of sailors from on board her ships by British

commanders. When Great Britain entered upon the struggle with France in 1793, she had one hundred and twenty ships of the line and more than one hundred frigates. When Napoleon controlled the powers of the continent, the war assumed colossal dimensions, and the naval armaments of Great Britain increased until it is estimated that her navy reached one thousand vessels. To maintain the crews of her squadrons she had never hesitated to resort to the press-gang; and desertions were, of course, constant and inevitable. During the American war British admirals on the Atlantic stations found it difficult to maintain force sufficient to handle their ships, and were compelled to personal sacrifice to obtain men. Then their only competition was from the American privateersmen with their hazardous and perilous service; but now the prosperous American merchantmen outbid them with higher pay and a more generous treatment. The British admiral has never owned to a higher law than that "might makes right." Necessity no less than convenience led him to execute the law as he chose to understand it, and the "right of search" was sedulously practiced. This was, of course, in gross violation of American sovereignty. The offense was aggravated when, as often happened, an American-born seaman was taken from under his own flag on the assertion of a British lieutenant that he had served under the king. Further, Great Britain claimed that no subject of hers could shift his allegiance, or take military or naval service with any other power. The British government, moreover, asserted as the rule of search, that the burden of proof that he was not a British subject or a British deserter lay upon the sailor claimed by the boarding officer. Yet the government of the United States submitted to the practice, and confined its complaints to cases of gross injustice.



THE CONSTITUTION.

The United States asked only to be let alone. Jefferson, who had no

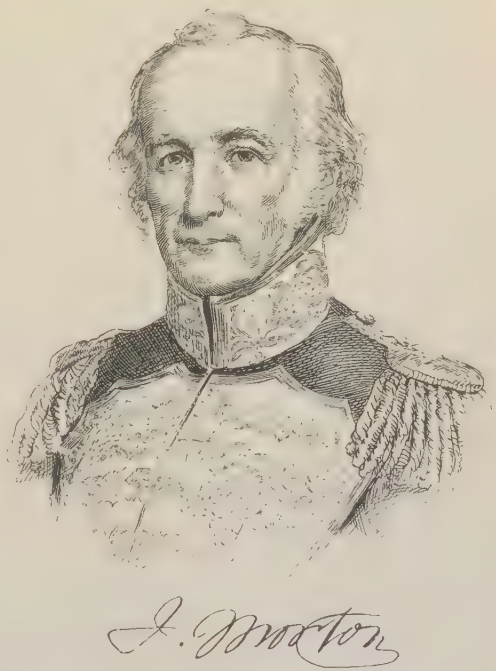
desire for war, formulated this request, but neither of the belligerents was inclined to this rose-colored view. France wanted our assistance, and, failing to coax, Napoleon sought to drive us to granting it. England cared nothing for our alliance, but was jealous of our prosperity, and wanted our able seamen. France began her depredations on our commerce in 1799 and 1800. England continued her aggressions with occasional intermissions. Jefferson, in his message of 1804, had hopes of more amicable relations; but his message of December, 1805, made sad mention of his disappointments: "Our coasts have been infested and our harbors watched by private armed vessels, some of them without commissions, others with those of legal form but committing piratical acts far beyond the authority of their commissions. They have captured in the very entrance of our harbors, as well as on the high seas, not only the vessels of our friends coming to trade with us, but our own also. They have carried others off under pretense of legal adjudication; but not daring to approach a court of justice they have plundered and sunk theirs by the way, or in obscure places where no evidence could arise against them; maltreated the crews, and abandoned them in boats in the open sea, or on desert shores, without food or covering." In January, 1806, he sent in a further message, accompanied by "the memorials of several bodies of merchants in the United States." In accordance with his desire, congress passed a non-importation act, to apply to certain articles of British manufacture, whether imported directly from Great Britain or from other places.

On April 25, 1806, less than a month from the passage of the act, a bolder and more direct outrage was committed in New York waters. The British frigate Leander, commanded by Captain Whitby, cruising off the mouth of the harbor near Sandy Hook, fired into the American sloop Richard, a coasting vessel, and killed one of her crew. The body was brought up to the city of New York and buried at public expense. The citizens, excited by this uncalled-for insult, demanded reparation. The Leander was ordered from our waters, and her captain threatened with arrest should he presume to land on our shores. So also was the British sloop-of-war Driver. But so little was Jefferson's proclamation regarded, that the latter vessel, which carried but eighteen guns, returned the next year to Charleston harbor,[1] defied the civil authorities, and denounced

[1] Charleston harbor seems to have been denominated "Rebellion Roads" by the English. In answer to the proclamation, when it was served upon him, the captain wrote a letter, which he dated at "Rebellion Roads, Charleston." Among other things he said that "the proclamation of the President would have disgraced even the sanguinary Robespierre, or the most miserable petty state in Barbary."

the President in an insolent letter, in which her captain demanded water, which was ignominiously supplied. Captain Whitby was called home to England, tried by court martial, and acquitted without even a reprimand.

The hollow peace of Amiens of 1802 was of short duration. Within a few months of its signature the British ambassador left Paris, and orders were at once issued by the English cabinet for the seizure of the ships of France and of her allies in British ports. The continental struggle assumed vast proportions, and in the duel between France and England the rights of neutrals were wholly disregarded. Great Britain again asserted the rule which she had attempted to establish in 1756, which forbade neutral nations to trade with the colonies of a belligerent power from which they were excluded in time of peace. In this Great Britain asserted herself to be the arbiter of international maritime law. On May 17, 1806, the ministry issued the first of the famous orders in council. This declared the French coast to be in a state of blockade. American vessels were admitted to carry cargoes to certain ports only, these cargoes to be only of the growth of the United States or of British manufacture. Napoleon, whose career of conquest was at its height after the battle of Jena, on November 28, 1806, issued from Berlin, the conquered capital of Prussia, the no less famous "Berlin decree," which declared the British isles in a state of blockade, and forbade all trade with the continental ports. Both of these documents were to all intents "paper blockades," and by all just conception of international law inoperative as far as neutrals were concerned. They interfered with, but did not wholly check, American vessels from sailing with cargoes both from French and English ports, though the ocean voyage through the British squadrons was hazardous. Gradually American trade was being narrowed to their own



coasting business. Nor was this, as has been stated, unrestrained. British ships prowled on our coasts and overhauled the peaceful merchantmen of the United States in quest of seamen. The United States bill for damages increased rapidly, but the day of demand was as yet postponed to a more convenient season. The United States hesitating or failing to resist Napoleon's Berlin decree, a further and more restrictive order in council was issued by Great Britain, January 7, 1807, forbidding trade between any two French ports, or ports of allies to France, which struck directly at the American carrying-trade. On November 10, 1807, a further order in council was issued, the avowed purpose of which was to compel all nations to give up their maritime trade, or accept it through British or through vessels under British license.

In the interval between these orders British insolence went a step further. On June 22, 1807, the English man-of-war Leopard overhauled the American frigate Chesapeake, Captain James Barron commanding, while cruising off Hampton Roads. An officer of the Leopard was received on board the Chesapeake, who delivered an order from Vice-Admiral Berkeley, on the Halifax station, to "search for deserters." Captain Barron declining to allow such a procedure, the Leopard opened upon the Chesapeake an entire broadside, killing three and wounding eighteen men. Captain Barron, totally unprepared, was only able to fire a single gun in reply. The captain of the Leopard refused to accept a surrender of the Chesapeake, but sent on board an officer, who had the crew mustered and took away four men whom he claimed as deserters. Three of these men were native-born American citizens. The fourth had run away from a sloop-of-war, and was forthwith hanged at Halifax. The people throughout the United States were greatly enraged by this high-handed act. Jefferson said he had not "seen the country in such a state of exasperation since the battle of Lexington." Captain Barron was tried by court martial, convicted of neglect of duty in not having his ship prepared for action, and deprived of rank and pay for five years.

The British followed up the January order in council by the bombardment and destruction of Copenhagen and the seizure of the Danish fleet on July 26, without even the formality of a declaration of war. This lawless act aroused the indignation of Russia, and perhaps more than any other event engaged the sympathy of the lesser powers for the United States as the only nation which promised relief in the future from the maritime despotism of the mistress of the seas.

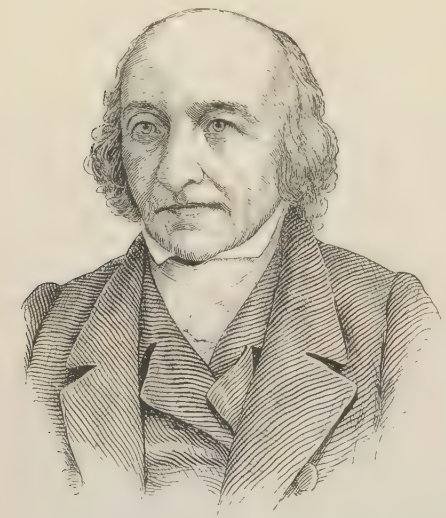
Reparation for the Chesapeake outrage was at once demanded, and

became the subject of dilatory negotiation. This question, and information from Mr. John Armstrong, the American minister at Paris, of the strict interpretation of the French and British decrees, caused President Jefferson to call congress together on October 26. Although the order in council of January had proclaimed a general British blockade of continental ports, and forbade trade in neutral vessels unless they first went into British ports and paid duty on their cargoes, Jefferson awaited their answer to the demand in the matter of the Chesapeake outrage before asking any special legislation. In the second week of December, the answer of the British government arriving, with information that a special envoy would be sent over, Jefferson sent in a message with documents, showing, as he stated, "the great and increasing dangers with which our vessels, our seamen, and merchandise are threatened on the high seas and elsewhere from the belligerent powers of Europe; and it being of great importance to keep in safety these essential resources, I deem it my duty to recommend the subject to the consideration of congress, who will doubtless perceive all the advantages which may be expected from an inhibition of the departure of our vessels from the ports of the United States."

In response to this direct advice an embargo act was immediately passed by the senate and, with but little delay, by the house (December 22, 1807)—in both by large majorities. This measure is now confessed by men of all parties to have been inoperative where it was intended to act upon foreign nations, and suicidal to American commerce. Mr. Armstrong wrote from Paris that it was "not felt," and "in England it is forgotten." In the United States its ruinous effect was instant. Forbidding the export of American products, not only in our own but also in foreign bottoms, it annihilated American commerce and set adrift the large number of able seamen who were needed for our own protection. Beyond this, it enhanced the cost of living by cutting off the supply of fish, which entered largely into the food consumption of our seaboard population. It interfered directly with the business of five millions of people. American ships abroad remained there to escape the embargo. Some entered into a contraband trade with France, carrying over British goods under false papers; but such subterfuge did not long escape the vigilance of Napoleon, who in the spring of 1808 issued the Bayonne decree authorizing the seizure and confiscation of all American vessels. It mattered not, he said, whether the ships were English or American: if English, they were those of an enemy; if American, they had no business, under the embargo act, out of American waters. This was a step in advance of the decree he issued from Milan on December 17, 1807, which had forbidden trading with Great

Britain by any nation, and declared all vessels thus engaged and all submitting to search by a British man-of-war to be lawful prizes.

The effect of the legislative blunder of the embargo act was soon apparent. It divided the United States into two hostile camps, and commerce came to a standstill. From one hundred and eight million dollars value in 1807, the exports of the United States fell to twenty-two millions in 1808—a single year. Those of New York fell to less than six millions.



Albert Gallatin

The suffering caused by such a shrinkage could not be other than intense. In the commercial cities the strain was terrible. Three months of the embargo had brought numbers of the merchants and domestic traders to bankruptcy, and more than five hundred vessels lay idle at the docks of New York alone. Of the triumvirate who ruled the Republican party and controlled the legislation of the United States at that period, President Jefferson, James Madison, and Albert Gallatin, the latter (then secretary of the treasury) alone from the beginning opposed a permanent embargo. Jefferson, inclined to peaceful measures, justified the act as tending to save our ships and seamen from capture by keeping them at home. Madison, holding colonial traditions, had faith in the force of a non-importation act, prohibiting the introduction of the produce of any nation whose acts were unfriendly while yet at peace with ourselves. Gallatin held a permanent embargo to be a useless interference with the rights of individuals, and at best a poor response to that "war in disguise," as he termed it, which Great Britain was unremittingly waging. Gallatin was the first to decide for war as the only remedy for American grievances, the only restorative for American honor.

Madison's policy, to exclude all British and French ships from American ports and to prohibit all importation except in American bottoms, was not acceptable to congress, and in the spring of 1810 an act was passed excluding only the men-of-war of both nations, but suspending the non-

importation act temporarily, or for three months. Power was given to the President to reëstablish it against either nation which maintained while the other withdrew its obnoxious decrees. The same month Napoleon ordered the confiscation of all American ships either detained in France or in the southern ports of the Atlantic and Mediterranean under his control, which entailed a loss to American merchants in ships and cargoes estimated at forty millions of dollars. In December, 1810, the American ship General Eaton, of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, from London and the Downs for South Carolina, was taken by two French privateers and carried into Calais. Diplomacy grew much confused in the passage and repeal of the decrees and counter-decrees abroad, non-importation and non-intercourse acts at home, until war alone sufficed to cut the Gordian knot. The non-intercourse act with England, passed by congress in the spring of 1811, was the last act of the diplomatic skirmish, and pointed directly to war.

Immediately after congress rose in May, another unpremeditated collision between an American and an English man-of-war raised the public temper to "fighting pitch." Since the affair of the Chesapeake the officers of the young navy of the United States had kept ceaseless watch for an opportunity to wipe out the disgrace to the service and the flag. All of our vessels were held at home, even those in the Mediterranean being recalled. The country had now in active service twelve vessels: viz., three forty-fours, the Constitution, the President, and the United States; the Essex of thirty-two, and the John Adams of twenty-eight guns; the Wasp and the Hornet, of eighteen; the Argus and the Siren, of sixteen; the Nautilus, the Enterprise, and the Vixen, of twelve guns. Since the reduction of the naval force in 1801, not a single frigate had been added to the navy; the ships of the line authorized in 1799 having been entirely abandoned. Jefferson's flotilla of gunboats, never of any use, were not called into service and may be disregarded. Their only possible use might have been to prevent blockades, but even this was not resorted to. The English increased their force of cruisers on the American coast, but kept at a respectful distance from the land, no longer impressing men or detaining ships. The British government did not desire open war, and collisions were avoided; their purpose of intercepting American commerce being served by a constant patrol of the seas from Halifax to the Bermudas, the line of travel of every trader which crossed the Atlantic.

In the spring of 1811, Commodore John Rodgers, the senior officer of the navy afloat, whose pennant was then flying from the President, Captain Charles Ludlow, which lay at anchor in Annapolis bay, was informed that a man had been impressed from an American brig close to Sandy

Hook, by an English frigate supposed to be the Guerrière, of thirty-eight guns, Captain James R. Dacres. The commodore at once went on board his own vessel, and passed the capes soon after May 1, to inquire into this now unusual procedure. On the 10th a man-of-war was sighted about six leagues from land, to the southward of New York. On nearing each other, shots were exchanged; a broadside followed from the stranger, which did little damage, and was answered by a broadside from the President with fatal results. Satisfied with disabling his enemy, Commodore Rodgers did not push his conquest. The next morning the vessel was found to be his Britannic majesty's ship Little Belt, of eighteen guns. There was, as usual when the British were the sufferers, a dispute as to the aggressor in firing the first shot. A formal court of inquiry justified Commodore Rodgers in his course.

James Madison

Before the close of the year 1811 the demand for vigorous measures grew into a clamor for war with England. The young spirits in congress, Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun, were eager and impatient. Clay represented the assertive, independent, aggressive element. The control of the Mississippi from its source to its mouth did not satisfy their ambitious ideas; nothing less than the invasion and conquest of Canada was in their minds, and this they supposed they could achieve by their own militia. The delay of Great Britain in the surrender of the western ports, and her constant intrigues with the Indian tribes on the frontier, and covert support of their schemes, were a natural and constant source of irritation. Their military ardor and confidence had been heightened by the signal defeat of the Wabash tribe at Tippecanoe on November 7, 1811, by General William Henry Harrison, with a party of regulars and Kentucky militia. Thus, while the seaboard communities dreaded an open war with England, the whole interior population were eager, even anxious, for a struggle which they believed would end in the final establishment of the rule of the United States over the entire territory of North America. The germ of the conflict of opinion between the New England states, nearly all maritime, and the west, whose only mari-

time interest was for the freedom of the lakes, which came to the surface in this session of congress, grew with formidable rapidity, and later nearly rent the Union in twain.

President Madison, in his message of November 5, 1811, announced his reasons for calling congress together (by proclamation of July 24, 1811) before the usual date of assemblage to be "the posture of foreign affairs," and "the probability of further developments of the policy of the belligerent powers towards this country which might the more unite the national councils in the measures to be pursued." The hope entertained at the close of the last session, that the extinction of the French decrees as far as they violated our neutral commerce would have induced the government of Great Britain to repeal its orders in council—a step which would have freed our commerce from destruction—was not only disappointed, but at a moment when least expected "the orders were put into more rigorous execution." Great Britain insisted on the admission of the products and manufactures of Great Britain, when owned by neutrals, into markets shut against them by her enemy; and the United States was given to understand that in the meantime "a continuance of their non-importation act would lead to measures of retaliation." The President called attention to recent wrongs, and to the "scenes derogatory to the dearest of our national rights, and vexatious to the regular course of our trade," which had been again witnessed on our coasts and at the mouth of our harbors, and particularly to the encounter of Commodore Rodgers.

D. P. MADISON.

The President also complained of the "rigorous and unexpected restrictions of France upon the trade of the United States." He announced that the works of defense on the more important parts of our maritime frontier had been prosecuted nearly to completion; that a portion of the gunboats had been ordered into use; that the ships of war before in commission, with the addition of a frigate, had been employed as a cruising guard on the coast; and that a force consisting of regulars and militia embodied in the Indiana territory had marched to our northwestern frontier. He called for adequate provision to fill up the ranks, extend the term

of enlistment of the regular troops, for an auxiliary force for a more limited term, for the acceptance of a volunteer corps, and for the prosecution of the manufacture of cannon and small-arms. The receipts into the treasury to September 3 exceeded thirteen and one-half million dollars—enough to defray expenses, pay interest on the debt, and reimburse five millions of the principal. On November 4 Madison communicated copies of the correspondence in reference to the attack on the Chesapeake, which had dragged since 1807. Lord Erskine's agreement to settle the affair in 1810 had been repudiated by his chief, Mr. George Canning, the English secretary for foreign affairs; and Francis James Jackson, who had been sent out to take his place, had been rejected as a *persona non grata* by Madison. The act of the Leopard was now disavowed by the British government.[1]

Isaac Hull

On December 3, the committee on foreign relations reporting to the house of representatives that there were but three alternatives left to the United States by the belligerents—viz., "embargo, submission, or war"—it was resolved, by a vote of one hundred and twenty-eight to sixty-two, "that the United States cannot, without a sacrifice of their rights, honor, and independence, submit to the late edicts of Great Britain and France." On the 2d, the senate resolved "to interdict commercial intercourse between the United States and Great Britain and France and their dependencies," which carried letters of marque and reprisal. The affirmative vote, in which the senators from New York joined, was twenty-one to twelve. The same bill was passed in the house by a vote of seventy-four to thirty-three, Nicholas, Calhoun, and Clay

[1] The President also communicated a memorial of Gouverneur Morris and other commissioners on the opening of canal navigation between the great lakes and the Hudson river, a project of which he expressed approval because "some of the advantages have an intimate connection with arrangements and exertions for the general security."

voting against the letters of marque. In the course of the debate Giles charged that Jefferson had intended and Madison did intend to allow the English to take New Orleans, and trusted to the west to defend it.

The country now began to pronounce itself. North Carolina was the first to speak. On December 31, 1811, the general assembly passed resolutions approving the sentiment contained in the message of the President, and unanimously pledging coöperation in the effectual enforcement of such "measures as may be devised and calculated to protect the interests and secure the union, liberty, and independence of the United States." The general assembly of Virginia adopted resolutions on January 25, which referred only to the wrongs committed by Great Britain under the orders in council. They declared "that however we value the blessings of peace, and however we deprecate the evils of war, the period has now arrived when peace as we now have it is disgraceful, and war is honorable."

The months of January and February, 1812, passed by, and Madison was still in doubt, hesitating as to the course to pursue. He gradually yielded to the pressure of the war party, and, fortified by the declaration of his own state, on April 1 he sent to congress a brief message recommending the immediate passage of an act to impose "a general embargo on all vessels now in port or hereafter for the period of sixty days." The measure, passed in secret session, was soon known, and many vessels got to sea before it was officially promulgated. It was intended as a note of preparation for war, was so acknowledged to be, and was so understood. The period was extended to ninety days. The first congressional district of Pennsylvania adopted resolutions in May, "approbating the measures of the government in the preparation for war." The citizens of Arundel county, Maryland, on June 9, 1812, adopted resolutions recommending "the adoption of such measures as may place our country in a state of maritime defense and procure a redress of wrongs from the belligerent nations."

There was a different feeling in New York and the New England states. On June 9 Mr. Abraham Smith of New York presented a petition of the most important merchants of the city, praying for a "continuation of the embargo and non-importation acts as a substitute for war with Great Britain." On June 12 a memorial was presented, together with a resolution of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, which also deprecated war, reading as follows: "*Resolved*, As the opinion of this house, that an offensive war against Great Britain under the present circumstances of this country would be in the highest degree impolitic, unnecessary and ruin-

ous; that the great body of the people of this commonwealth are decidedly opposed to this measure, which they do not believe to be demanded by the honor or interests of our nation."

The feeling in the New England states generally was opposed to a declaration of open war, and certainly the administration of Mr. Madison took no pains to change its current. A memorial of five hundred and thirty-five merchants of Boston, praying for the repeal or such modification of the non-importation act as would enable "them to receive their property now in Great Britain or her dependencies," was rejected by the senate by a vote of thirteen to six, the legislation asked being judged inexpedient. Rhode Island was more plain-spoken, and on June 9 instructed her senators "to oppose all measures which may be brought forward to involve the country in war."

It would be difficult at this distance of time to understand this indifference of the maritime section of the country to measures in defense of their own dearest rights, did we not take into account the violence of political feeling at this period. The overthrow of the great federalist party—the party of Washington, and Adams, and Hamilton—still rankled in the minds of their followers. This resentment was aggravated by the radical political opinions held by the converts to the new doctrines of equality formulated in France in the declarations of the rights of man in 1789. These were heartily espoused by Jefferson, and detested by the conservative admirers of the British constitution, the main features of which Hamilton had grafted on our own. These interesting and immortal instruments, though they were consistent, were not by any means similar either in purpose or structure.

While the two extremities of the Union were thus ranging themselves under the banners of peace and of war, the great controlling middle state communities of New York and Pennsylvania were as yet hesitating, watchful, and expectant. New York was divided in sentiment. Nowhere were the political lines as strictly drawn as in New York city. The divisions were not recent. The adoption of the Constitution had only been carried by the persistence of Jay, the magnetism of Hamilton, and the personal appeals of Washington himself. The ranks of the Federalists had been since recruited from those who opposed the Constitution, and for the logical reason that they represented the established order. The landed proprietors were almost to a man Federalists until the house of Livingston, for some personal affront, went over with its host of followers to the Republicans. Able as Hamilton was as a leader, he found in Governor George Clinton, Washington's mainstay in council as in war, an

opponent of towering strength, tenacious and independent, as was natural to the Scotch-Irish stock from which he sprung. The autonomy of the State he had failed to secure in the popular yearning for a nation; its independence he held fast to. The marriage of his daughter with Genêt, the French minister, had brought to his banner the entire French party. He had no love for New England, because of her encroachments on what was claimed New York territory in the Hampshire grants—a bone of contention which was a legacy of the colonial period. To him must be ascribed the defeat of the British plan to separate New England from the rest of the Union by the establishment of a line of military posts along the Hudson and the waters of Lakes George and Champlain. While the first notes of preparation for impending war were sounding, George Clinton, who had been Vice-President of the United States in Jefferson's last term and the first of Madison, died, while yet in office, at his house in Washington, on April 20, 1812. His death was reported to the senate by its president, Mr. William Harris Crawford, and to the house by his old companion in arms, Colonel Benjamin Tallmadge, the famous commander of the Continental Light Dragoons, and now a representative from Connecticut. His remains were honored in New York by what is described as a "splendid solemnity:" a funeral procession, military and civil, was formed at the City Hall and in the park, and marched to the new Presbyterian church in Wall street, where an oration was delivered by Gouverneur Morris. Salutes were fired from Fort Columbus and the Battery.

Madison's war message of June 1 was at the same time an insult and a defiance to the New England Federalists. Among the causes for an appeal to arms he included the charge of "a coöperation between the Eastern Tenth and the British cabinet." He intimated that an agent had been sent by the British government to Massachusetts to intrigue "with the disaffected for the purpose of bringing about resistance to the laws, and eventually, in concert with a British force, of destroying the Union and adding the Eastern states to her Canada provinces." The Federal party had complete control in the five states of New England. New York and New Jersey were rapidly drifting in the same direction. Under the sharp stimulus of Clay's oratory, the war measures were hurried through congress, and on June 19 Madison issued his formal proclamation of war against Great Britain.

It has been stated already that the young leaders of the war party in congress looked to successes on land and territorial conquest, and had an indifference to the field which the ocean afforded. And yet the triumphs

of our young fleet in the Revolution, the alarm which John Paul Jones excited in English homes, and, later, the brilliant achievements in the Mediterranean, the heroes of which were still in the prime of their service, might have inspired better counsel. Madison's cabinet were said to have without exception opposed the increase and use of our navy; indeed, somewhat after Jefferson's idea in imposing the embargo—to save our vessels by laying them up. The advice of Captains Charles Stewart and William Bainbridge, who happened to be in Washington at the time of the declaration of war, determined Madison to bring the navy into active service. One of the chief causes of the war being the impressment of our seamen, it seems to-day surprising that their ardor in defense of "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights"—the cry under which our greatest triumphs were won—should have been either passed by or deprecated.[1]

The President's proclamation reached Commodore Rodgers at New York on the 20th. With it came orders to sail on a cruise against the enemy. His squadron consisted of his own ship, the President, forty-four; the United States, forty-four, Captain Stephen Decatur; the Congress, thirty-eight, Captain Joseph Smith; the Hornet, eighteen, Captain James Lawrence; and the Argus, sixteen, Captain Arthur Sinclair—in all five ships, carrying one hundred and sixty guns. The British force cruising off the coast consisted of eight men-of-war, carrying three hundred and twelve guns, with a number of corvettes and sloops—quite enough to watch American movements and make any concert action or descent either on the Canadian coast or the West India islands hazardous if not impracticable. The United States could ill afford to try the issue of a single naval action with a superior force. Rodgers was aware that the homeward-bound plate fleet had sailed from Jamaica on May 20, under convoy of two small vessels carrying together forty-four guns, which he might strike in the Gulf Stream.

Within an hour from the time that he received his instructions, Commodore Rodgers, who was in entire readiness, put to sea. He passed Sandy Hook with his squadron on the afternoon of June 21, and ran

[1] The beautiful American ship of war Alliance, which had been pronounced a perfect frigate by the high authority of the French construction and naval men, was the last of the Revolutionary navy, and was sold in 1785. In 1794, in consequence of the Algerine spoliations, congress ordered four frigates of forty-four and two of thirty-six guns. Two of the first and one of the second class were built. In 1798, the United States had but three frigates, the Constitution, the United States, and the Constellation. After the affair of the Chesapeake in 1807, President Jefferson; with an apparent distrust of our ships, asked congress for no more, but recommended the building of additional gunboats, which carried the number up to two hundred and fifty-seven. It was not till 1808 and 1809 that a number of new frigates were ordered and soon after completed.

southeast. An American sail, spoken that night, reported having seen the Jamaica ships. The squadron crowded sail. Early in the morning of the 23d an enemy's frigate was descried, and a general chase was made. The President, a fast ship, soon distanced the rest of the squadron. The wind failing, Rodgers, despairing of overhauling the frigate, opened with his chase guns. He discharged the forecastle gun himself. This was the first shot fired in the war. The fourth fire exploded one of the battery guns, killing and wounding sixteen men, and throwing into the air the forecastle deck, on which Rodgers was standing. One of the commodore's legs was broken in his fall. The British commander lightened his ship by throwing overboard his boats and his water-tanks, and got away. It proved later to have been the frigate Belvidera, thirty-six, Captain Byron. On July 1 the squadron struck the wake of the Jamaica vessels, which they recognized by the tropical *débris* (fruit, etc.) which floated on the sea, to the eastward of the Banks of Newfoundland. On July 9 an English letter of marque was taken by the Hornet, Captain Lawrence, and it was learned that the Jamaica fleet, eighty-five sail, was seen the night before, under convoy of a frigate, a sloop of war, and a brig. The chase was abandoned on the 13th, within a day's sail of the chops of the Channel, and Rodgers returned to Boston by way of the Western Islands and the Grand Banks. The result was meagre—seven merchantmen taken and one American recaptured. The cruise lasted seventy days.

The report of the Belvidera caused Captain Sir Philip Bowes Vere Broke, of the Shannon, senior officer of the British squadron, to concentrate it at once, in the hope of intercepting Rodgers's return. It hovered off New York early in July, and made several captures—among others of the Nautilus, fourteen, which left the harbor soon after Rodgers, in the hope of taking some English Indiaman, fell in with the British squadron the next day, and, unable to get away, struck to the Shannon. This was the first war vessel taken on either side in this contest. The Nautilus had made a proud record in the Tripoli war.

When the war opened, the Essex, thirty-eight, was in New York harbor undergoing repair. She was ordered to sea with an armament of carronades only, in spite of the protests of Captain David Porter, her commander, and put out of harbor on July 3. On her foretopgallantmast she carried a white flag lettered in blue, "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights." On the 11th she fell in with the Minerva, thirty-two, convoying seven troop-transports, each with about two hundred men on board. On the way from Barbadoes to Quebec, Porter cut out one of the transports, took out her men, and stood back for a fight. The Minerva declined an action.

Porter's men were thoroughly trained as boarders, but the short range of his guns did not permit of his cutting out the Minerva. One of the youngest of the midshipmen on the Essex on this cruise was David Glasgow Farragut, whose fame to-day almost rivals that of England's great admiral. On August 13 the Essex overtook and captured the British sloop of war Alert, which she disarmed and sent in as a cartel to St. John's. The Essex returned to New York on September 7, having made ten prizes containing four hundred and twenty-three men.

In this month of July, also, the Constitution, forty-four, Captain Isaac Hull, returned from a run to Europe, and sailed into the Chesapeake, where a new crew was shipped, many of whom had never been on board a vessel of war before. On the 11th she left Annapolis and stood to the northward. On the 17th she fell in with the Guerrière, Captain Dacres, which had joined Broke's squadron. The Nautilus had been taken by them the day before, and was now manned by a British crew and flying British colors. Only by the exercise of the greatest ingenuity, by coolness and precision, and the steadiness which Hull had already obtained from his fresh men, was the noble frigate enabled to extricate herself from the formidable net into which she had fallen. The three days' chase and the escape are historic in the American navy. Hull had fairly outmanœuvred Broke and Byron. Soon after the chase the British squadron separated, and Hull went into Boston on July 26. On August 2 the Constitution sailed in an easterly course, but met no enemy. Cruising along the coast of Nova Scotia from the Bay of Fundy to Newfoundland, she took her station off Cape Race. Here she captured two British brigs and recaptured an American one, but a British sloop of war escaped.

On the 19th, cruising south, Captain Hull heard from a Salem privateer of a British frigate still further to the southward. Standing in that direction, he found the stranger to be the frigate Guerrière, Captain Dacres, this time alone. The Englishman hauled up his courses and took in part of his sail, and made ready to engage. Hull made his own preparations with the greatest deliberation, cleared for action, and beat to quarters. At five o'clock in the afternoon the Guerrière hoisted three English ensigns and opened fire. The Constitution set her colors one at each masthead and one at the mizzen-peak. Hull answered the English fire with a few guns as they bore. The Englishman showing a disposition for a hand-to-hand fight, yard-arm and yard-arm, the Constitution drew closer, and in a few minutes, as the ships were side to side, the Guerrière's mizzen-mast came down, shot away. As the vessels touched, both crews prepared to board; but the fire was so hot, and the sea so heavy, that neither party

succeeded. As the Constitution shot ahead the Guerrière's foremast fell, and, carrying with it her mainmast, the proud ship lay a helpless wreck. As the Constitution returned to deliver a raking fire, the enemy's colors were lowered. The next morning, the Guerrière having four feet of water in her hold, Hull sent on board and took off the prisoners. The wreck was set on fire and soon blew up. Hull, encumbered with his prisoners, returned to Boston, where he arrived on the 30th. He brought in two hundred and sixty-seven prisoners, among whom were ten Americans who had refused to fight their countrymen. Hull himself brought the intelligence of his victory. He announced it to the secretary of war by dispatch from "United States frigate Constitution, off Boston Light." When the frigate arrived in the harbor she was met by a flotilla of gayly decorated boats, and Hull was greeted on his landing by an immense assemblage and welcomed to a splendid entertainment by the principal citizens of both parties.

From Boston Hull made a progress almost triumphal. He reached New York city early in September, where he was received with equal enthusiasm. Dacres's desire to meet an American frigate was already known in New York. A subscription was raised and swords purchased by the citizens of New York and presented to Hull and his officers. Hull was voted the freedom of the city by the common council on the 7th, and on the 14th he was requested to sit for his portrait to be placed in the picture-gallery of the City Hall known as the governors' room, where the portraits of the several governors of the state are preserved, as also those of Washington and other distinguished persons. From New York Captain Hull proceeded to Philadelphia, where the citizens in general meeting voted to him "a piece of plate of the most elegant workmanship, with appropriate emblems, devices, and inscriptions," and a like piece of plate to Lieutenant Charles Morris, in the name of the citizens of Philadelphia.

AN UNKNOWN EXILE: WAS HE CHARLES X?

By Henry C. Maine

In the year 1808, a French gentleman came into the wilds of the southern part of Madison county, New York, and erected a chateau upon the wooded summit of the highest hill in Georgetown. In lowering weather this hill is among the clouds. He had purchased of Daniel Ludlow, in the city of New York, two thousand seven hundred acres of land, paying for it the handsome sum of nine thousand eight hundred and sixty-two dollars and twenty-five cents. The deeds conveying the property to Louis Anathe Muller, for that was the name he gave, were recorded in the county clerk's office of Madison county, May 4, 1808, and bear date of February 20, 1808.

The stranger brought great wealth in gold and silver coin into the wilderness, and spent it lavishly in clearing land, erecting a chateau, and establishing a great park for game. Upon a stream near the chateau a fish-pond was excavated. The grounds were carefully laid out, and poplars were planted in a semicircle bordering a driveway to the chateau. Muller had a good knowledge of military tactics and the arts of defensive fortification, for he immediately cleared a great space about his residence, so there were no woods within rifle shot. The trees were dug out by the roots at great expense, and the laborers who accomplished this task were paid in gold. The chateau was a fortress. It was seventy feet long and thirty wide, and the walls were constructed of solid hewn timbers set on end in heavy sills and keyed together. These upright timbers were eleven feet high and seven or eight inches thick. Upon the tops of the upright timbers plates of heavy hewn sticks were placed, and from them rose the hewn rafters. The building was bullet-proof. A grand hallway passed through it from front to rear. The inside was lathed and plastered in the most substantial manner, as is shown by the excellent condition of the walls to this day. The great building was warmed by seven fireplaces, the brick for which was transported on pack mules over a bridle-path from the village of Hamilton, where Muller lived until his house was completed. All of the furniture, some of which was costly, was brought into the wilderness in the same way. The region round about was but sparsely settled, the first settlement in the adjoining town of De Ruyter having been made in 1793. The master of the house wore the costume of a French

gentleman, a grand seigneur, and introduced, as far as possible in the wilderness, the manners of feudal France. He was attended by a retinue of Frenchmen, among them a physician who bore the name of Pietrow. Under Muller's direction, a hamlet was built on his estate, and a saw-mill and grist-mill were erected. Stores were established, and every preparation made for reproducing in the new world all of the conditions of the great landed estates of the French nobles. The sites of the saw-mill and grist-mill can still be identified, and one of the storehouses is now standing. The settlement was called Bronder Hollow from Passon Bronder, who came with Muller from Europe.

Muller rode about his estates on horseback, attended by servants who were armed. He was an enthusiastic sportsman and spent much of his time in the forests and the park he had established. This enclosure was surrounded by a high fence, and included about half his estate. He never shot at any bird or animal while it was at rest, but his sight was unerring. The remains of his fish-pond are still visible at a short distance east of the house. It was said by the early settlers that Muller often waded into this pond with his silk stockings to cast the line for trout. All of the local traditions represent Muller as of distinguished appearance, erect, agile, and possessing the air of command. As his age and personal appearance are important in determining his identity, further reference to them will be made. The character of Louis Anathe Muller was well studied by all of the settlers in his vicinity who had dealings with him, and many anecdotes are related illustrating his peculiarities. He was honorable in all his dealings and of benevolent disposition; but was easily imposed on, especially in matters connected with agriculture, of which he was quite ignorant. This ignorance indicates that he had never been a practical man of affairs upon a landed estate, and leads to the conclusion that he was a courtier. Muller tried costly experiments to the enrichment of his shrewd neighbors, and succeeded in nothing but killing wild animals, and expending large sums of money to little purpose.

Muller watched with the deepest interest the progress of the war of 1812; but when a sergeant was sent by Captain Hurd of the local militia to warn him to appear at general training, armed and equipped as the law directs, there was angry expostulation. Muller declared to one of his trusted superintendents, Chancellor Bierce, that he had been gravely insulted. He said it was an outrage for one who had been a general of division and a participant in the making of three treaties to be asked to do military service in Captain Hurd's company. He did not appear at the muster. This was one of the few occasions upon which he allowed him-

self to speak of his past history. In his angry remarks, however, there were no admissions that could lead directly to the revelation of his identity. A man accustomed to secret methods alone could have successfully concealed his name and the purpose of his strange action in hiding himself in a wilderness. During his stay in Georgetown, Muller was generally liked because of his polite manners and generous disposition. During all of the time of his sojourn in the wilderness he received American and European journals. He was accustomed to take his papers into the field and read to his workmen the stirring news of the day, and watch the effect. He also commented upon the progress of Bonaparte. From these comments it was gathered that he was mortally afraid of Bonaparte, and believed he would conquer all Europe, and possibly the United States. When news came of Napoleon's disaster in Russia, joy took the place of fear, and Muller began to make preparations to leave his Georgetown home; and when the overthrow of Bonaparte seemed assured, he rode away on horseback to take passage for France. The time of Muller's coming and going are of interest as bearing on his identity, and will be further discussed.

Many have been the conjectures as to the identity of this man. He preserved his incognito completely, and if any of his retinue offered suggestions, they were always misleading. It is believed in Georgetown that no one but his physician was aware of his true name. Those who had carefully studied the events of the time, and knew the history of the royal family of France, believed that Muller was a Bourbon prince hiding from Bonaparte. Among these was my father, David Maine, a resident of the adjoining town of De Ruyter. He was born in 1798, and as a boy saw Muller and knew the details of his romantic sojourn in the wilds of Georgetown. Of all the details related to me in my boyhood, I was most impressed by Muller's great fear of Bonaparte. This fear convinced all of the early settlers who knew the man, that he had some powerful motive for getting as far as possible from the reach of the Corsican, and making himself secure in his retreat. The bullet-proof house in a great clearing hastily made, showed that all contingencies had been taken into account. Muller's conduct was evidence that he feared the secret assassin as well as the open foe. Mrs. L. M. Hammond, in her history of Madison County, says:

> A strange yet powerful apprehension weighed upon his mind and tinctured his prominent movements. In common with the views of the French nation he believed the powers of Europe would fall before the eagles of Bonaparte; that the haughty lion of Britain would crouch and yield, and even the American eagle would fly before the gigantic power of the Corsican. These apprehensions pressing upon him, seemed to find some

relief in the hope that the secluded hills of Georgetown would afford him a residence, unknown and unobserved, and a safe retreat from present danger. He avoided mingling in public assemblies, and when visiting a more conspicuous town he was attended by his most trusty servants. Indeed this peculiar watchfulness confirms the opinion that he feared molestation from his native country. Two servants, in livery and armed, usually rode on either side of him as a body guard. At each saddle front, his own and his guards,' was a case of pistols and ammunition.

But when Bonaparte made his line of march for Russia, Muller one day reading the news was jubilant. "He shall be whipped!" he exclaimed. "Bonaparte shall be driven back!" and so it proved. The testimony as to Muller's great fear of Bonaparte, and that he would conquer England, is abundant. Who among the prominent men of the time could have such fear? Who could dread assassination even in the wilds of America?

The starting point of my inquiry was found in a way that is somewhat interesting. My father thought that Muller might be the Duke of Angoulême, who was regarded in America as a gallant soldier. About six years ago my attention was turned anew to the subject of Muller's identity. It was an attractive theme because of the deep mystery, and I have been groping for some light ever since. From the beginning of my quest, which was at first entirely without any new study of French history, and merely a mental question, I had an impression that Muller was not the Duke of Angoulême. Who was Muller? Finally a name came to me, and I wrote it down on a bit of paper. It was at evening, and next day the search began upon the name. From that time the quest became earnest and interesting. That name I shall give as that of the only man who had a sufficient motive for acting as Louis Anathe Muller acted; the only man who had a mortal fear of Bonaparte.

In March, 1891, a letter was addressed to the county clerk of Madison county, C. W. Stapleton, inquiring if the Muller purchase in Georgetown was from the Holland Land Company, and the date of the deeds? From his reply it was learned that he purchased the land from Daniel Ludlow, and for the price stated at the beginning of this article.

Not then knowing of Mrs. Hammond's chapter on Muller in the history of Madison county, another letter was addressed to the county clerk, inquiring about the record of the sale of the Muller property, if it had been sold. He replied as follows:

MORRISVILLE, *April* 2, 1891.

H. C. MAINE, Esq.,

My Dear Sir,—Replying to your letter of inquiry of the 24th ult., there are many deeds both to and from Muller prior to 1816, in which year he seems to have closed out his Georgetown property. A deed dated April 9th, 1816, conveys the "Muller Hill" premises,

1,628 acres, to Abijah Weston, of New York City, for $10,000. This is signed by "Adiline Muller, his wife." "Adiline" also appears in the other deeds as the wife of Louis. A history of Madison County published in 1872, by Mrs. L. M. Hammond, contains the most complete statement regarding Muller to be had.

[Signed] C. W. STAPLETON.

This letter conveyed the first knowledge of Mrs. Hammond's history, which was afterwards found to contain nearly all of the matter concerning which I had made inquiry. Here it is well to note that the sale of the Muller estate took place less than a year after the battle of Waterloo. That battle decided the fate of Bonaparte, and favorably affected the fortunes of the man who had lived on "Muller Hill." His exile was ended. The next step was to seek information from some heirs of Ludlow or Weston. Did they know the real name of the exile? A letter was addressed to Hon. Hamilton Fish as one most likely to have knowledge of the Ludlows. A full statement of the Muller mystery was given. The ex-secretary of state replied, however, that he was not able to give any information in the direction of the inquiry.

The history by Mrs. Hammond gives in detail the story of Muller's sojourn in Georgetown. Much of her narrative was familiar to me through my father's conversation upon the subject. But Mrs. Hammond did not attempt to solve the mystery. Names were mentioned by her, but not the name that had occurred to me. Mrs. Hammond says of Muller: "His family physician, a man named Pietrow, once said that Muller was 'cousin the second to the Duke of Angoulême,' but no credence was given this by those who heard the assertion. Generally the belief prevails in this country that he was a member of the Bourbon family, who, on the abdication of Bonaparte, was restored to his royal privileges." "Dates," says Mrs. Hammond, "demolish the idea that Muller was Louis Philippe."

With the name which had occurred to me as a central point, the inquiry was pursued. When research in the lines just indicated was closed, nothing had been found to throw doubt upon the accuracy of my impression, except the presence of a wife, "Adiline," with the exile in Georgetown. Mrs. Hammond shows pretty conclusively that this wife was taken in New York, and left there when Muller returned to France. The historian of Madison county also names her as a Stuyvesant, and shows by the record of subsequent conveyances of the Muller estate that it was finally placed in the possession of her children, who were adopted by a Stuyvesant in the city of New York. This part of the subject may well rest here. If Mrs. Hammond's surmises are true, there may still be Bourbons in this country.

My inquiry as to Muller's identity was devoted to the habits, character,

and activities of a public man. The following questions, which accurately describe Muller, also suggest clearly the answer: Who was possessed of a great fear of Bonaparte? Who had a sufficient motive for hiding himself under an assumed name in a wilderness of the new world? Who was a shallow devotee of old ceremonial, a bad financier, a gentleman of polish and of generosity, a devotee of the chase, a spendthrift, a general, and a coward? What man of the French princes was of Muller's age? and why should Muller quit Georgetown, leaving a great estate, to be present in France in expectation of Bonaparte's downfall? Who actually appeared truculent and vainglorious when the allies marched into Paris in April, 1814? Who had a *penchant* for assumed names in exile? Who had motive and opportunity to return to the United States in 1816 and sell his Georgetown estate? These questions might be extended, but I now purpose to convict this man by good evidence, although most of it is circumstantial. He was afterward a king of France, who left France by an American ship, in 1830, under the assumed name of Count of Ponthieu. He had no further use for the name of Louis Anathe Muller. When Charles X. ran away from Paris in 1830, to embark for England on an American ship, under an assumed name, he executed a manœuver that was quite as discreet as the escape from Paris in 1789, and the quitting of England for America early in the next century. This running away was characteristic of the man. His flight from Paris was precipitated by Jules Polignac, his prime minister; and, strangely enough, Polignac was involved in the events which caused the flight to America.

Before Charles X. ascended the throne he bore the title, Count of Artois, and with him I shall deal in the further discussion of the mystery about the deserted chateau in Georgetown. The count was the youngest brother of Louis XVI.; the Count of Provence, afterward Louis XVIII., being next in succession to the king after the death of the dauphin in the Temple. The Count of Artois was an active, energetic, badly educated, shallow man, wholly devoted to the old regime, and incapable of entertaining a liberal idea. He really belonged to a past age, the age of Louis XIV. By dint of perpetual intrigue, sacrificing friends and running away from enemies, the count made quite a stir in the world, and left a name that is respected nowhere in Christendom. The best that can be said of him is that he was a good hunter, and his passion for hunting is one of the clues to his identity as the prince who turned the wilds of the Georgetown hills into a deer park while he was hiding from Bonaparte and the scorn of his brother royalists.

The Count of Artois was a gallant at the court of Louis XVI., a friend

and counsellor of Queen Marie Antoinette, a spendthrift and marplot. He gathered about him congenial spirits, chief of whom were the Duke and Duchess of Polignac and their sons, the Duke of Bourbon and his son, the Duke of Enghien, De Broglie, and some others. Artois and the Polignacs, aided by the queen, steadily resisted all of the king's efforts to live with his people and relieve their burdens. The king was sacrificed in the contest between the party of Artois and the people clamoring for constitutional government. The count's character and influence over the queen is thus described by Lamartine:

"The Comte d'Artois, the king's youngest brother, chivalrous in etiquette, had much influence with her. He relied greatly on the *noblesse;* made frequent references to his sword. He laughed at the crisis; he disdained this war of words, caballed against ministers, and treated passing events with levity." Although the count talked much of his sword, he was always prudent in allowing his friends to make sacrifices. He believed in his destiny, and desired to be King of France. Both of his brothers were despised by him because they showed signs of liberalism. In contrast to Artois, the Count of Provence behaved with dignity, and remained in Paris supporting the king until 1791.

The Count of Artois fled early from the scene of his mischief-making and shallow resistance to a great popular uprising. On June 20th, 1789, the national assembly, barred out of the hall of the states general, took the oath at the tennis court never to separate until France had a constitution. On the 22d of June, when the assembly was to gather again in the tennis court, it was found that the Count of Artois had hired it. With such small weapons this weak, vain man fought for the old regime. He was also instrumental in the dismissal of Necker and bringing the old marshal De Broglie to Paris with an army of foreign troops to overawe the assembly. The utter failure of this plot put the royal family in jeopardy. Popular indignation rose against the count, and on the eve of the destruction of the Bastile, his name was put on the list of the proscribed with the queen, Madame Polignac, and many others. The Bastile fell on July 14, 1789; on the 16th Artois and the Polignacs and Condes fled to Turin. All carried with them much of the wealth filched from an overburdened people. They went under the leadership of Artois, to rouse the nations of Europe to war on the revolutionists, and raised a tumult that brought the king's head to the block. Wrong-headed and impetuous, Artois was a leader in the plans to invade France. The king was a victim of his shallow brother. When the king was dead, Artois hastened to call himself Monsieur, the title of the successor to the throne, although there was a

young prince still living, a prisoner in the Temple. The count strutted about Europe, proud that he had stirred things. The emigrants made disastrous war and then scattered. Their court at Coblentz was dissolved by the impetuous army of the convention.

The Count of Artois and the Duke of Polignac went to Russia. The count had then assumed the title "Monsieur," and the throne seemed near. He was received and fêted by Catherine II., who played the part of the witches in Macbeth, by presenting a costly sword inscribed, "From God to the King"! Catherine was pleased with the courtly grace of the count, and was so well disposed toward Polignac, that she provided him with a dwelling in the Ukraine, far from the red republicans who wanted his head. This visit of Artois had much influence upon future events. The sons of Polignac, Armand and Jules, followed the fortunes of Artois, who was not yet ready to hide himself. The last public adventure of Artois to restore royalty in France was made from England in August, 1795, with an army of emigrants, and a British fleet under Admiral Warren. The plan was to land a strong force, under command of Artois, upon the coast of Brittany, to aid the Chouans and Vendeans, who were still loyal to the Bourbons. Under native leaders of great bravery, the people of Western France were fighting in a desultory way against the new government in Paris. There was expectation that the count, who was then the active leader of the emigrants, would force his way to Paris and end the disorder. The expedition sailed away, but when off the coast of France, the count's courage failed, and he refused to land. This exhibition of characteristic cowardice made the name of Artois a by-word, and he was heartily detested by Englishmen, emigrants, and the French republicans.

The gloomy palace of Holyrood, where Rizzio had been murdered, was assigned to the count as his official residence, by the prince regent. There the count gathered his devoted followers, the Polignac brothers, M. Rivière, Madame Gontaut, and others. This lady left some memoirs, and the fragments which have been published throw some light upon the residence of the Count at Holyrood. He was so despised, frightened, and harassed, that up to 1797 he did not dare to leave the palace grounds. But in his hiding he never ceased to plot. His immediate friends and supporters were employed to further his plans, until they were so far involved that Bonaparte executed three of them, and held three others as hostages. Soon after this failure Artois must have fled to America.

In 1797, Madame Gontaut, as probably the agent of Artois, went to Paris in disguise, says Imbert de St. Amand, and returned in safety. It was in this year that General Hoche, one of the ablest commanders of the

republican forces, was mysteriously poisoned. We shall refer to the circumstances hereafter. The chief purpose of the journey of Madame Gontaut was undoubtedly connected with an effort to persuade Bonaparte, through Josephine, to end the revolution, and throw his influence in favor of a Bourbon restoration. The effort failed. Bonaparte saw a better career for himself. At the time he may have got an inkling of the secret work of Artois. After the return of Madame, she resided at Holyrood for some years. But it appears from St. Amand, that she afterward went to the court of Louis XVIII., at Hartwell house, Buckinghamshire, England. Louis did not take up his abode in England until 1807, having previously resided in Warsaw up to the treaty of Tilsit, 1807. The Count of Artois must have left England before his brother's arrival. After the breaking up of the court of Coblentz, the two brothers kept apart; and even the sons of Artois, the Duke of Angoulême and Duke of Berry, avoided their father. The Duke of Angoulême, who had married the orphan of the Temple, kept near his uncle.

At Hartwell house, Madame Gontaut became quite popular among the English, as she had been a *protégée* of Marie Antoinette before the revolution. Her removal to Hartwell house would indicate that Artois had left Holyrood. There is, so far as we have been able to ascertain, no record of his activity or presence at Holyrood after the tragic failure of his plot against the life of Bonaparte in 1804. The *American Cyclopædia* says that after the disgrace of 1795, Artois lived in obscurity, residing mainly in England, till the fall of Napoleon, when he returned to Paris, April 12, 1814. Chambers says of Artois, after the failure to land on the west coast of France: "Detested now by the royalists of France, and despised by the British, he lived in obscurity, until the allies entered Paris in 1814, when he appeared in France as Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom." Obscurity was favorable to his escape from disgrace and the vengeance of Bonaparte. The use of the word "obscurity" shows that his doings and whereabouts were not known. The few relatives in England, if they knew of his departure to America, must have rejoiced, for he threatened to cause the extinction of the French Bourbons by his foolish and restless plotting. It is no wonder that his cowardly flight was kept a profound secret, for he was heir to a throne. The secret was well kept.

The final tragedy that came from Artois' plotting at Holyrood, and which in all reason furnished a sufficient motive for his flight, is yet to be described. The plot was aimed at the life of the first consul, and its execution was entrusted to the count's immediate followers. Five of his agents received instructions at Holyrood, and another was incidentally but

fatally involved. The culmination of the plot in 1804 resulted in the death of General Georges Cadoudal, General Pichegru and the Duke d'Enghien by orders of Bonaparte, and the imprisonment in France of Armand and Jules Polignac and Charles Rivière. The Polignacs and Rivière were the nearest friends of Artois, and it would appear that they were shrewdly held prisoners by Bonaparte to compel the subsidence of their vainglorious and treacherous master at Holyrood. This supposition is supported by an incident in the trial of Rivière, which especially recommended him to the consideration of Artois when he became king. The story of the plot to assassinate Bonaparte involves a brief history of each agent and his connection with the Count of Artois.

St. Armand, in giving reasons for the appointment of Jules de Polignac minister of state by Charles X. in 1829, says of the brothers: "After having been one of the courtiers of the little court at Coblentz, Jules de Polignac had taken service for some time in Russia, and then passed into England, where he had been one of the most intimate confidants and one of the most active agents of the Count of Artois. Sent secretly into France with his elder brother, Duke Armand de Polignac, he was, like the latter, compromised in the Cadoudal conspiracy. Their trial is remarkable for the noble strife of devotion in which each of the brothers pleaded the cause of the other at the expense of his own. Armand was condemned to death. His wife then threw herself at the feet of the first consul, who, thanks to the intercession of Josephine, commuted the penalty of death to perpetual confinement. Jules was condemned to prison, and shared the captivity of his brother." This account is very meager, omitting the interesting facts which were brought out. The Polignacs undoubtedly made a clean breast of it, showing that they were merely the innocent agents of the Count of Artois. It is certain that M. Rivière was closely questioned about Artois. St. Amand says, in describing Rivière after he had been appointed by Charles X. governor of the "child of miracle," the Duke of Bordeaux, afterward known as the Count of Chambord: "The choice of Charles X. fell on one of his oldest and most faithful friends, the Lieutenant-General Duke Charles de Rivière. He was a soldier of great valor, of gentle disposition, full of modesty and kindness. Born December 17, 1763, M. de Rivière had been the companion and servitor of the princes in exile and misfortune, and they had confided to him the most difficult and dangerous missions. He was secretly in France in 1794, and was arrested and condemned to death as implicated in the Cadoudal case. At his trial he was shown at a distance the portrait of the Count of Artois, and asked if he recognized it. He asked to see it nearer, and then having

it in his hands, he said, looking at the president: 'Do you suppose that even from afar I did not recognize it? But I wished to see it nearer once more before I die.' And the martyr of royalty religiously kissed the image of his dear prince. Josephine intervened and secured the commutation of the sentence, as well as that of the Duke Armand de Polignac." "Josephine intervened." This is the Bourbon way of stating it. But this dramatic display of the picture of Artois was to affect Artois himself, and make him believe that he was wanted, and that his tools were of no consequence except as hostages. The shrewd calculation of Bonaparte undoubtedly frightened the man at Holyrood, who had so often shown cowardice, half out of his wits. In Georgetown he was in abject fear, and read the European papers with feverish anxiety to see whether his dear friends still kept their heads upon their shoulders. Their safety depended upon Artois keeping as still as a mouse, and he kept still, and hunted with an energy that characterized him during his life. He also feared assassination, as is clearly shown by the precautions he took while on journeys, and in avoiding public assemblies, as indicated by Mrs. Hammond. The Count of Artois dreaded assassination because he was himself an assassin of the meanest sort.

When General Hoche died of poison, Bonaparte learned something to his advantage, and we presume that his detectives never ceased to watch the chief and most active royalists from that time. When the Polignacs and Rivière and Pichegru and Cadoudal left Holyrood on their errand of assassination, their departure must have been soon after known to Bonaparte in Paris. The swiftness with which all of the agents of Artois were seized must have surprised the shallow plotter in the suburbs of Edinburgh. He knew then that he was watched, and doubtless expected that a man who could strike with such certainty and swiftness would end him as he had the Duke of Enghien,[1] Cadoudal, and Pichegru.

The Count of Artois had a sufficient motive for leaving England and hiding himself in America. The Count of Provence, we believe, had nothing to do with the plots; he was in Warsaw at the time. In the Count of Artois we find the only man who had reason to fear Bonaparte as Louis Anathe Muller feared him. Artois was the only man who was cowardly enough to send his friends to assassinate Bonaparte and then run away himself to a secure hiding-place.

[1] Napoleon's will contains the following reference to the arrest of the Duc d'Enghien: "I caused the Duc d'Enghien to be arrested and tried because that step was essential to the safety, interest and honor of the French people, when the Comte d'Artois was maintaining, by his own confession, sixty assassins at Paris. Under similar circumstances I should act in the same way."

General Moreau was banished to America by Bonaparte because of connection with the Cadoudal conspiracy. The disgraced general found refuge at Morrisville, Pennsylvania, opposite Trenton, New Jersey, and conducted a farm there from 1804 to 1813. He was not the man who built the chateau on the heights of Georgetown. Moreau left Morrisville in 1813, about the time that Muller left Georgetown, but Muller came back in 1816, while Moreau was mortally wounded at the battle of Dresden, while serving on the staff of the Czar Alexander, and died September 2, 1813. This gallant but ill-fated general is eliminated from the list of possible occupants of the Georgetown estates. It is possible that Moreau knew the man at Georgetown, and corresponded with him before taking service under the czar to overthrow Bonaparte.

The Count of Artois was familiar with many officers who served in America toward the close of the Revolution, and was instrumental in granting favors to one of them, Louis Philippe de Rigaud, the Marquis de Vaudreuil. The marquis was a nephew of Pierre de Rigaud, governor of Louisiana in 1742, governor-general of Canada in 1755, and the builder of Fort Carillon, or Ticonderoga. Louis Philippe de Rigaud served in the fleet of the Count de Grasse in American waters during the Revolution, and was in the action with the British fleet off the capes of the Chesapeake. The marquis was also in the action with Rodney, April 12, 1782. The marquis acquired large estates in America. When the French finance minister Calonne was pouring out money like water at the opening of the French revolution, the marquis of Vaudreuil sold his American estates to the king for a million francs, through the friendly influence of the Count of Artois. The count performed his part in the jobbery, but the money was not paid, and the estates were returned. The king had no use for them. Artois must have gained a very favorable impression of America from his friend the marquis, even if the latter did not recommend America as a place of refuge. The marquis did not leave Paris with Artois, but remained for a time to assist the king. The marquis finally fled to England, where he lived during the reign of terror. He died in Paris, December 14, 1802. His relationship with the Count of Artois cannot be clearly traced, but he appears to have abandoned the idea of supporting the Bourbons in the capacity of an exile. He is eliminated from the list of possible occupants of the Georgetown estates. His death occurred in the same year as that of Calonne, who had been utterly ruined by his devotion to the Count of Artois. Calonne was made controller-general of finance through the influence of Artois in 1783. Calonne paid Artois' debts and enriched nearly all of the count's friends before they fled from impending

danger. After bringing ruin upon the national finances, Calonne followed Artois, serving him at Coblentz, and afterward in England. Calonne finally broke away from the servitude to the plotter, and went to Paris in 1802, where he died a few weeks after his arrival. His name is not to be considered in connection with the Georgetown estates. He might have died a natural death, but he possessed many of the count's secrets, having been a confidential adviser for many years. Through Calonne, Artois had filched from the French treasury the funds which he had used in various adventures and escapades. Although Calonne was as unstable and unreliable as his patron, the French financier must have come to fear the count and his methods. It is possible that Calonne made revelations in Paris, that led to extreme caution by Bonaparte, and resulted in the tragic failure of the Cadoudal conspiracy. The desertion of Calonne was at least a warning to the count, and must have tended to impress him with the desirability of leaving a country where he was shunned and abhorred.

It may be asked how a man of so much prominence as the Count of Artois could keep secret a flight to America. In the first place, he was so isolated and distrusted, that few cared about him or his place of residence. Those who remained faithful to him were rewarded when he became king, and their mouths were closed by favors. Many of those who opposed him and knew his secrets died mysteriously. Of the friends and supporters, Madame Gontaut was made a duchess, and governess to the Duke of Bordeaux. Rivière was made governor of the young duke. Jules Polignac became prime minister. Armand Polignac was chief equerry. The Abbé Latil, who performed the final offices for the Countess of Polastron, Artois' favorite, who died in England, 1803, became Archbishop of Rheims, and crowned his benefactor as Charles X. General Bourmont, who had been in a plot to assassinate Bonaparte early in the great commander's career, and who deserted Bonaparte just before the battle of Waterloo, was made minister of war by Charles X. These friends, if they knew of Artois' escapade to America, guarded his secret well. The life of Artois, or Charles X., was written from such data as were known and furnished by him or his family. The escapade to America was intended to be secret, and no one told of it. Charles X. was noted for his ability to keep his own counsel and deceive his best friends. St. Amand says of him, just before the revolution of 1830: "Like his grandfather, Louis XV., and almost all the Bourbons, he had the talent of dissimulating well." He dissimulated so well that he deceived even himself. Only a man of such cunning could have concealed his identity in the wilds of Madison. Deception had become a fixed habit. It was hereditary.

The deception at Georgetown required a man of peculiar character to carry it out, and the only public man who possessed this character to perfection was the Count of Artois.

In the course of the investigation, the results of which have been partly detailed, the Duke of Bourbon at one time appeared to be worthy of consideration as a possible occupant of the Georgetown chateau. He was the father of the Duke of Enghien, and was probably somewhat affected by his son's tragic death. But the Duke of Bourbon was not a coward, although a man of no great power. He was one of the weakest of the Condés, and, unlike his son, had never given any particular offense to Bonaparte. The duke was born in 1756, and his age was about that of Louis Anathe Muller, as estimated by those who knew him. The duke was also a hunter, although he spent less time in hunting than the Count of Artois. The duke was not associated with Artois in England, and must have been as deeply disgusted with his futile plottings as the rest of the royalists. Imbert de St. Amand says: "During the emigration, the Duke of Bourbon served with valor in the army of his father, the Prince of Condé. While the white flag floated at the head of a regiment, he was found fighting for the royal cause. When the struggle ended, he retired to England, where he lived near Louis XVIII., and always at his disposition." Louis XVIII. had no patience with his brother, the Count of Artois, and kept away from him. Louis lived quietly at Hartwell house, and many of the royalists who had not been imprisoned or executed through the plottings of Artois gathered there. The Duke of Bourbon was among them. General Dumouriez has also been considered, but at the time Muller settled in Georgetown, Dumouriez was sixty-nine years old, while Muller was estimated to be about fifty. The general, although a royalist, had no particular reason for fearing Bonaparte. Dumouriez died in England in 1823. The Count of Artois was of the right age, fifty-one, in 1808, had a sufficient motive, answers in character and in methods of amusement to Louis Anathe Muller. Artois was a man of illusions, say his biographers, and Muller was a man of illusions. He tried to create a paradise on the bleak hill-top in Madison county, and made costly experiments in horticulture.

The exact time when Artois left Holyrood for America cannot well be ascertained, for it is not known how long he remained in the vicinity of New York city before buying the estate in the wilderness. He must have remained in New York long enough to have made the acquaintance of many of the leading men of the city. At the time Artois probably left Holyrood, there was general expectation that Bonaparte would con-

quer all Europe, and that England would be invaded. Muller held this view. England had proposed an alliance against Bonaparte in 1805, and such an alliance was formed. In the summer of that year Bonaparte swept all before him. He conquered Austria, and in 1806 moved against Prussia, entering Berlin October 26, 1806. On the 21st of November he declared the British islands blockaded. Preparation was also made to land a force on English soil. Clearly, British soil was no place for a coward like the Count of Artois, who was saving himself to be king. He must have gone away from Holyrood between 1804 and 1807, probably after the proclamation of a blockade by Bonaparte. Artois was free to leave Edinburgh; he was even free to marry in New York, as it is intimated he did by Mrs. Hammond. The Countess of Artois, from whom he had been separated for many years, died in 1805. His favorite, the Countess of Polastron, died in England in 1803.

The count came to America not only to avoid Bonaparte, but to put at rest the tongues that were busy with his name. His real name was as odious in America as in Europe, and if he was to become king his evil deeds and cowardice must be forgotten. For this reason it was wise to hide himself under the name of Louis Anathe Muller. Throughout his career he showed a disposition to make people think well of him. He tried to be affable and generous. He was ostentatiously so. He contrived a dramatic scene when the Countess of Polastron died, and the story of his oath to renounce the wickedness of the world was spread broadcast by his faithful followers, the Abbé Latil and Madame Gontaut. When Artois became king he employed every art to please and conciliate. Lamartine says he had "an ardent thirst for popularity, great confidence in his relations with others, a constancy in friendship rare upon the throne." His gracious kindliness of manner was to a large degree natural, but he cultivated it. St. Amand says: "The fiercest adversaries of Charles X. never denied the attraction emanating from his whole personality, the chief secret of which was kindliness." Count de Haussonville says: "He plainly wished to please those whom he addressed, and he had the gift of doing so. His physiognomy as well as his manner helped. It was open and benevolent, always animated by an easy, perhaps a slightly commonplace, smile." M. de Viel Castel wrote: "In the lively satisfaction he felt in entering at last, at the age of sixty-seven, upon the enjoyment of the supreme rule by the perspective of which his imagination had been so long haunted, he was disposed to neglect nothing to capture public favor, and thus gain the chance to realize the dreams of his life. His kindliness and natural courtesy would have inspired these tactics, even if policy

had not suggested them." He had long been plotting for the throne. He had also been schooling himself as best he could for it. De Haussonville says of Charles at his coronation: "No one was better adapted than he, in default of more solid qualities, to give a becoming air to the outward manifestations of a royalty that was at once amiable and dignified."

Louis Anathe Muller was a man of this character. He impressed himself upon all who came in contact with him as an amiable and generous man. Mrs. Hammond has recorded the general impression of him as follows: "Enlarged benevolence marked his conduct; the sick and the needy found their fevered pulses soothed by personal attentions and the means for supplying all reasonable wants." St. Amand says of Charles X.: "He was a tender father, a gentle, indulgent master to his servants."

The description of Muller's personal appearance fits accurately the descriptions of the Count of Artois or Charles X. Again we refer to the work of Mrs. Hammond, as she cannot have been writing to prove any case: "In his personal appearance L. A. Muller was a fine-looking man, about five feet five inches high, well proportioned, possessing a distinguished military bearing. His complexion was of a swarthy color, eyes black and penetrating, features sharply defined, with the forehead of a keen, practical intellect, perfectly in keeping with the fine face. He was apparently about fifty years of age." I cannot vouch for all of this description, but Muller was certainly a man of fine presence, In 1808 the Count of Artois was fifty-one. The *Drapeau Blanc*, a Paris journal, says of Charles X's strongly marked features and handsome face: "This glance, expressing only goodness, this smile, so full of grace, they long for everywhere and always before their eyes. His classic and cherished features are reproduced in every form; every public place has its bust, every hut its image."

Here is another description, from St. Amand, of the graceful man, the bold rider and skilled hunter, which can be well applied to Muller, who was always on horseback upon the great estates in Georgetown: "Born at Versailles, October 9, 1757, Charles X., King of France and Navarre, was entering his sixty-eighth year at the time of his accession to the throne. According to the portrait traced by Lamartine, he had kept beneath the first frosts of age the freshness, the stature, the suppleness of youth. His health was excellent, and but for the color of his hair—almost white—he would hardly have been given more than fifty years. As alert as his predecessor was immobile, an untiring hunter, a bold rider, sitting his horse with the grace of a young man, a kindly talker, an affable sovereign, this survivor of the court of Versailles, this familiar of the Petit Trianon, this friend of Marie Antoinette, of the Princess of Lamballe, of the Duke of

Lauzun, of the Prince de Ligne, preserved, despite his devotedness, a great social prestige. He perpetuated the traditions of the elegance of the old régime."

When Louis Anathe Muller purchased the forested heights in Georgetown, two powerful motives actuated him—fear of Bonaparte and an overmastering desire for a place to hunt in security. The Count of Artois' love of hunting was also as strong as his fear of Bonaparte. The passion for hunting, and dread of Bonaparte, evinced by Muller point unerringly to Artois as the man, and the only man, who could have occupied the chateau on "Muller Hill."[1] We have already seen how Muller devoted a large sum and a vast tract of land to a hunting preserve. His love for the woods and the chase was so strong that it was a matter of comment everywhere in the southern part of Madison county. Let us turn now to Artois' passion for hunting after he became Charles X. He endangered his throne by devotion to the chase. His hunting became a matter for heated discussion, and the opposition journals lampooned him unmercifully. M. de la Rochefoucauld wrote, in January, 1825, in his notes of public expressions about the king: "The good Madame de M——, of the Sacred Heart, was saying the other day: We had a king with no limbs, and with a head; now we have limbs and no head." Imbert de St. Amand wrote: "From 1825 criticism of the king began. He was accused of giving himself up too much to the pleasures of the chase. The time was approaching when his enemies would say of him—a cruel play of words: 'He's good for nothing but to hunt.'" On June 17, 1825, M. de la Rochefoucauld wrote: "I must tell all to the king. I have prevented the giving of a play at the Odeon called Robin des Bois (Robin Hood), because it is a nickname criminally given by the people to him whom they accuse of hunting too often." On October 8 he wrote: "I am in despair at seeing the journals recounting hunt after hunt." The Duke of Doudeauville wrote in his memoirs: "Twice a week, and often only once, when the weather permitted, he went hunting, perhaps gunning, perhaps coursing. I certify that this was the extent of the hunting of which calumny, to ruin him, made a crime." The French people did not have a high regard for the hunters of the old régime. It was not many years before, that these grand hunters shot plumbers and roofers to see them roll off the roofs. The first thing Charles X. did after reaching Holyrood, which he occupied again after his final exile in 1830, was to go hunting. And this was the man who bought a good part of a township in America for the purpose of hunting and personal safety.

[1] The "Muller" chateau can be reached by way of Canastota and the railway thence to De Ruyter. The chateau is six miles east of De Ruyter village.

I have referred to the fact that Artois was isolated in England, and despised and distrusted by his own family. He was isolated and in perpetual feud with his brother after the restoration in 1814. He kept up a kind of court in Paris, which was the centre for reactionists and critics of Louis XVIII's policy. The Count of Artois plotted against ministers, instituted police espionage, and was a constant menace to his brother. Although Louis could not use his legs, he had a head, and was so far devoted to liberal ideas that he succeeded well, until Bonaparte escaped from Elba. Then, with a kind of grim humor, Louis sent his vainglorious brother as commander of the French armies to Lyons, on March 7, 1815, to oppose Bonaparte's progress. The count behaved as usual, and displayed his sickening fear of the Corsican. He did not get near Bonaparte, but hastened back to Paris and to safety. He reached Lyons on the 8th and left it on the 10th. Unlike him, the Duchess of Angoulême offered real opposition at Bordeaux, and won from Bonaparte the complimentary remark that she was the only man in the family.

The time of Muller's, or Artois,' departure for Europe, to be present when Bonaparte was subdued, cannot be accurately given. He was in Georgetown after the opening of the war of 1812, as we have already seen. He must have left New York late in 1813, for he was in Switzerland in 1814, before the Allies descended on Paris. The count was at Nancy, March 23, 1814. He sought Talleyrand and undoubtedly hoped to be king, but Talleyrand and the emperors knew the shallow man too well, and invited the man with a head, the Count of Provence, to take the throne. The time of the return of Artois to America to settle his affairs and sell his estates in Georgetown is known. It was when all danger from Bonaparte was past, after the battle of Waterloo. After the hundred days of Napoleon's rule, and the return of Louis XVIII. to Paris, it is said by his biographers that the Count of Artois held aloof from public affairs. He was absent in America. The battle of Waterloo was fought June 18, 1815, and Muller, or Artois, was in New York selling his estates in April, 1816. On the 9th of April he deeded the Georgetown property to Abijah Weston of New York city. The instrument was attested by two of the principal citizens, showing that there was considerable ceremony. The witnesses were Cornelius Bogart and Jacob Radcliffe, mayor of the city. The mayor also signed the deed, probably because Muller was an alien.

While in New York, Muller went to his former home in Georgetown, and found it desolate. The furniture was gone, the garden neglected, and he hurried away to France to wait for the man with a head to die. Not until the philosopher of the Bourbon family was on his death-bed did the

secret plotting of Artois cease. St. Amand says: "The antagonism between the two brothers had almost entirely disappeared. The Count of Artois, thinking that Louis XVIII. had reached the term of his life, had the good taste not to show any impatience to reign. Moreover, he had already obtained some great satisfactions."

The stormy life of Charles X. ended at Goritz, Austria, in 1836. His bones lie there in the chapel of the Franciscans. His life has not yet been fully written.

It is not necessary to anticipate criticism. Vast interests depended on secrecy, and it is known that the Count of Artois bent every energy to accomplish one purpose—to become king of France. His romantic life in America fits in with all the knowledge we have of his character and surprising enterprises. Should the adventure upon the hills of Georgetown be attributed to any other man, it would first be necessary to show that he was capable of such an escapade. In attributing it to Artois, I have added one more episode to the life of a man who was famed for adventure and daring eccentricity.

RALEIGH'S "NEW FORT IN VIRGINIA"[1]—1585

By Edward Graham Daves

"God hath reserved the countreys lying North of Florida, to be reduced unto Christian civility by the English nation."

The coast of North Carolina is a long, narrow chain of low sand-hills, locally called the Banks, separating the ocean from the broad, shallow bodies of water, Pamlico and Albemarle sounds, which are the estuaries of the Neuse and Roanoke and other great rivers of the state. At irregular intervals the line of the Banks is broken by narrow and ever-shifting inlets, through which flow the ocean tides, turning the inner waters into vast salt lakes, very rich in all varieties of sea products.

Within this breastwork of barren downs are few islands; but there is one of supreme importance in the history of the Anglo-Saxon race in America. Roanoke island, about twelve miles long by three in width, lies between Roanoke and Croatan sounds, the shallow waters which connect Pamlico and Albemarle, and is two miles from the Banks, and thrice that distance from the mainland. Here was established the first English colony; here was born the first white American; here was celebrated the first Protestant rite within the present limits of the United States. It is the starting point of events as pregnant with great results in the wonderful history of our race, as was the landing of our forefathers on the shores of Kent, when they migrated from their Holstein homes more than a thousand years before.

Yet, interesting and important as is the spot, how little is known of it by the great majority of Americans, or of this first endeavor to plant the sturdy English stock in the soil of the new world! We are familiar with the bloody atrocities amid which St. Augustine was founded; we are versed in the story of John Smith's adventures at Jamestown, and of the arrival of the Mayflower at Plymouth; but this early attempt at English colonization, with all its romantic incidents, has been allowed to sink almost into oblivion. It is not from lack of historical materials, for they are very abundant. While of the explorations of the Cabots we have no account from anyone who took part in their voyages, the story of Roanoke has been

[1] The quotations in the text, unless otherwise stated, are from *Hakluyt's Voyages*, Vol. III. For a discussion of the fate of the lost colony, see an article by Prof. S. B. Weeks of Trinity College, North Carolina, in the papers of the *American Historical Association*, Vol. V.

fully told by Barlowe, Lane, Hariot, and White, leaders in the several expeditions. These precious documents, together with water-color illustrations of the new country, have all been preserved, and no tale of adventure is fuller of picturesque incident and romantic interest.

The colony bears the name of one of the most remarkable men in a very remarkable age—Raleigh, the cavalier, statesman, philosopher, historian, poet, mariner, explorer, hero, martyr—

"The courtier's, scholar's, soldier's eye, tongue, sword."

No character in legend or history is more brilliant or versatile. The period, too, is the most interesting epoch in the life of the English people. Bacon and Shakespeare were budding into manhood; Sidney had written the *Arcadia* and *Defense of Poesie*, and was about to find his apotheosis on the field of Zutphen; while Spenser was dreaming of the land of Faery, among "the green alders by the Mulla's shore." Frobisher had made his Arctic explorations, and Drake had returned to amaze all England with his story of the circumnavigation of the globe.

The savage cruelties of Alva, and the massacre of St. Bartholomew, had kindled religious animosity into a fierce flame. The Prince of Orange was about to fall under the assassin's knife, and plots were thickening about the fair head of Mary Stuart, which were to bring her to the scaffold. The Renaissance and the Reformation had broken the shackles of the intellect, and widened the horizon of thought; while the great discoveries had opened new fields for the display of human energy. Men were giving up the speculations about the heavenly world, which had absorbed the intellectual activities of the middle ages, and were turning to the practical conquest of a world beyond the seas. England and Protestantism were gathering their forces for the last great struggle with Spain and the Latin church, for supremacy in the old world, and for mastery in the new.

The English claim to North America, from Newfoundland to Florida, was based upon the patent granted to John and Sebastian Cabot, by Henry VII., in 1496, the oldest American state paper of England.[1] They reached our shores in 1497, before either Columbus or Amerigo Vespucci had discovered the mainland, and the meteor flag of England was the first that was unfurled on the continent.

The earliest serious attempt at English colonization was made in 1578, by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, the half-brother of Raleigh. The latter was already conspicuous as a *preux chevalier* and champion of Protestantism.

[1] "Letters patentes of King Henry VII., graunted unto John Gabote and his three Sonnes, for the discovering of newe and unknowen Landes. Quinto die Martii, anno regni nostri undecimo."

He had set before himself as the one great aim in life the humiliation of Spain, and the weakening of the power of the Latin race and religion. At the early age of seventeen he left the university of Oxford to join a band of a hundred gentlemen volunteers, who went to the aid of Coligny and the Huguenots—"a gallant company, nobly mounted and accoutred, and bearing for a motto on their standard, 'Let valour decide the contest.'" France was then aflame with the reports of the massacre of the Huguenots in Florida, and the idea germinated in Raleigh's mind that a mortal blow might be dealt to the enemy beyond the seas. From the service of Coligny he passed to that of William the Silent, and all the while was growing in him the conviction which he expressed later in life, that the possession of America would decide the question of the supremacy of Spain or England. "For whatsoever Prince shall possesse it, shall bee greatest, and if the king of Spayne enjoy it, he will become unresistible. I trust in God that he which is Lorde of Lords, will put it into her hart which is Lady of Ladies to possesse it."

Raleigh took command of one of the seven small vessels of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's fleet, with which they hoped to reach our shores, and by establishing a colony check the progress of the Spaniards, and "put a byt into their anchient enemye's mouth." The attempt was a failure; and on the second expedition, in 1583, Raleigh, who had fitted out one of the five ships, was forbidden by the queen to accompany his brother. Gilbert took formal possession of Newfoundland, but he lost his best ship off Sable island; and on the return voyage the gallant old sailor went down off the Azores, with the Squirrel, his little craft of ten tons, his last noble words being, "Courage, my friends! We are as neere to heaven by sea as by land."

To Raleigh then came the scheme of colonization almost as an inheritance; and on Lady-Day, March 25, 1584, Queen Elizabeth issued to him a patent of discovery, granting him "all prerogatives, commodities, jurisdictions, royalties, privileges, franchises, and pre-eminences, thereto or thereabouts, both by sea and land, whatsoever we by our letters patents may grant, and as we or any of our noble progenitors have heretofore granted to any person or persons, bodies politique or corporate."

Raleigh equipped two vessels under command of Amadas and Barlowe, and from the pen of the latter we have an account of the expedition: "The 27 day of Aprill, in the yere of our redemption 1584, we departed the West of England, with two barkes well furnished with men and victuals. . . . The tenth of June we were fallen with the Islands of the West Indies. . . . The second of July, we found shole water, wher

we smelt so sweet and so strong a smel, as if we had been in the midst of some delicate garden abounding with odoriferous flowers, by which we were assured, that the land could not be farre distant."

This characteristic of what Lane afterward called the "Paradise of the world" may have been in Milton's mind when he described the approach of the Evil Spirit to the garden of Eden:

> "Now purer air
> Meets his approach: . . . now gentle gales
> Fanning their odoriferous wings dispense
> Native perfumes, and whisper whence they stole
> Those balmy spoils. As when to them who sail
> Beyond the Cape of Hope, north-east winds blow
> Sabean odours from the spicy shore
> Of Araby the blest; with such delay
> Well pleased they slack their course, and many a league
> Cheered with the grateful smell old Ocean smiles."[1]

"Keeping good watch, and bearing but slacke saile, the fourth of the same moneth [America's fated day!] we arrived upon the coast, which we supposed to be a continent, and we sayled along the same 120 miles before we could find any entrance, or river issuing into the Sea. The first that appeared unto us we entred, and cast anker about three harquebuz-shot within the haven's mouth: and after thankes given to God for our safe arrivall thither, we manned our boats, and went to view the land next adjoyning, and to take possession of the same, in right of the Queenes most excellent Majestie."

The explorers had coasted northward two days along the Banks, and entering at New inlet or Trinity harbour, had anchored not far from Roanoke island. "We viewed the land about us, being, whereas we first landed, very sandie and low towards the water side, but so full of grapes, as the very beating and surge of the sea overflowed them, of which we found such plentie, both on the sand and on the greene soile on the hils, as well on every little shrubbe, as also climing towardes the tops of high Cedars, that I thinke in all the world the like abundance is not to be found." This is evidently the luxuriant North Carolina Scuppernong grape, whose strong aromatic perfume might well be perceived at some distance from the shore. . . . "There came unto us divers boates, and in one of them the king's brother, with fortie or fiftie men, very handsome and goodly people, and in their behaviour as mannerly and civill as any in Europe. . . . The soile is the most plentifull, sweete, fruitfull and

[1] Paradise Lost, IV. 153–165.

wholsome of all the worlde: there were above fourteene severall sweete-smelling timber trees, and the most part of their underwoods are Bayes and such like. . . . Wee came to an Island which they call Roanoak, distant from the harbour by which we entered seven leagues: and at the north end thereof was a village of nine houses, built of Cedar, and fortified round about with sharpe trees, to keepe out their enemies, and the entrance into it made like a Turne pike very artificially. . . . The wife of the king's brother came running out to meete us very cheerefully and friendly. When we were come into the utter roome, having five roomes in her house, she caused us to sit downe by a great fire, and after tooke off our clothes and washed them, and dryed them againe: some of the women plucked off our stockings and washed them, some washed our feete in warme water, shee herselfe making greate haste to dress some meate for us to eate. . . . We were entertained with all love and kindnesse, and with as much bountie as they could possibly devise. We found the people most gentle, loving and faithfull, voide of all guile and treason, and such as live after the manner of the golden age."

These first explorers remained in our waters only two months, reaching England again "about the middest of September," bringing with them two of the natives, Wanchese and Manteo. Their arrival excited the greatest interest. Raleigh named the new country Virginia in honor of the queen, and our whole Atlantic coast was now regarded as under the dominion of France, England, and Spain; the three districts of indefinite boundaries being known as Canada, Virginia, and Florida.

This voyage of Amadas was merely one of exploration; but in 1585 Raleigh fitted out a second expedition of seven sail and one hundred and eight men, under command of his cousin Sir Richard Grenville, to plant a colony in the paradise described by Barlowe. Grenville is another of the brilliant heroes of this period, and it is interesting to note the number of remarkable men who were connected with these American voyages. Gilbert, Raleigh, Grenville, Lane, Hariot, White, form as striking a group of adventurous spirits as can be gathered together in history.

Full accounts of the experiences of the colonists are given by Lane. "The 9 day of April 1585 we departed from Plymouth, our Fleete consisting of the number of seven sailes, to wit the Tyger, of the burden of seven score tunnes, a Flie-boat called the Roe-bucke, of the like burden, the Lyon of a hundred tunnes, the Elizabeth, of fifty tunnes, and the Dorothie, a small barke: wherunto were also adjoyned for speedy services, two small pinnesses. . . . The 12. day of May wee came to an anker off the island of St. John de Porto Rico. . . . The 24. day

we set saile from St. Johns, being many of us stung upon shoare with the Muskitos. . . . The 20 of June we fell in with the maine of Florida. The 23. we were in great danger of wracke on a beach called the Cape of Feare, [the Promontorium tremendum of the old maps.] The 26. we came to anker at Wocokon [Ocracoke]. July 3 we sent word of our arriving at Wocokon to Wingina [the Indian chief] at Roanoak. The 16. one of the savages having stollen from us a silver cup, we burnt and spoyled their corne and towne, all the people being fled. . . . The 27. our Fleete ankered at Haterask, and there we rested. The 25. August our Generall weyed anker, and set saile for England."

Grenville thus remained two months on the Carolina coast, and then putting the colony under the government of Ralph Lane, returned home to take command of one of the "Sea-dogs" which were now making the whole Atlantic unsafe for Spain. His death in 1591 off the Azores, where also Gilbert had perished, is one of the most glorious events in British naval annals. The English squadron consisted of but seven sail; the Spanish fleet numbered fifty-five. Engaged all night at close quarters with many of the largest Spanish galleons, at daylight Grenville found his little ship, the Revenge, literally shot to pieces, and not a man on board unhurt. Desperately wounded, he still refused to strike his flag; and when forced by his crew to surrender the sinking hull, he was taken on board the Spanish Admiral to utter the memorable last words: "Here die I, Richard Grenville, with a joyful and quiet mind; for that I have ended my life as a true soldier ought to do, fighting for his country, queen, religion, and honour."

On September 3, 1585, Governor Lane wrote to Richard Hakluyt from "the New Fort in Virginia," which he had built at the northern end of Roanoke island, on the site of the fortified Indian village found there by Amadas: "Since Sir Richard Grenville's departure, we have discovered the maine to be the goodliest soyle under the cope of heaven, so abounding with sweete trees, and grapes of such greatnesse, yet wilde. . . . And we have found here Maiz or Guinie wheat, whose eare yeeldeth corne for bread 400 upon one eare. . . . It is the goodliest and most pleasing Territorie of the world: for the continent is of an huge and unknowen greatnesse, and the climate is wholsome. . . . If Virginia had but horses and kine, I dare assure myselfe, being inhabited with English, *no realme in Christendome were comparable to it.*"

He describes the whole neighboring country, and determines to change the site of the colony to a better port, for "the harborough of Roanoak was very naught;" but the hostility of some of the Indian tribes ren-

dered all his efforts futile. Conspiracies were formed against the English, and their situation grew so precarious, that many turned a longing eye homeward. On June 10, 1586, Sir Francis Drake anchored off the coast with a fleet of twenty-three sail, and furnished Lane with a "very proper barke of seventy tun, and tooke present order for bringing of victual aboord her for 100 men for four moneths." But on the 13th there arose a great storm which drove her to sea, with many of the chief colonists on board, and she did not return. Despairing of any remedy for this disaster, and unable to pass another winter without succor from home, Lane determined to abandon the colony. The men were bestowed among Drake's fleet, and arrived at Portsmouth on the 27th of July.

"Immediately after the departing of our English colony out of this paradise of the world, the ship sent at the charges of Sir Walter Ralcigh, fraighted with all maner of things in most plentifull maner, arrived at Hatorask; who after some time spent in seeking our Colony up in the countrey, and not finding them, returned with all the aforesayd provision into England. About foureteene days after the departure of the aforesayd shippe, Sir Richard Grenville Generall of Virginia arrived there; who not hearing any newes of the Colony, and finding the places which they inhabited desolate, yet unwilling to loose the possession of the countrey, determined to leave some men behinde to reteine it: whereupon he landed fifteene men in the Isle of Roanoak, furnished plentifully with all maner of provisions for two yeeres."

Besides Lane's narrative of his explorations in the waters of North Carolina, of his relations with the Indians, and of the various adventures and vicissitudes of the first colony, we have a "Briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia" by Thomas Hariot, "a man no lesse for his honesty than learning commendable," the scholar of the expedition, and the inventor of the algebraic system of notation, described in his epitaph as:

Doctissimus ille Harriotus,
Qui omnes scientias coluit,
Qui in omnibus excelluit.
Mathematicis, philosophicis, theologicis,
Veritatis indagator studiosissimus.

His report, addressed to "the Adventurers, Favourers, and Welwillers of the enterprise for the inhabiting and planting in Virginia," is a very full and interesting account of the varied products of the new country, and of the manners and customs of the natives. "There is a kind of grasse in the country, upon the blades whereof there groweth very good silke. . . . There are two kindes of grapes that the soile doth yeeld, the one small and

sowre, of the ordinary bignesse, the other farre greater and of himselfe lushious sweet [the Scuppernong]. . . . A kinde of graine called by the inhabitants Pagatowr [Indian corn], about the bignesse of English peaze; but of divers colours; white, red, yellow and blew. All yeeld a very white and sweete flowre. . . . There is an herbe called by the inhabitants Uppowoe; the Spanyards call it Tabacco. The leaves thereof being brought into pouder, they used to take the smoake thereof, by sucking it thorow pipes made of clay, into their stomacke and heade; from whence it purgeth superfluous fleame and other grosse humours: whereby their bodies are notably preserved in health, and know not many grievous diseases, wherewithall we in England are afflicted. They thinke their gods are marvellously delighted therewith: whereupon they make hallowed fires, and cast some of the pouder therein for sacrifice: being in a storm, to pacifie their gods, they cast some into the waters: also after an escape from danger, they cast some into the aire. . . . We our selves used to sucke it after their maner, and have found many wonderfull experiments of the vertues thereof: the use of it by so many of late, men and women of great calling, is sufficient witnesse. . . . Openauk are a kinde of roots of round forme [the potato] found in moist and marish grounds: being boiled or sodden, they are very good meat. . . . The naturall inhabitants are a people clothed with loose mantles made of deere skinnes, and aprons of the same round about their middle, all els naked. . . . For mankinde they say a woman was made first, which by the working of one of the gods, conceived and brought foorth children; and in such sort they had their beginning. . . . Some of the people could not tell whether to thinke us gods or men, the rather because there was no man of ours knowen to die, or that was specially sicke: they noted also that we had no women among us. Some therefore were of opinion that we were not borne of women, and therefore not mortal, but that we were men of an old generation many yeeres past, then risen againe to immortalitie. Some would likewise prophecie that there were more of our generation *yet to come to kill theirs and take their places.*"

In no wise discouraged by the failure of this costly experiment at colonization, Raleigh fitted out another expedition of three vessels in the following year, under command of John White, to whom we are indebted for the story of this second colony. For the first time the enterprise had an element of permanence, by including among the emigrants women and children. The intention was to make a settlement on the shores of the Chesapeake, but through the treachery of a pilot Roanoke island again became the home of the colonists.

"In the yeere of our Lord 1587, Sir Walter Ralegh intending to persevere in the planting of his Countrey of Virginia, prepared a newe Colonie of one hundred and fifty men to be sent thither, under the charge of John White, whom hee appointed Governour, and also appointed unto him twelve Assistants, unto whom he gave a Charter, and incorporated them by the name of Governour and Assistants of the Citie of Ralegh in Virginia. Our Fleete being in number three saile, the Admirall a shippe of one hundred and twenty Tunnes, a Flie-boat, and a Pinnosse, departed the 26 of April from Portsmouth. . . . About the 16 of July we fel with the maine of Virginia, and bare along the coast, where in the night, had not Captaine Stafford bene carefull, we had bene all castaway upon the breach, called the Cape of Feare. The 22 of July wee arrived at Hatorask: the Governour went aboard the pinnesse, with fortie of his best men, intending to passe up to Roanok foorthwith, hoping there to finde those fifteene men, which Sir Richard Grenville had left there the yeere before. . . . The same night at sunne-set he went aland, and the next day walked to the North ende of the Island, where Master Ralfe Lane had his forte, with sundry dwellings, made by his men about it the yeere before, where wee hoped to find some signes of our fifteene men. We found the forte rased downe, but all the houses standing unhurt, saving that the neather roomes of them, and also of the forte, were overgrowen with Melons, and Deere within them feeding: so wee returned to our company, without hope of ever seeing any of the fifteene men living. The same day order was given for the repayring of those houses, and also to make other new Cottages."

The settlers, numbering ninety-one men, seventeen women, and nine children, set to work to rebuild the fort, and to make for themselves an English home. Soon after their arrival occurred two incidents of extreme importance in the life of the colony.

"The 13 of August our Savage Manteo was christened in Roanoak, and called Lord thereof and of Dasamonguepeuk, in reward of his faithfull service. The 18, Elenor, daughter to the Governour, and wife to Ananias Dare, one of the Assistants, was delivered of a daughter in Roanoak, and the same was christened there the Sonday following, and because this child was the first Christian borne in Virginia, shee was named Virginia."

The baptism of Manteo and of the first Anglo-American child are the beginnings of the life of the English church in the new world. The name Dare has been given to a county of North Carolina on Pamlico sound, and its county-seat is the village of Manteo on Roanoke island; a happy and permanent association of these Indian and English names

with the locality where they were first brought into interesting conjunction.

"The 22 of August the whole company came to the Governour, and with one voice requested him to return himselfe into England, for the obtaining of supplies and other necessaries for them; but he refused it, and alleaged many sufficient causes why he would not. . . . At the last, through their extreame intreating constrayned to return, he departed from Roanoak the 27 of August." The next day he set sail, destined never again to see his daughter and grandchild, and after a terrible voyage reached the coast of Ireland on the 16th of October.

This is the last that is known of the lost colony, whose fate has given rise to so much interesting speculation, and whose blood it is thought may be traced to-day in the Croatan or Hatteras Indians of North Carolina. It was three years before succour came from the old world, for England in the meantime had needed every ship and every sailor in her life-and-death struggle with Spain and the invincible Armada. Efforts were made to reach the colony, but they were unsuccessful, and not until the summer of 1590 did Governor White arrive off the North Carolina coast.

"The 20 of March the three shippes, the Hopewell, the John Evangelist, and the little John, put to sea from Plymmouth. . . . The 23 of July we had sight of the Cape of Florida, and the broken Ilands thereof. . . . The 15 of August we came to an anker at Hatorask, and saw a great smoke rise in the Ile Roanoak neere the place where I left our Colony in the yeere 1587. . . . The next morning our two boates went ashore, and we saw another great smoke; but when we came to it, we found no man nor signe that any had bene there lately. . . . The 17 of August our boates were prepared againe to goe up to Roanoak. . . . Toward the North ende of the Island we espied the light of a great fire thorow the woods: when we came right over against it, we sounded with a trumpet a Call, and afterwardes many familiar English tunes and Songs, and called to them friendly; but we had no answere; we therefore landed, and comming to the fire, we found the grasse and sundry rotten trees burning about the place. . . . As we entered up the sandy banke, upon a tree, in the very browe thereof were curiously carved these faire Romane letters, C R O: which letters we knew to signifie the place where I should find the planters seated, according to a secret token agreed upon betweene them and me, at my last departure from them, which was that they should not faile to write or carve on the trees or posts of the dores the name of the place where they should be seated: and if they should be distressed, that then they should carve over the letters a Crosse + in this forme, but we found no such sign of dis-

tresse. . . . We found the houses taken downe, and the place strongly enclosed with a high palisado of great trees, with cortynes and flankers very Fortlike, and one of the chief trees at the right side of the entrance had the barke taken off, and five foote from the ground in fayre Capitall letters was graven CROATOAN, without any crosse or signe of distresse." . . . No further trace was found of the colonists, except buried chests which had been dug up and rifled by the Indians, "bookes torne from the covers, the frames of pictures and Mappes rotten and spoyled with rayne, and armour almost eaten through with rust. . . . The season was so unfit, and weather so foule, that we were constrayned of force to forsake that coast, having not seene any of our planters, with losse of one of our ship-boates, and seven of our chiefest men. . . . The 24 of October we came in safetie, God be thanked, to an anker at Plymmouth. . . . Thus committing the reliefe of my discomfortable company, the planters in Virginia, to the merciful help of the Almighty, whom I most humbly beseech to helpe and comfort them, according to his most holy will and their good desire, I take my leave."

Thus ended in disaster all of Raleigh's great schemes for planting the English race on our shores. They had cost him £40,000, and the result was apparent failure; yet his greatest glory is these attempts at colonization. The seed was sown which was eventually to yield the richest harvest: the direct fruit of these efforts was the colony of Jamestown, and Raleigh is the real pioneer of American civilization. It was he, and not King James, who was destined to "make new nations,"[1] and to whom rightly belongs the proud title of *imperii Atlantici conditor*.

For more than half a century the name of the first settlement, the so-called "City of Ralegh," disappears from our annals; until in 1654 a company of explorers from Virginia reached Roanoke, and saw what they termed the "ruins of Sir Walter Ralegh's fort." The lapse of time has probably altered its appearance but little from what it then was, except for the changes wrought by a luxuriant vegetation. Its present condition is described in *Harper's Magazine* for May, 1860: "The trench is clearly traceable in a square about forty yards each way. Midway of one side another trench, perhaps flanking the gateway, runs inward fifteen or twenty feet. On the right of the same face of the enclosure, the corner is apparently thrown out in the form of a small bastion. The ditch is generally two feet deep, though in many places scarcely perceptible. The whole site is overgrown with pine, live-oak, vines, and a variety of other plants. A flourishing tree, draped with vines, stands sentinel near the

[1] King Henry VIII., Act V., Sc. 4, 53.

centre. A fragment or two of stone or brick may be discovered in the grass, and then all is told of the existing relics of the city of Raleigh."

Surely, these interesting historic remains should be saved from further decay, and kept intact for all time to come.[1] No spot in the country should be dearer or more sacred to us than that which was marked by the first footprints of the English race in America. In this year of the great Exhibition at Chicago, and in these days of enthusiasm about Columbus and his explorations, it is especially important not to lose sight of the fact that he did not discover the continent of North America, and that the United States owe nothing to Spanish civilization. That influence was to mould the destiny of the peoples who gathered in the new world south of the Gulf of Mexico; but Cabot with his English explorers was the first to set foot on our Atlantic coast, and it is to English enterprise, English moral standards, English political ideas, and English civil and religious liberty, that we owe the manifold blessings we now enjoy, and to which we must gratefully ascribe the marvelous progress and prosperity of our beloved country.

[1] A plan has been formed to purchase and preserve the ruins of this fort, and all who may feel an interest in the patriotic enterprise are requested to communicate with the writer.

THE GREAT SEAL OF THE UNITED STATES

By E. T. Lander

If of less obscure and accidental origin than the familiar and honored flag of the United States, the official seal of the nation, for obvious causes, maintains its indispensable service in comparative privacy. From the opportunities provided, the general knowledge in regard to these different elements of our national insignia should cease hereafter to be thus disproportioned. An appropriate public representation of the essential emblem of national organization and authority of the United States of America is now given. This view is presented as the central feature of the government exhibit in the Columbian exposition, consisting of a painting on canvas reproducing the design of the Great Seal surrounded with draperies of handsome flags. The idea conceived in the department of state of introducing, as "the pivotal feature of the entire exposition," a semblance in such character of the national seal adopted in 1782 is impressively realized in the consummation of this plan.

In its present form this emblem is referred to as the third United States seal. The description necessarily corresponds to that of the original specified design approved by the congress of a past century, as no act has been passed to permit any deviation therefrom. The design has been twice redrawn—first in 1841, when Daniel Webster was secretary of state, in consequence of the die being worn; and again in 1885, chiefly in answer to a demand for greater perfection in heraldic and artistic character.

Unlike the flag, with which it is associated in the symbolism of our nation, the seal, as already indicated, came into recognized and operative existence only several years subsequently to the birth of the republic. Its development was retarded by several causes. The early movement, however, for the production of a seal was duly recorded on July 4, 1776, when this item of business, next to the last to be reached on that day of crisis, was represented in the *Journals of Congress* as follows:

> *Resolved*, that Dr. Franklin, Mr. J. Adams and Mr. Jefferson be a committee to prepare a device for a seal for the United States of America.

This is preceded in the records by a resolution that "an order for 3 dollars and 54-90ths be drawn by the treasurer in favor of the express who brought the despatches from Trenton." So are mingled the grand and the insignificant movements in the progress of nations. Mr. Parton repeats

the animated story told by Jefferson, showing that the signing of the great declaration itself on that day was hastened by an absurdly trivial cause.

> Near the hall in which the debates were then held was a livery stable from which swarms of flies came into the open windows and assailed the silk-stockinged legs of honorable members. Handkerchiefs in hand they lashed the flies with such vigor as they could command on a July afternoon, but the annoyance became at length so extreme as to render them impatient of delay, and they made haste to bring the momentous business to a conclusion.

In spite of their enemies, the flies, the members reassembled after dinner, as shown by the concurrent records, and remained until almost sunset. The debate on the document in which the colonies were first designated the "United States of America" had been taken up on July 2, when the "certain resolutions respecting independency," originally offered by Richard Henry Lee, were adopted "without a dissenting voice"; and as Adams confided to his wife under date of July 3, he regarded that as the decisive and supreme day.

> Yesterday the greatest question was decided which ever was debated in America, and a greater, perhaps, never was, nor will be, decided among men. . . The 2d day of July 1776 will be the most memorable epoch in the history of America.

The original sources of information chiefly of value on the subject of the seal are the state department MSS., the *Journals of Congress*, and the Adams correspondence. In 1830 Lossing obtained certain additional details from two octogenarian acquaintances in Philadelphia, one of whom had been a clerk for Robert Morris, and the other an editor on *Bradford's Magazine*, who prided himself in old age on having engraved with his penknife the figure of the disjointed snake, which appeared for some months at the head of that journal. According to the recollection of these venerable witnesses, the final vote on the debate, which had been continued from the 2d to the 4th of July, was reached at about 2 P.M. of the latter day. It is not certain whether, as some of the historians assert, the declaration was signed only by the president and secretary on that day; or, as others have endeavored to show, by all the members present, who signed it then on paper, and again when it was finally engrossed on parchment. The conclusion is undoubted, that, after Franklin had uttered the memorable saying, "Well, gentlemen, we must now all hang together, or assuredly we shall all hang separately," they withdrew and fortified themselves with dinner.

The chairman of the committee to consider the subject of the seal was Dr. Franklin, the oldest of the signers of the declaration, and then more than seventy years of age. John Adams, the next named (on a list of men

to be hung by the British he would have been given just then the first place), was somewhat over forty, "looking like a short, thick Archbishop of Canterbury," as he once described himself; and as represented by another, "in claret-colored coat, with a bald head," bearing the burden of the chief advocacy of the declaration in the prolonged debate. To the third in order, "the tall young Jefferson"—whose drafting of the document scheduled a few hours before for its unique place in history gave him a novel distinction—was now assigned the corresponding task of combining his own ideas with those of other members of the committee in a report for a device for a seal.

On the Monday following (July 8), at noon, the declaration was publicly read in Philadelphia for the first time, followed by a demonstration in the evening, when the king's arms over the seat of justice in the court-room which occupied the second story of the state house were torn down and burned in the street. The reading of the document was listened to on the ninth by the newly elected New York convention assembled at White Plains, and it was read at a later hour of that day in New York, at the head of each brigade, the statue of the "*late* king" George III., at Bowling Green, being then destroyed by the mob. On July 5, before receiving the news of the declaration, Virginia had stricken the king's name out of the prayer book. On the 30th of that month Rhode Island made it a misdemeanor to pray for the king, as such, under penalty of one hundred thousand pounds. Such were the manifestations of feeling in the various centres of population and at every camp and post.

In preparing their device for a seal the committee received the aid of Eugène Pierre du Simetière, the West India Frenchman (or, as Mr. Winsor says, Swiss), who had executed the early profile of Washington which was the first head used on American coins (1791) and several times subsequently copied on medals. In 1783 he published in London a quarto volume of *Thirteen Portraits of American Legislators, Patriots, and Soldiers.* He was esteemed as a painter whose designs were ingenious, and whose drawings were well executed. He cut profiles in black paper, and painted miniatures and other pictures in water colors. Adams wrote to his wife that this curious man, Du Simetière, had begun a collection of materials for a history of the Revolution, going back to the first advices of the tea ships:

> He cuts out of the newspapers every scrap of intelligence and every piece of speculation, and pastes it upon clean paper, arranging them under the head of that State to which they belong, and intends to bind them up into volumes. He has a list of every speculation and pamphlet concerning independence, and another of those concerning forms of government.

In one of the Frenchman's sketches were shown the arms of the several nations from whence America was peopled, as English, Scotch, Dutch, Irish, German, etc., each in a shield. On one side is a figure of Liberty with her cap, and the supporter on the other side is a rifleman in his uniform, with his rifle and tomahawk, the dress and weapons being peculiar to America. The device proposed by Dr. Franklin represented Moses lifting up his wand and dividing the Red Sea, and Pharaoh in his chariot overwhelmed with the waters. For the motto these words (attributed to Cromwell): "Rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God." Mr. Jefferson suggested, instead, the children of Israel in the wilderness, led by a cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night; for the reverse he proposed the figures of Hengist and Horsa, "the Saxon chiefs from whom we claim the honor of being descended, and whose political principles and form of government we have assumed." Under date of August 14, 1776, the account of Adams to his wife continues as follows:

> I proposed the choice of Hercules, as engraved by Gribelin in some editions of Lord Shaftesbury's works. The hero resting on his club. Virtue pointing to her rugged mountain on one hand, and persuading him to ascend. Sloth glancing at her flowery path of pleasure, wantonly reclining on the ground displaying the charms both of her eloquence and person, to seduce him into vice. But this is too complicated a group for a seal or medal, and it is not original.

An entry in the *Journals of Congress*, August 20, 1776, shows the result of these efforts:

> The committee appointed to prepare a device for the great seal for the United States brought in the same with the explanation thereof.
>
> Ordered, to lie on the table.

A document in Jefferson's handwriting, preserved in the department of state, is a full, technical description of the device for a seal agreed upon by this committee:

"The great seal should on one side have the arms of the United States of America, which arms should be as follows:

"The shield has six Quarters, parts one, coupé two. The first Or, a Rose, enameled gules and argent for England; the 2nd Argent, a Thistle proper for Scotland; the 3rd Vert, a harp Or, for Ireland; the 4th Azure, a fleur-de-lis for France; the 5th Or, the Imperial Eagle Sable, for Germany, and the 6th Or, the Belgic Lion Gules, for Holland, pointing out the countries from which the states have been peopled.

"The shield within a border, Gules, entwined of thirteen Escutcheons, Argent, linked together by a chain Or, each charged with initial letters

Sable as follows: 1 , N. H.; 2nd, M. B. [Mass. Bay]; 3rd, R. I.; 4th, C.; 5th, N. Y.; 6th, N. J.; 7th, P.; 8th, D. C. [Del. Colony]; 9th, M.; 10th, V.; 11th, N. C.; 12th, S. C.; 13th, G.; for each of the thirteen independent states of America.

"SUPPORTERS, *Dexter* the Goddess of Liberty in a corselet of Armour, alluding to the present times; holding in her right hand the Spear and Cap, and with her left supporting the shield of the states; *Sinister* the Goddess of Justice bearing a sword in her right hand and in her left a balance.

"CREST. The Eye of Providence in a radiant Triangle whose Glory extends over the shield and beyond the figures.

"Motto: *E Pluribus Unum.*

"Legend round the whole achievement—Seal of the United States of America MDCCLXXVI.

"On the other side of the said seal should be the following Device:

"Pharaoh sitting in an open Chariot, a Crown on his head, and a sword in his hand, passing through the divided Waters of the Red Sea in pursuit of the Israelites: Rays from a pillow [pillar] of Fire in the Cloud expressive of the Divine Presence and Command, beaming on Moses who stands on the shore, and extending his hand over the Sea, causes it to overthrow Pharaoh. Motto: *Rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God.*"

This motto Mr. Jefferson had engraved on his own private seal, of which an exact impression in wax, bearing his monogram with the motto, was found among his effects, and passed into the possession of Mr. Bancroft. Major-General Schuyler Hamilton followed Mr. Thomas Hollis in the statement that the words, "Rebellion to tyrants," etc., were from the epitaph (inscribed on a memorial at Jamaica Bay, West Indies) of John Bradshaw, chief of the regicides, and these were written, he says, over what is called the Regicide's cave, West Rock, New Haven, Connecticut. The mention made by Mr. Hollis, in his memoirs, of his having found the quotation at length pasted up in the windows of inns in New England in the early days of the Revolutionary struggle, remains undisputed, although investigators of the story of the Jamaica Bay epitaph have declared it a fiction.

After the report by the committee, the action in reference to a seal for the new government was for a long time suspended; until March 25, 1779, no further record on the subject was entered. Our first political agent to France, Silas Deane, referred to this neglect in a letter to congress, with the inquiry if it is not always proper to use a seal. "This," he observes, "is a very ancient custom in all public and even private concerns of any conse-

quence." The omission of the use of a seal when all the rights, powers, and dignities of a nation had been assumed, has been since viewed as remarkable considering that our forefathers were brought up under the shadow of the English law which prescribed that no grant or charter was *factum* until it was sealed. English custom had taught, also, that even the sign manual of the sovereign must be authenticated by an impression from the privy seal. The importance of the seal even in individual transactions was signified by the prime expositor of social views:

> "Till thou can'st rail the seal from off my bond,
> Thou but offend'st thy lungs to speak so loud."

The original word *sigillum*, now translated into seal, is the diminutive of *signum*, defined as "a little image or figure"—by which means records, statutes, etc., in all civilized countries are authenticated. In the British museum are twenty-five thousand specimens of seals, including those of ancient Egypt, formed in clay. The seals of the middle ages were in gold, silver, lead, and other substances. The bull from which the sovereign of England derives the title of "Defender of the Faith" is authenticated by a golden seal. Lead was more common for the papal bull—so-called from the bulla or seal appended. After the coming of the Normans, the kings and chief men used waxen seals with "a hair from the head or beard in the wax as a token."

Although congress had early anticipated the need of a seal for our country, in accordance with so ancient and universal a custom, the series of national reverses swiftly following the declaration of independence, which had been received in all parts of the United States as "a song of triumph rather than a call to battle," evidently rendered more obvious and impressive the fact that the people who had asserted themselves free had not established a nation. The congress was next reassembled in Baltimore, the British having taken possession of Philadelphia, where they made an ostentatious display of extravagance in some of their entertainments.

The long-neglected report on the device for a great seal for the United States was referred by congress in March, 1770, to a new committee. The president was John Jay, who appointed Mr. James Lovell—previously a schoolmaster in Boston, and then a member of the committee of foreign correspondence—with Scott of Virginia, and Houston of Georgia, and on the 10th of May they presented a report:

"The seal should be four inches in diameter, on one side the Arms of the United States as follows: The Shield charged in the field with thirteen diagonal stripes, alternately red and white. *Supporters: dexter*, a Warrior

holding a sword; *Sinister*, a figure representing Peace bearing an Olive Branch. The Crest, a radiant constellation of thirteen stars. The motto; BELLE VEL PACE. The legend round the achievement; SEAL OF THE UNITED STATES. On the reverse the Figure of Liberty seated in a chair holding the staff and cap. The Motto; SEMPER, underneath IIIDCCLXXVI."

This report was recommitted, and another report, not fundamentally different, although modified in reference to size, was offered by the same committee:

"The seal to be three inches in diameter, on one side the Arms of the United States as follows: The Shield charged in the Field azure, with thirteen diagonal stripes, alternate rouge and argent. *Supporters: dexter*, a warrior holding a sword; *sinister*, a figure representing Peace bearing an olive branch. The crest, a radiant constellation of thirteen stars. The motto *Belle vel pace*. The legend round the achievement; The Great Seal of the United States. On the reverse, Virtute Perennis, underneath, MDCCLXXVI.

"A miniature of the face of the Great Seal and half its diameter to be affixed as the less seal of the United States."

The report was not accepted. The sketches of these various devices were all apparently from the hand of Du Simetière. In the last is traced the influence of the design of the already adopted national flag, although the thirteen stripes are here diagonal instead of vertical as in the final devices.

Some of the drawings show alterations made by the pen. One that has been torn through the centre into two parts is pasted together on another piece of paper.

The report, after debate, was recommitted, and Henry Middleton, Elias Boudinot, and Edward Rutledge were appointed a new committee to prepare a seal. They seem to have made no definite advance, the matter being finally (April, 1782) referred by congress to its secretary, Charles Thompson. At this stage an elaborate device produced by William Barton, A. M., of Philadephia, went to increase the unavailable list. An accompanying sketch for the reverse of the seal, however, showing an unfinished pyramid, with an eye of Providence in a radiant triangle over it, was approved. With a few variations the device submitted by Barton corresponds to his description.

"Device for an *Armorial Achievement* for the great seal of the United States of America in congress assembled; agreeable to the rules of heraldry —proposed by William Barton, A. M.:

ARMS.

"Barry of thirteen pieces Argent & Gules, on a Canton Azure, as many Stars disposed in a Circle, of the first: a Pale Or, surmounted of another of the third; charged, in Chief with an Eye surrounded with a Glory, proper; and in the Fess-point an Eagle displayed on the Summit of a Doric Column that rests on the base of the Escutcheon, both as the Stars. *Crest.* On a helmet of Burnished Gold, damasked grated with six Bars and surmounted by a cap of Dignity; Gules turned up Ermine, a Cock armed with guffs, proper. SUPPORTERS, on the dexter side: a Genius of America (represented by a Maiden with loose, Auburn Tresses having on her head a radiated Crown of Gold, encircled with a sky-blue fillet spangled with silver stars; and clothed in a long, loose, white garment, bordered with Green: from her right shoulder to her left side, a scarf semé of Stars, the Tinctures thereof the same as in the Canton; and round the Waist a purple Girdle fringed Or; embroidered Argent, with the word 'Virtue') resting her interior Hand on the Escutcheon and holding in the other the proper *Standard of the United States*, having a dove argent perched on the top of it. On the sinister side: a Man in complete Armour; his sword-belt fringed with Gold; the Helmet inscribed with a Wreath of Laurel and crested with one white and two blue Plumes: supporting with his dexter Hand the Escutcheon, and holding in the exterior a Lance with the point sanguinated; and upon it a Banner displayed, Vert,—in the Fess-point, an Harp, Or, stringed with Silver between a star in Chief, two Fleurs-de-lis in Fess, and a pair of Swords in Saltier in Bass all Argent.

"The Tenants of the Escutcheon stand on a Scroll on which the following Motto

DEO FAVENTE.

which alludes to the Eye in the Arms meant for the Eye of Providence.

"Over the crest in a scroll this Motto

VIRTUS SOLA INVICTA.

Mr. Preble noticed the original words, "with thirteen strings," through which a line had been drawn.

Another equally elaborate device, with similar reverse, was submitted by Barton.

"Device for an Armorial Achievement and Reverse of a Great Seal for the United States of North America: proposed by William Barton, Esq., A. M.

"Blazoned according to the Laws of Heraldry.

ARMS.

"Barry of thirteen pieces Argent & Gules; on a pale Or, a Pillar of the Doric Order, Vert, reaching from the Base of the Escutcheon to the Honor point; and from the summit thereof, a Phœnix in Flames with Wings expanded, proper: the whole within a Border, Azure, charged with as many stars as pieces barways of the first.

CREST.

"On a Helmet of Burnished Gold, damasked grated with six Bars, a Cap of Liberty, Vert; with an Eagle displayed Argent thereon holding in his dexter Talon a Sword, Or, having a wreath of Laurel suspended from the point; and in the sinister, the Ensign of the United States, proper.

SUPPORTERS.

"On the dexter side, the Genius of the American Confederated Republic: represented by a Maiden, with flowing Auburn Tresses; clad in a long, loose, white Garment, bordered with Green; having a sky-blue scarf, charged with Stars as in the Arms, reaching across her waist from the right shoulder to her left side; and on her Head a *radiated* crown of Gold, encircled with an azure Fillet spangled with Silver Stars; round her Waist a purple Girdle, embroidered with the word 'Virtus' in silver; a dove, proper, perched on her dexter Hand.

"On the Sinister Side, an American Warrior, clad in a uniform Coat of blue faced with Buff, and in his Hat a Cockade of black and white Ribbons, in his left hand a Baton Azure semé of Stars, Argent.

"Motto over the Crest,
IN VINDICIAM LIBERTATIS.

"Motto under the Arms,
VIRTUS SOLA INVICTA.

"Reverse of the Seal:
"A Pyramid of thirteen Strata (or Steps), Or.
"In the Zenith, an Eye surrounded with a Glory, proper.
"In the Scroll, above—or in the Margin,
DEO FAVENTE.
"The Exergue,
PERENNIS."

REMARKS:

The Imperial Eagle of Germany (which is Sable, and with two Heads) is represented with a sword in one Talon, and a sceptre in the other.

The Phœnix is emblematical of the expiring Liberty of Britain, revived by her Descendants in America.

The Dove (perched on the right Hand of the Genius of America) is emblematical of Innocence and Virtue.

The Sword (held by the Eagle) is the symbol of Courage, Authority and Power. The Flag or Ensign denotes the United States of America, of the sovereignty of which the Eagle is expressive.

The Pillar is the Hieroglyphic of Constancy and Fortitude, and is likewise emblematical of Beauty, Strength and Order.

The Pyramid signifies Strength and Duration.

Explanation of Barton's Device.

"The thirteen pieces, barways, which fill up the field of the Arms, may represent the several States; & the same Number of Stars upon a blue Canton, disposed in a Circle, represent a new Constellation, which alludes to the new Empire, formed in the World by the Confederation of those States. Their Disposition, in the form of a circle, denotes the perpetuity of its continuance, the Ring being the symbol of Eternity. The Eagle displayed is the symbol of Supreme Power & Authority & signifies the Congress; the Pillar upon which it rests, is used as the Hieroglyphic of Fortitude and Constancy; & its being of the Doric order, (which is the best proportioned and most agreeable to nature) & composed of several Members or parts, all, taken together, forming a beautiful composition of Strength, Congruity & Usefulness, it may with great propriety signify a well-planned Government. The Eagle being placed on the summit of the Column, is emblematical of the Sovereignty of the Government of the United States; and, as further expressive of that Idea those two charges or figures are borne on a Pale, which extends across the thirteen pieces, into which the Escutcheon is divided. The signification of the Eye has been already explained. The Helmet is such as appertains to Sovereignty, and the Cap is used as the Token of Freedom & Excellency. It was formerly worn by Dukes, 'because,' says Guillim, 'they *had a more worthy Government than other subjects.*' The Cock is distinguished for two most excellent Qualities, necessary in a free country, viz.: *Vigilance & Fortitude.*

"The genius of the American Confederated Republic is denoted by her blue Scarf & Fillet, glittering with Stars, and by the flag of Congress which she displays. Her dress is white edged with green colours, emblematical of Innocence and Youth. Her *purple* girdle and radiated *crown* indicate her sovereignty; the word '*Virtue*' on the former is to show, that *that* should be her principal ornament, and the *radiated* Crown, that no *Earthly* Crown should rule her. The Dove on the top of the American Standard denotes the mildness and lenity of her Government.

"The Knight in Armour with his bloody Lance represents the military Genius of the American Empire, armed in Defence of its just Rights. His *blue* Belt and *blue* feathers indicate his Country, & the White Plume is in Compliment to our gallant Ally. The Wreath of Laurel round his helmet is expressive of his success. The Green Field of the Banner denotes Youth and Vigor; the Harp is emblematical of the several States acting in Harmony and Concert; the Star in *Chief*, has reference to America, *as principal* in the contest; the two Fleurs de lis are borne as a grateful Testimonial of the support given to her by France; and the two Swords crossing each other signify a State of War. This Tenant and his Flag relate totally to America at the time of her Revolution.

"WILLIAM BARTON."

With the eagle of Barton emerges another of the elements of the final device which, as may be plainly observed, was a gradual development. The direct origin of the device adopted is traced with some confusion of results by the different investigators. According to Mr. Preble, this is identical with "another device" by Barton which was adopted with some modifications. The theory that his designs were used is manifestly true in reference to the reverse, in which the change is chiefly in the introduction of other mottoes. Lossing conceived that the device for the great seal of the United States was sent from England by Mr. Adams. This, he says, had been for some time in the hands of the secretary, Charles Thompson, who had withheld it in the hope of something as good coming from his own countrymen. In the autumn of 1779, John Adams was sent to England to negotiate for peace. Among the eminent people whom he met was Sir John Prestwick, a baronet of the north of England, a friend of the Americans, as well as an accomplished antiquarian. In a discussion of the subject of the national coat of arms so long awaiting decision, Sir John suggested an escutcheon bearing thirteen perpendicular stripes, repeating the idea of the national banner. He proposed, according to the narrative cited, that in order to give it consequence it should be placed on the breast of the displayed American eagle without supporters, as emblematic of self-reliance. This simple and significant device, Mr. Lossing says, pleased Adams, and he communicated it to his friends in congress. His assertion that the device for a seal was received from the country with which we were at war was maintained as follows:

In a manuscript letter before me, written in 1818 by Thomas Barrett Esq., an eminent antiquary of Manchester, England, addressed to his son in this country, is the following statement: My friend Sir John Prestwick, Bart., told me he was the person who suggested the idea of a coat of arms for the American States to an ambassador

(John Adams) from thence, which they have seen fit to put upon some of their moneys. It is this, he told me—party per pale of thirteen stripes, white and red; the chief of the escutcheon blue, signifying the protection of Heaven over the states. He says it was soon afterward adopted as the arms of the states, and to give it more consequence it was placed upon the breast of a displayed eagle.

Others have judged it to be far more probable that the colors of the shield were suggested by the stripes and union of the flag—which was adopted nearly a year before Mr. Adams's first visit to Europe. At the same time it is thought worthy of note that the stripes in the flag are arranged alternately red and white, which gives seven of the former and six of the latter, while in the arms they are white and red, thus making seven white and six red pales. In the seal of the board of admiralty (later the navy department) adopted May 4, 1780, the stripes are arranged as in the flag.

An ingenious argument was constructed by Schuyler Hamilton to show that John Adams proposed the representation of the constellation Lyra in the thirteen stars. Mr. Hunt attributes the next device after that of Barton to Charles Thompson. In reference to this, as to many other subjects connected with the formation of our government, it is ever to be regretted that the private notes made by Charles Thompson while secretary of congress from 1774 to 1789, and as "the soul of that political body," in respect to whom it was common to say that a statement was "as true as if Charles Thompson's name was to it," should have been destroyed by him some time previous to his death, instead of being made a basis of a history of the Revolution.

Thompson's Device:

"Device for an Armorial Achievement and Reverse of a Great Seal for the United States in Congress Assembled.

ARMS.

"On a field Chevrons composed of seven pieces on one side & six on the other, joined together at the top in such wise that each of the six bears against or is supported by & supports two of the opposite side, the pieces of the chevrons on each side alternate red and white. The shield borne on the breast of an American Eagle, on the Wing and rising proper. In the dexter talon of the eagle an olive branch & in the sinister a bundle of arrows. Over the head of the Eagle a constellation of stars surrounded with bright rays and at a little distance clouds.

"In the bill of the Eagle a scroll with the words

E PLURIBUS UNUM.

"Reverse,

"A Pyramid unfinished.

"In the zenith an eye in a triangle surrounded with a glory, proper.

"Over the eye these words

ANNUIT CŒPTIS.

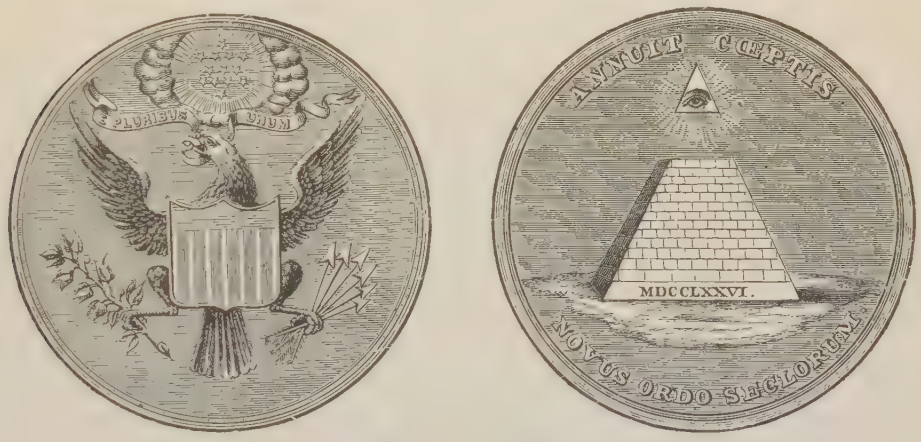
"On the base of the pyramid the numerical letters

MDCCLXXVI.

"And underneath these words

NOVUS ORDO SECLORUM."

The original designs from Barton and from Secretary Thompson are preserved in the department of state. Next in order is a report indorsed



GREAT SEAL OF 1784.

as Mr. Barton's improvement on the secretary's device. In this the chevrons are replaced by perpendicular stripes. The device is very nearly identical with that finally adopted. It is designated as a

"Device for an Armorial Achievement for the United States of North America, blazoned agreeably to the Laws of Heraldry—proposed by William Barton, A.M.

ARMS.

"Paleways of thirteen pieces Argent and Gules; a chief Azure. The Escutcheon placed on the Breast of an American (the bald-headed) Eagle displayed proper, holding in his Beak a Scroll, inscribed with this motto, viz.,

E PLURIBUS UNUM,

And in his dexter Talon a Palm or an Olive Branch, in the other a bundle of thirteen arrows, all proper.

FOR THE CREST.

"Over the Head of the Eagle, which appears above the Escutcheon, a Glory Or; breaking through a cloud, proper, and surrounding thirteen stars forming a Constellation, Argent on an Azure Field.

"In the Exergue of the Great Seal—

JUL. IV. MDCCLXXVI.

"In the margin of the same—

Sigil. Mag. Reipub.
Confed. Americ.

REMARKS.

"The Escutcheon is composed of the Chief and Pale, the two most honorable ordinaries: the latter represent the several States; all joined in one solid compact Entire supporting a Chief, which unites the whole and represents Congress. The Motto alludes to this Union. The colours or Tinctures of the Pales are those used in the Flag of the United States. White signifies Purity and Innocence; Red, Hardiness and Valour. The Chief denotes Congress. Blue is the ground of the American Uniform, and the Colour signifies Vigilance, Perseverance and Justice. The meaning of the Crest is obvious, as is likewise that of the Olive branch and Arrows.

"The Escutcheon being placed on the Breast of the Eagle displayed is a very ancient mode of bearing, and is truly imperial. The Eagle *displayed* is an Heraldical figure; and being borne in the manner here described, supplies the place of supporters and Crest. The American States need no supporters but their own Virtue, and the Preservation of their Union through Congress. The Pales in the Arms are kept closely united by the Chief, which last likewise depends on that Union and the strength resulting from it, for its own support—the Inference is plain. W. B."

Jan. 19, 1782.

Short time was given after this for straying in the wilderness of fancy on the quest for a device for a seal. Under date of June 20, 1782, the *Journals of Congress* contain this record:

On the report of the secretary to whom was referred the several reports on the device for a great seal, to take order:

The device for an armorial achievement and reverse of the great seal for the United States in Congress assembled is as follows:

"ARMS—Paleways of thirteen pieces, argent and gules; a chief azure; the escutcheon on the breast of the American eagle displayed, proper, holding in its dexter talon an olive branch, and in his sinister a bundle of thirteen arrows, all proper, and in his beak a scroll, inscribed with this motto *E Pluribus Unum.*

"For the CREST—Over the head of the eagle, which appears above the escutcheon, a glory, or, breaking through a cloud, proper, and surrounding thirteen stars forming a constellation, argent, on a azure field.

"REVERSE—A pyramid unfinished.

GREAT SEAL OF 1782.

"In the zenith an eye in a triangle, surrounded with a glory, proper; over the eye these words *Annuit Cœptis.* On the base of the pyramid the numerical letters MDCCLXXVI. And underneath the following motto, *Novus Ordo Seclorum.*"

The blazon of the heraldic form shows certain variations from the legal description:

"Argent six palets gules a chief azure worn on the breast of the American eagle displayed, in his dexter talon an olive branch, in his sinister a bundle of thirteen arrows, points upward, all proper, the last feathered or; his head surrounded with a circular sky azure, charged with thirteen mullets, 5, 4, 3, 1 argent, environed with clouds proper, and beyond rays, or; in his beak a scroll with the words *E Pluribus Unum.*

"Reverse. A pyramid unfinished. In the zenith an eye in a triangle surrounded with a glory proper, over the eye these words, *Annuit Cœptis*. On the base of the pyramid the numerical letters MDCCLXXVI, and underneath the following motto, *Novus Ordo Seclorum*."

The interpretation of the device accompanying the report is in the form appended:

> The escutcheon is composed of the chief and pale the two most honorable ordinaries. The pieces pales represent the several states, all joined in one solid, compact entire supporting a chief which unites the whole and represents Congress. The pales in the arms are kept closely united by the chief, and the chief depends on that union, and the strength resulting from it for its support, to denote the confederacy of the United States of America and the preservation of their union through congress. The colors of the pales are those used in the flag of the United States of America: white signifies purity and innocence, red, hardiness and valor; and blue the color of the chief signifies vigilance, perseverance and justice. The olive branch and arrows denote the power of peace and war, which is exclusively vested in Congress. The constellation denotes a new State taking its place and rank among the sovereign powers; the escutcheon is borne on the breast of the American eagle without any other supporters, to denote that the United States of America ought to rely on their own virtue. Reverse. The pyramid signifies strength and duration; the Eye over it and the motto allude to the many and signal interpositions of Providence in favor of the American cause. The date underneath is that of the Declaration of Independence, and the words under it signify the beginning of a new era which commences from that date.

The general rendering of the words *Annuit Cœptis* is, God has favored the undertaking; that of *Novus Ordo Seclorum*, a new order of ages—referring to the new order of things in the western world. The words are traced to the Æneid. "Audacibus annue cœptis," favors my daring undertaking; and "magnus ab integro seclorum nasciter ordo," the great order of ages begins anew. The origin of the motto of the scroll—surviving from the device of the original committee as "the best motto ever appropriated"—has been largely discussed. It is traced ultimately to a poem of Virgil called *Moretum*, which describes an ancient Italian peasant's morning meal. The *moretum* is a species of pottage consisting of herbs and cheese, which he prepares before dawn with the help of his servants, grinding up the various ingredients with a pestle. The quotation is found in these lines:

> It matus in gyrun paullatum singula vines
> Dependent propries—color est E Pluribus Unum.

The direct source for the words, nevertheless, was probably the *Gentleman's Magazine*, published in London, and having a large circulation in the colonies. This was an eclectic publication, bearing the motto *E Pluribus Unum* on its title-page. The motto of the *Spectator* (1711) was: *Color est*

e pluribus unum, attributed to a poem by Horace. A writer in the *Overland Monthly* concluded that the motto for the seal was derived from a modest metrical composition in Latin, by John Carey of Philadelphia, entitled, *The Pyramid of the Fifteen States*, which contained these lines:

> Audax inde cohors stellis e pluribus unum
> Aadua pyramidos tollit ad astra caput.

This supposition was shown by Mr. Preble to be an error. The reference to the fifteen states, he says, is evidence that the poem was written subsequently to 1794 or 1795, after the admission of Vermont and Kentucky to the original thirteen.

The seal had been adopted by congress, as has been shown, less than six months previous to the signing of the preliminary treaty of peace with Great Britain, in 1782. It appears on a commission dated September 16, 1782, granting full power and authority to General Washington to arrange with the British for exchange of prisoners of war. After the ratification of the Constitution, this seal was formally declared, on September 15, 1789—when the department of state was organized—to be the seal of the United States. "Sec. 3. . . . That the seal heretofore used by the United States in Congress assembled shall and hereby is declared to be the seal of the United States." . . . Its custody was subsequently given to the secretary of state, who is empowered to affix it to commissions, etc., which have received the signature of the President.

> Sec. 4. And be it further enacted, that the said Secretary shall keep the said seal and shall make out and record and shall affix the said seal to all civil commissions to officers of the United States to be appointed by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, or by the President alone, Provided that the said seal shall not be affixed to any commission before the same shall have been signed by the President of the United States, nor to any other instrument or act without the special warrant of the President therefor.

All other legal instruments than commissions and exequators require a separate warrant signed by the President, authorizing a seal to be used. As a consequence of the expanded duties of the government, the seal of the United States is no longer attached by the department of state to the commissions of officers who are under some other department. This is a gradual change, beginning with the act of March 18, 1874, by which the commissions of postmasters are made out under the seal of the postoffice department. By the act of March 3, 1875, the commissions of officers of the interior department were transferred to that department; and by the act of August 8, 1888, the appointments of all judicial officers, marshals, and

United States attorneys were ordered to be made under the seal of the department of justice. The United States seal is affixed to the commissions of cabinet officers, and to those of diplomatic and consular officers nominated by the President and confirmed by the senate; to all ceremonious communications from the President to the heads of foreign governments; treaties, conventions, and formal agreements of the President with foreign powers; pardons, commutations of sentence to offenders convicted before courts of the United States; proclamations by the President; all exequators to foreign consular offices in the United States appointed by the heads of governments which they represent, and to warrants by the President in cases of extradition.

The description of the device indicates a seal pendant, with ribbon, corresponding to the English custom; since 1869 a plaque seal has been used instead. A thin white wafer affixed to the surface of the document, at the left of the President's signature, receives the impression of the seal. This is used upon treaties as well as all other documents to which the seal is appended. The method is favored on account of greater facility in the use of the wafer impression than with the pendant die, and because of the security which it gives, as the impression cannot be removed without mutilation of the document; while a pendant affixed by a ribbon to which the seal is impressed, in the manner customary in other countries, can be easily detached through intent or accident.[1]

The die-sinker of 1782 and that of 1841 were in brass; that of 1885 is cut in the finest steel, and the plate on which the paper is placed to receive the impression is of bronze. The seal die, which is three inches in diameter, with a weight of one pound six ounces, is used in a screw press. By an ingenious mechanism the impression can now be given to show the eagle head up, as in the former press was impossible in the case of bulky documents.

The reverse of the seal has never been made, and no reason for this omission is discovered. The suggestion has been repeatedly made that the use of the seal without the obverse and reverse, as plainly indicated by the act, may be technically illegal, since making the half serve for the whole has not appeared to be authorized in any manner by law. Another complaint is in reference to certain alterations made in the design in 1841, of which no explanation can be stated. With other differences, including that of

[1] To constitute a valid seal at the common law there must be a tenacious substance adhering to the paper or parchment, and an impression made upon it. An impression made in the material of the paper itself is insufficient. The old common law definition of a seal is that given by Lord Coke: "Sigillum est cera impressa." But it has long been held that instead of wax a wafer or other tenacious substance on which an impression is or may be made is a good seal.

smaller dimensions, the eagle engraved on the die of that date holds but six arrows instead of the original number, the significance of which is lost in the change. A doubt of the legal use of the seal in such form has been suggested, although not maintained by judiciary opinion. The heraldic inaccuracies of the description, which also have been criticised, refer to the omission of the tincture of the scroll, which properly might be either red or blue instead of gold, as in the official representation in color; the mention of paleways, argent, and gules, while in the flag from which the colors are copied are (seven) red and (six) white stripes, and the designation of the stars over the head of the eagle a crest, when not a crest in any strict application of the term.

GREAT SEAL OF 1885.

The name of the engraver of the original seal or that of 1841 is unknown. The new seal of 1885 was by authority of act of congress, July 7, 1884, entrusted to Tiffany & Co., of New York. This work restores the adopted device, the chief difference in the drawing being in the modern spirit applied in its execution. The artist, Mr. James Horton Whitehouse, in whose hands it was placed, is known as the designer of many beautiful pieces of art in silver, including the Bryant vase in the Metropolitan museum, and the casket presented to Bishop Potter on the twenty-fifth anniversary of his consecration. Some of the national medals are examples of his work, as are the fine memorial brasses in St. James' church in this city.

Franklin conceived a strong objection to the adoption of the eagle as the emblem of his country. Of the moral character of the white-headed eagle, *Haliætus leucocephalus*, of his tyrannical and overbearing temper, his want of a generous spirit, etc., much has been said in condemnation, and Audubon stated that his opinion perfectly coincided with that of "our great Franklin" in reference to this selection. The poets have been able to forget that he is a ferocious robber, in paying tribute to the eagle with his "sunward course erect and true." Heraldry teaches that the good qualities are to be considered in the choice of an armorial emblem, as the perfect vision and power of flight in the eagle. The American eagle is a handsome variety of his species, and he lives to a great age. A foreigner has said that Americans can do no better than try to live up their bird.[1]

Several good reproductions of the device of the seal of the United States are to be found in New York and elsewhere. The Astor library possesses a facsimile in bronze. A reproduction of large size on canvas, of uncertain origin and date, is preserved in St. Paul's church in this city. It has been regretted that in the ordinary representations of the arms of the United States, the chief is sometimes charged with three or more mullets. The etching by Jacquemart in M. Loubat's *Medallic History of the United States* is a superb facsimile of the actual device of the emblem as adopted by the nation. The reproduction contained in the recent monograph on the subject issued by the department of state is in colors.[2]

Heraldic Terms used in the Descriptions of Devices for a Seal:

Achievement—a complete heraldic composition.
Argent—the metal silver; represented conventionally by a plain white surface.
Azure—the tincture blue; in engraving represented by shadings in horizontal lines.
Barry—divided with bars.

[1] "The device for its great seal adopted by congress in midsummer," says Bancroft, "is the American eagle as the emblem of that strength which uses victory only for peace. It therefore holds in its right talon the olive branch; with the left it clasps together thirteen arrows, emblems of the thirteen states. On an azure field over the head of the eagle appears a constellation of thirteen stars breaking gloriously through a cloud. In the eagle's beak is the scroll 'E Pluribus Unum,' many in one; out of diversity, unity—the two ideas that make America great; individual freedom of states, and unity as the expression of conscious nationality."

[2] The sources of information on the subject of the United States seal include the following:

Original documents in department of state: *American Archives; Journals of Congress; Familiar Letters of John Adams and his Wife*, edited by George Francis Adams; *The Flag of the United States;* Major-General Schuyler Hamilton (1852); Preble's *History of the Flag;* Parton's *Life of Jefferson;* Randall's *Life of Jefferson;* Pamphlet by John I. Champlin, Jr., reprinted from *Galaxy Magazine;* Article by Lossing in *Harper's Magazine* for July, 1856; *Genealogical and Biographical Register; American Law Review*, Vol. I. (1866-1867); *Seal of the United States*, by Gaillard Hunt (department of state, 1892).

Canton—a part of the chief cut off on either the left or right hand upper corner, bounded by straight, vertical, and horizontal lines.

Charged—bearing a charge, or figure, upon the escutcheon.

Chief—head or upper part of escutcheon from side to side, cut off horizontally by a straight line, and containing properly one-third part of the dimensions of the escutcheon.

Chevrons—bars, as the rafters of a roof leaning against one another.

Coupé—cut off evenly.

Crest—part of the achievement borne outside of and above the escutcheon.

Damasked—wrought with an ornamental pattern.

Dexter—that side of a shield which is toward the right of the one bearing it braced or fitted upon the arm.

Displayed—having the wings expanded.

Escutcheon—Surface upon which are charged a person's armorial bearings other than the crest, motto, supporters, etc., which are borne separately.

Fess—a bearing bounded by two horizontal lines across the field, which regularly contain between them one-third of the escutcheon.

Glory—circle of glory; sort of crown made with rays, leaving a circular open space in the middle.

Gules—the tincture red; in representations without color, as in drawing or engraving, indicated by vertical lines drawn close together.

Legend—inscription.

Or—one of the tinctures, the metal gold, often represented by a yellow color, and in engraving conventionally by dots upon a white ground.

Ordinaries—common bearings usually bounded by straight lines—the oldest bearings.

Paleways—divided into equal parts by perpendicular lines.

Pale—a perpendicular stripe in an escutcheon.

Proper—having its natural color or colors.

Quarter—one of the four parts into which a shield is divided by quartering.

Rouge—red.

Sable—black; one of the tinctures; represented when the colors are not shown, as in engraving, by a fine network of vertical and horizontal lines.

Saltier—an ordinary, in the form of St. Andrew's cross, formed by two bands, dexter and sinister, crossing each other.

Sanguinated—stained with blood.

Semé—covered with small bearings forming a pattern over the surface.

Shield—the shield-shaped escutcheon used for displays of arms.

Sinister—left-hand side of the person who carries the shield on his arm, therefore the right-hand side of spectator.

Supporter—the representation of a living creature accompanying the escutcheon, and either holding it up or standing beside it, as if to keep or guard it.

OUR LEADING LIBRARIES

NO. II. THE CONGRESSIONAL LIBRARY, WASHINGTON

By Ainsworth R. Spofford, Chief Librarian

The history of the library of congress is nearly coeval with that of the national government. During the formative period that preceded the federal Constitution, congress was a migratory body, and such books as were used were either the private property of the members, or else borrowed from the Library Company of Philadelphia, which made an early tender (August, 1774) of its stores of information. During the ten years, 1791–1800, when the offices of the government and congress itself were established at Philadelphia, we find that very considerable use was made of the privileges of the Library Company and the Loganian library associated with it. What few law books and works of reference were gathered for the use of congress or of its committees were not deemed important enough to be called a library.

At length, in the summer of 1800, in pursuance of the act which fixed the permanent seat of government of the United States upon the Potomac, three small sailing vessels carred the archives and offices of the departments and of congress from Philadelphia to Washington. In the scanty chronicles of this removal, there is no mention of books. But congress, with wise foresight, had provided, before setting up its tabernacle in the wilderness, where no hospitable Philadelphia library could be drawn upon, by act of April 24, 1800, for "further provision for the removal and accommodation of the government of the United States." By this act the sum of five thousand dollars was appropriated "for the purchase of such books as may be necessary for the use of congress at the said city of Washington, and for fitting up a suitable apartment for containing them." The selection was to be made by a joint committee of both houses of congress.

Out of this little appropriation of five thousand dollars has grown the great government library of to-day, with its six hundred and sixty thousand volumes, and two hundred and twenty thousand pamphlets. Congress assembled for the first time in Washington on November 17, 1800. The capitol was in process of building, and both branches of congress, with the supreme court, were all crowded into the north wing of the new edifice. Not many books were received until near the following session, convened

in December, 1801, when President Jefferson, who always took an earnest interest in the library, recommended that a statement should be prepared respecting the books and maps purchased under the appropriation. At the same session a joint committee was appointed to consider and report upon the proper means of taking care of the new library, and its report (by John Randolph of Virginia) formed the basis of the systematic statute approved January 26, 1802, for the administration of the library of congress. This act placed the librarian and the collection of books under the supervision of a joint committee of both houses on the library, composed of three senators and three representatives, an arrangement which still exists.

During the earlier years, there was no titular librarian appointed, the books being in charge of the clerk of the house of representatives, who was librarian *ex-officio*, with a clerk detailed by him to superintend the service of books. The collection had grown by slow accretion, under small appropriations (never exceeding one thousand dollars yearly) until it reached three thousand volumes in 1814. In August of that year, it was burned, with the capitol, by the British army, during their one day's riotous possession of the federal city—a piece of vandalism common enough in wars, but never yet repaired, if I read history aright. The next month, Thomas Jefferson wrote to his friend, Samuel H. Smith, M. C. (first publisher of that historic newspaper, *The National Intelligencer*), offering to sell his private library of six thousand seven hundred volumes to congress, as he was encumbered with debt. A bill for the purchase, at the price of twenty-three thousand nine hundred and fifty dollars, was finally passed, but not without strenuous opposition—some members declaring that there were too many different editions of the Bible in the collection, while another wiseacre proposed that all works of a skeptical tendency should first be weeded out and returned to the owner at Monticello. It is notable that the catalogue of the collection, prepared by Mr. Jefferson's own hand, and printed in 1815 in a thin quarto volume, bears the title, "Catalogue of the Library of the United States." Such, indeed, it was, and is: for it has been purchased and maintained at public expense and is freely open to all.

In 1815, Mr. George Watterston was appointed librarian of congress; in 1829, John S. Meehan; in 1861, John G. Stephenson; and in 1864 Ainsworth R. Spofford. After Mr. Watterston's appointment, the library was located for a time, with congress, in the post-office department, removing later to the temporary brick house of congress on Capitol hill, until 1824, when it was transferred to its present quarters in the west front of the central capitol building. It continued to grow, under annual appropriations of two thousand dollars, increased to five thousand in 1824, which

was continued yearly for about thirty years. Mr. Jefferson's modest nucleus for a national library had grown to fifty-five thousand volumes in 1851, when a fire, occasioned by a defective flue, wrapped the wooden shelves and the library itself in flames. Only twenty thousand volumes were saved, and among them about half of the Jefferson collection. The whole of the important divisions of jurisprudence, political science, and American history and biography were saved, but all the books in general history, geography, art, natural science, poetry, and belles lettres were destroyed. Congress at once, with praiseworthy liberality, took efficient measures to restore the library, appropriating seventy-five thousand dollars for the immediate purchase of books, and seventy-two thousand five hundred dollars for reconstructing the library rooms with solid iron shelving, finished in a highly decorated style, and furnishing the first example of any public building interior constructed wholly of iron.

In 1865, the collection having quite outgrown the space devoted to it (a hall ninety-two feet in length by thirty-four feet in width, and thirty-nine feet in height), provision was made by congress for enlargement, by appropriating adjacent space occupied by committee rooms and clerks' offices to add two spacious wings of equal size to the existing library and of greater capacity for books. The year following (1866) was signalized by the accession of the large Smithsonian scientific library, very rich in the transactions and reports of the learned societies of Europe and America. These were made, by joint action of congress and the regents of the Smithsonian Institution, a permanent deposit in the library of the government. They had been fortunately saved from the fire which nearly destroyed the Smithsonian building the same year.

The next year (1867) witnessed the purchase by congress of the extensive historical library of Peter Norce, the printer, journalist, and annalist of the *American Archives*. This collection (for which the sum of a hundred thousand dollars was paid without opposition in congress, so thoroughly satisfied was that body of its great value as materials for history) embraced over sixty thousand titles of books, pamphlets, newspapers, and other periodicals, maps, manuscripts, etc., relating to the discovery, colonization, and history of the United States. This timely acquisition saved from dispersion one of the most important private libraries ever gathered by a single hand in this country, and should be supplemented by the addition of the late George Bancroft's noble collection.

The law library forms one of the richest departments of the library of the government. Situated in the basement of the capitol, in the room formerly occupied (until 1859) by the supreme court of the United States,

it contains over eighty thousand volumes, and is very largely availed of, not only by congress and the several United States courts at the capital, but by the bar of Washington, and attorneys from all parts of the country having business there.

While the central idea of a great library designed primarily for the use of a parliamentary body should be a full collection in the departments of jurisprudence, political science, history, and economic science, yet it should not neglect works in any field of human interest. It is constantly liable to be drawn upon for information regarding every country in the world, and upon every question of public interest which can engage the attention of statesmen. It must obviously become sooner or later a universal library, or else fail of its highest usefulness. As the representative national collection of books, it is obviously the proper conservator of all *Americana*, in the largest interpretation of that term, to include not only the curiosities of history and early printed books, but all that the country produces in permanent literary form. Accordingly, the library has already gathered a most comprehensive collection of voyages and travels relating to America, in all languages, together with most books in history and biography, including the local town and county histories and genealogies of every period. Its collection of city and village directories is large and constantly increasing; its stores of state and territorial and municipal documents and laws, while far from complete, are most important; its range of American newspapers, now numbering over fifteen thousand bound volumes, represents all sections of the Union, and a century and a half of time; its files of magazines and reviews are measurably complete; its collection of works relating to railways, transportation, etc., is large and valuable; and in all departments of business, finance, manufactures, navigation, mining, agriculture, and the mechanic arts, it is well equipped. Its pamphlet collections form one of the richest departments of the library; and as these productions of the press are seldom protected by copyright, it is greatly to be desired that all who write or print them would contribute copies to the national library, that due preservation may not fail.

In American maps, the collection is large, embracing most of the early and more recent atlases, and some ten thousand separate maps, among which are many originals, representing revolutionary camps, marches, and campaigns, drawn by British, French, and American engineers, as well as some unique charts of Washington city in embryo. The rarest early engraved maps of America, however, are conspicuous by their absence, except in facsimiles. In old manuscripts only a few specimens, on vellum, of the Bible and Latin and Flemish missals are found; while in

historical MSS. of the revolutionary period are the original papers of Rochambeau and Paul Jones, and some thirty military orderly books, besides fifty folio scrap-books filled with military papers and historical autographs of early American generals and statesmen. Several manuscript copies of works on Spanish America, New Mexico, etc., by Las Casas, Duran, Panez, and Teniente, are also found, as well as the original records of the Virginia Company of London, in two MS. folio volumes.

The historical and medical library of Dr. Joseph M. Toner, a public-spirited citizen of Washington, who presented his collection to the government (the first instance of such a donation in our annals), is specially rich in *Washingtoniana*, and will ultimately embrace every line of the writings of the Father of his Country, manuscript or printed, thoroughly indexed and accessible.

The works of graphic art, accumulated without expense during twenty years' operation of the law of copyright, will form a highly instructive and beautiful exhibit when arranged in classes and displayed in the new library building. They will show the steady progress made in those arts of design which comprise engraving, photography, chromotypy, etc.

Since the transfer of the entire business of copyright registry and the deposit of copyright publications to Washington, in 1870, there have been nearly six hundred thousand entries of copyright titles in the congressional library. This involves a most extensive bureau of detail, for which as yet no adequate force has been provided by congress, although the business of keeping the copyright records is much more than self-sustaining, through the fees paid into the treasury. So exacting has the vast increase of labor become, that the printing of catalogues of the library has been perforce discontinued for years past, though the manuscript catalogue of accessions, on the card system, is kept up to date. Of course, no labor can be too great which secures to the library of the people an approximately complete representation of the great annual product of the American mind, as represented in books. Many works in the past have owed to the copyright provision almost their sole chance of preservation in public libraries. Under the recently enacted international copyright system (now extended successively to Great Britain, France, Belgium, Switzerland, Germany, and Italy), we may expect a steady, though not rapid increase of this great collection through the extension of the area of copyright. It is a wise provision which renders it reasonably certain that every book which the country produces will be stored up at Washington for present and future use and reference. Nor is the mission of the so-called useless books by any means fruitless of benefit. If they serve no

other purpose, they may at least serve as models to be avoided by the writers of after times. The great national libraries of the world have been long buying up, at great prices, the chap-books, pamphlets, periodicals, and unconsidered trifles of early generations, which a timely enforcement of a copyright system might have saved. Let us have one library in America, and that one belonging to all for free consultation, which shall preserve all the works which the other libraries have not the means or the motive to acquire.

It is now almost twenty years since the agitation for a distinct library building, to contain the overflowing stores of the congressional library, began in our national legislature. After many disagreements between senate and house, as to site, plans, architects, and cost, land was finally purchased, and a beginning made in 1886. The futility of any enlargement of the capitol adequate to afford permanent accommodation was at last fully demonstrated, and congress, with great liberality, adopted plans for a building capable of containing four million five hundred thousand volumes, limiting its ultimate cost to six million dollars. The site selected is the most eligible in the city, being elevated, dry, level, and salubrious, separated from the eastern front of the capitol only by a small park. The exterior structure is wholly of white granite, of two shades of color, with four corner pavilions slightly projected to relieve the monotony of the long façade. In the interior the central idea (as in the British Museum library) is the reading-room rotunda, which is octagonal in form, and adapted to seat three hundred readers. The great book-repositories are stacks of iron, rising tier above tier, in nine stories of eight feet each, bringing every book within easy reach of the hand. Movable and adjustable shelves of smooth iron fill the book stacks. There being no materials used in the entire construction of the edifice, except stone, iron, brick, and concrete, and occupying as it does its own isolated position, with an ample park around it, no risk of fire, under any circumstances, can be conceived.

The collection of books, first begun for the sole use and benefit of congress, has by steady growth and increasing research become an important factor in the education of the people. The nation cherishes a just pride in its increase and preservation. No legislation of congress meets with a heartier response than its wise and liberal provision for the care and fitting bestowal of the nation's books. Let it become annually more and more worthy of its great mission as conservator of our literature, and advance unceasingly in the high aim of furnishing the fullest possible stores of information in every department of human knowledge.

THE CONGRESSIONAL LIBRARY IN WASHINGTON.

A SKETCH OF SIR FRANCIS NICHOLSON

By Worthington Chauncey Ford

If the late Diedrich Knickerbocker could have laid aside his predilection for the Dutch governors of New York, and applied his keen wit and harmless satire to the English rulers, he would have found the field a very rich one to work upon. For however odd the Dutch appear when drawn by his pen, their successors would deserve to rank as real curios—as oddities in morals as well as politics. It was not a very desirable quality of rulers that the crown of Great Britain selected to represent its dignity and defend its prerogatives in the colonies. Let a sprig of aristocracy wear his reputation so threadbare as to expose his wickedness to such a degree as to make living in England next to impossible; let him waste his patrimony, encumber his estate, and pawn all that he had; let him be ruined in purse, in morals, or in character, and he was a fit object for exportation. Not like the criminals who were shipped to America to be sold into temporary servitude, but sent there to occupy some position in church or state, and so have an opportunity of patching together a good name, or to line their purses with colonial taxes. As in manufactures the poorer qualities that were unsalable at home were sent to America under the general term of "colonials," so the political bankrupt was sent to prove to the colonists the blessings of a royal government. As exhibits of royal misgovernment, these home "misfits" were perfect, and as the original "carpet-baggers," they played their part with thoroughness and enthusiasm; so much so that they everywhere excited opposition, and were often compelled to do what they had never before dreamed of doing—work for their salaries. As pioneers of the Revolution, these men assume almost national importance; but it is on their personal and picturesque qualities that I purpose to touch.

This side of them has never been fully developed, because of the custom to shift them from one province to another, at the will of their royal masters. So that however full a description of their service in one may be, he drops out of view as soon as he steps over the boundary into another. New York and New Jersey might have the same governor, but the local councils of the governor would be distinct. As governor of New York, the incumbent might be captain-general of his majesty's forces in

two or three other provinces; or, in a fit of spite due to some very outspoken petition from the colonists, a charter might be revoked, and the province be pinned on to some other as an inactive and impotent territory. So that the historian of New York sees pass before him in review a number of apparent nonentities, but in reality men who made greater reputations in good or evil deeds in other parts. Much of the individuality is therefore lost by such momentary glimpses as he would give, and still more of the dramatic elements, though, in reality, the period is rich in them.

Such a character as Lord Cornbury, who graced—or otherwise—the executive of New York as captain-general and governor-in-chief of New York and New Jersey, is too transparent to require much attention. A grandson of the great earl of Clarendon, to whose titles he later succeeded, a cousin of the reigning queen, vain, pompous, and fond of pleasure, it is little wonder to read of his vagaries, or to realize the intense disgust he aroused in the sturdy provincials under his rule. He had all the gentlemanly vices of the day, and exhibited them in public to the great scandal of the city, and when, in moments of intense vanity, he swelled with pride because of his alleged likeness to Queen Anne, and donned the garb of a woman, even having his portrait so painted, we are more apt to laugh than be surprised, and question the sanity of the man. The termination of his service in New York was fitting, for he landed in the debtor's prison, from which he was released only on attaining the title of earl of Clarendon, and pleading his privileges.

Not so with Sir Francis Nicholson, of whom little has been written. His dual character might almost lead us to imagine two different men, for it is impossible to reconcile the two contradictory accounts we have of him. As a governor he differed little from the others, and as an individual he defies a psychological analysis. On the one side he appears as a good governor, and a real benefactor to the colonies he governed; on the other he is depicted as a hot-tempered, brawling, drunken sot, a fire-brand to destroy the peace of the provinces. A glance at his career in America may aid in solving the contradiction.

His first appearance in history was not one calculated to inspire perfect confidence in the strength of his conviction, for, though a Protestant, he had not hesitated to gratify King James by kneeling during the celebration of the mass in the royal tent at the camp on Hounslow Heath. This courtly pliancy, a proof of an elastic conscience, so recommended him to royalty that when two companies of regular soldiers were raised in London, to go out with Sir Edmund Andros, the command of one was given

to Captain Francis Nicholson. These companies were composed chiefly of "Irish papists," and they landed at Boston on December 20, 1686. Of this mission of Sir Edmund little need be said, as it forms a favorite subject with American historians, readily lending itself to a picturesque treatment. We need only say that Captain Nicholson was commissioned in April, 1688, lieutenant-governor of New England, accompanied Andros to New York, and was left in command at that place when his superior hurried to Boston to prevent a second Indian war, and, as it proved, hurried to prison.

It was an age of political agitation and transition, and the colonies and their rulers did not escape the contagion. In the mother country William, by request, ascended the throne that the hesitation and downright cowardice of James had rendered vacant. But that change in the head of the nation was a change in the central ideas of the English monarchy; and however scrupulous William was to defer to the forms of law, the fact remained that his accession involved a revolution, shaking the constitution to its very foundations. So vast a movement naturally was felt in America. Andros was deposed and imprisoned upon charges that were intended only to get him out of the way while a certain political ferment was working. In New York his representative hesitated, and went through a process of inaction that redounded to his subsequent advantage.

Fear and distrust of the papacy were general, the author of *Loyalty Vindicated* gravely asserting that King James was "bound in conscience to indeavour to damn the English nation to Popery and slavery." In such a scheme the colonies would be included, and the rapid strides of popedom in England under that zealous ruler were viewed with profound anxiety in the colonies. Papists were given seats in the council, and were placed in high offices in the department of the revenue, and even in the army. In New York something of real antagonism was created. Under pretence of teaching Latin, the Jesuits, it was said, had erected a school in the city. The bell of the Dutch church was tolled on the day the school began, an indication of public sorrow. Many influential families, it was whispered, had sent their sons to this school; some had "heard slily a low mass," afterward excusing themselves on the ground of curiosity. A celebration of the birth of a Prince of Wales was made a triumph for the enemies of the Protestant church. All of these things sent thrills of horror and apprehension through the colony, only to be checked by the so-called invasion of England by William, which was regarded as the overthrow of the threatened papist revolution. The Dutch, from gratitude to the house of Nassau, and from their religion, welcomed the change, at

once declared for King William, and desired their authorities to do the same in due form and with fitting ceremony.

In March Nicholson had received from the governor of Pennsylvania intelligence of the invasion of England by the Prince of Orange, and at first refused to credit it, keeping, as the contemporary record relates, to his old commission, praying publicly for the late king, leaving his name in the king's arms, and not discharging the popish officers. He summoned his council, and they determined to call to their assistance the mayor, aldermen, and common council, with the principal military officers. Such a convention of authority implied a crisis. In a meeting at the town hall, the lieutenant-governor produced his commission, and swore with big oaths and protestations that he would live and die by the same — the first record of what must have been a peculiar failing of his. It was determined to strengthen the fort by some city militia, to admonish the county officers to preserve order in their districts, and to fortify the city. Whether by design or accident, in carrying out this intention the guns of the fort were turned upon the town, and in the disturbed condition a rumor of an intended massacre gained credence. The demands of the agitators led to a threat on the part of Nicholson to set the town on fire; that there were so many rogues in town that he was not sure of his life, nor to walk the streets. Those who were "well affected to the protestant interest" took possession of the fort, altered its name from James to William, and formally proclaimed the Prince of Orange. The leader of the insurgents was the unfortunate Leisler, soon to be murdered under cover of law. Nicholson in June sailed for England. Among the errors afterward remembered against him, was the fact that his brother drank the king's health with the letter J! He himself claimed to be an Episcopalian, but his devotions on Hounslow Heath were matters of gossip in New York.

It might be supposed that with his departure his colonial career was terminated, and that with the sudden rise from a captain to a lieutenant-governor under a monarch now a fugitive, his further promotion at the hands of the new king was not to be expected. But surprising exercise of the appointing power is by no means a modern feature in politics. Nicholson applied for a new appointment and wished that of New York; but he had not sufficient interest at court to attain his end, and he saw Houghten, a man destitute of everything, preferred. He himself was sent as lieutenant-governor to Virginia, a colony groaning under the alleged tyranny of Howard. Phipps, a man who did not scruple to cane an officer holding his majesty's commission, afterward hinted that Nicholson had obtained this notice by the liberal use of gold at court; but this was such a

matter of course at that time as to give occasion for no comment. Money could even gloss over the fact that the man who offered the bribe—a word ugly but necessary—was in reality not in the king's interest. This marvelous power money has retained to the present day.

In the southern colony Nicholson found a very different race to govern than he had met with in New York. Whatever may have been the origin of many of the first settlers of Virginia, and we know that humble is hardly the word to express what that origin was, the social regime of the colony was in the direction of an aristocracy. Now an aristocracy of birth, supported by landed property and a comparatively constitutional government, is one of the most desirable forms that such a doubtful institution can attain. All the elements of high breeding are present, and result in the preservation of the steps in the æsthetic progression of man. No exceptions of abuse of power can alter this general rule. The more such an aristocracy depends upon temporary, factitious, or immoral forces, the greater is its divergence from the ideal, and the more evident become the germs of evil contained within itself. In Virginia, pampered by the mother country under a commercial fallacy of the day, having her productive energies subservient to slavery and the greed of English factors, a system of caste was developing that in time yielded as many evils as it did benefits to the colony. In itself slavery was sufficient to undermine the real strength of the rulers, and morally produced important results on the character of the slave owners. They were a proud, stiff-necked, and overbearing race, restive under restraint, and little inclined to dictation from others, even when such dictation was covered by a parchment bearing the king's manual and granting powers to our "ever trusted and well-beloved servant." Loyal to the king and English to the core, the Virginians were sufficiently independent to oppose the royal will when their interests seemed to demand it, and nothing delighted the house of Burgesses so well as a round, full-mouthed protest to the royal representative, checking what they deemed his arbitrary conduct, and an appeal to the king for a redress of their grievances.

It so happened that the titular governor of Virginia, Howard, Earl of Effingham, had antagonized the colony to such a degree as to make his residence in England more desirable than any active and personal participation in the government of his majesty's liege subjects in America. Weak, unscrupulous, and rapacious, he was a fair type of the needy adventurer who looked to office and patronage in the new continent to recoup his shattered fortunes. As the lieutenant of this royal representative, Nicholson entered upon his office under a suspicion of being his instrument. Realizing that

his position must be thus colored by reflected light, the lieutenant-governor started out to be "popular." Was it in imitation of the Grecian candidates for the people's favor that he instituted athletic games, and offered prizes to be contested? Was it as a Mæcenas that he suggested a college building, headed the subscription list himself, and favored the commissary James Blair in his mission to London, a mission that produced the college of William and Mary? Tradition further relates that he made a tour of the counties, and proved that he could be an aristocrat with the aristocrats, and a man of the people, even a demagogue, when with the people.

What his efforts at popularity might have produced can be only conjectured, for Nicholson was, in 1692, superseded by his former chief, Sir Edmund Andros. He went to England, but was in 1693 transferred to the government of Maryland. At this stage Nicholson becomes an active reformer, and, in support of the church, removes the capital of the colony from the Catholic town of St. Mary's to Annapolis, just as later, and for another reason, he changed the capital of Virginia from Jamestown to Williamsburg. Such a step implied no little power in the one who took it, and it argues that Sir Francis must have been in thorough confidence and accord with the king and his ministers. The interests that had grown up at St. Mary's under the shadow of the official life protested strongly, for the removal involved them in great loss; but the change was made, and Nicholson by it found himself in a better position to contend with the proprietor of the colony. But the "divers inhabitants" who had "seated themselves on mean indifferent lands" adjacent to St. Mary's, and had "launched out and disbursed considerable estates to their great impoverishment and utter ruin" if the government offices were removed, were naturally dissatisfied. As the only objection urged against St. Mary's was that its distance from the river (Patuxent) obliged members of the assembly to travel thence on foot, the inhabitants pledged themselves to provide a coach or caravan, or both, to run daily from the town to the river, and at least half a dozen horses, with suitable furniture, for such as wished to travel post to any part of the province on the western shore. But the assembly only laughed at the sugar-plum thus offered, and somewhat insolently replied that they were weary of spending three times as much money as the city and all the inhabitants for ten miles round is worth, and "say that having had sixty-odd years' experience of this place, and at most a quarter of the province devoured by it, and still, like Pharaoh's kine, remain as at first, they are discouraged to add any more of their substance to such ill-improvers."

Upon the new town Nicholson expended his best care, and soon had the satisfaction of seeing about forty houses in it, some seven or eight of which were able to afford a good lodging and accommodations for strangers. The state house was of brick; there was a brick free school, and the foundations of what was at the time the only brick church in the colony were laid. Had the governor only remained in office longer, wrote a contemporary, "he had brought it to perfection." And ridiculously mean as such a town appears to us, it was really a great achievement, for the plantation system was opposed to town life, and brick was a costly and unusual building material—so much so that the myth arose of all the bricks in Virginia and Maryland having been brought from England.

The good governor again appears at his best, for it was during his administration that the first provision was made for a free school, and he headed the list of subscribers with the sum of fifty pounds and a yearly allowance of twenty-five pounds while he was governor. He had, doubtless, the example of the college of William and Mary in Virginia before him; and it may be conjectured that his efforts in behalf of that institution were in part the cause of his being in so great favor with the authorities at home. Certainly it was a marked advance upon the attitude of one of his predecessors in Virginia, who thanked God "there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years, for learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government. God keep us from both!" Had it not been for men of the active mold of Nicholson, the prayer might have received a favorable answer.

As a soldier, courtier, canvasser, and patron of learning, Nicholson had so well acquitted himself that he was in almost absolute control of his government, and fully supported by the powers at home. This implied much, for the times were much troubled morally and politically. In Massachusetts the official report declared that "the people were suffering by molestation from the invisible world," and though no official definition of such molestation was framed, we know what a grievous persecution it produced. In Maryland it was a molestation from the visible world that troubled the zealots, ever ready to urge the government to severe measures. An epidemic broke out among the people, and what an epidemic was in that time of comparative ignorance no words can express. The Catholic priests, as they have ever done, went from house to house, alleviating the wants of the sick and administering comfort to the dying. The only thanks they received was to be denounced for their "extravagance and presumptuous behavior," on the ground that they endeavored to

seduce and convert the people when frantic and dying. In some cases the assembly was petitioned to silence Catholic preachers; and that body with some relief threw the burden of action onto the governor. Under any circumstances, to take a step would demand rare judgment and caution; yet Nicholson seems to have done what pleased the people, and it was with some complacency that he reported to his spiritual superior that there were few papist priests and no Quakers under him.

This religious ferment was not the only leaven of mischief in the colony, for there was an active political ferment also. The war with France had shown that the colonies were in danger, and only common prudence pointed to united effort as the best means of defense. But any proposition for union resulted in one of two schemes: A colony sought to have its neighbors placed under its control, greatly to its aggrandizement; or an individual governor would outline a plan by which the entire military service of all the colonies was to be at his command. The scramble for power alone condemned the plans, and the utter selfishness of the schemers brought about its own defeat. A "malignant humor" of democracy was making itself felt in every colony, and the royal representatives conjured to find a remedy. Nicholson had his idea to bring the colonies under a single viceroy, with a standing army to do his bidding; but it was too early to act upon such a political act, and for three-quarters of a century the growing children were to be swathed in swaddling clothes until the proper time for declaring independence had arrived.

Exactly what had occurred to alter the nature of our governor is doubtful, but it is certain that on his second coming to Virginia in 1698 he was another man. His tact appears to have deserted him; he no longer was the suave courtier, placating interests that might be troublesome; he becomes almost a demon of temper, and so good a hater as to inspire fear among his associates. The pliant and temporizing governor who saved his neck in New York (for he had run the risk of Leisler's fate) is now a stubborn and malicious tyrant. Here is the second side of the man's dual nature, and one that is so difficult to be reconciled with that shown in his previous career. That there must have been some progress in his infirmity of temper is shown by the recommendation to moderation sent to him while in Maryland from his masters in England, a recommendation that naturally gave him great umbrage. He attributed it to some reports sent on by Commissary Blair, of whom more will be said later, and meeting him he burst into a passion and vowed that, "God! I know better to govern Virginia and Maryland than all the bishops in England; if I had not hampered them in Maryland and kept them under, I

should never have been able to have governed them." The commissary, as befitted one of his cloth, mildly hinted that with such a good-natured, tractable people as those of Virginia, civility would do more toward managing them than by hampering and keeping them under. This interchange of courtesies occurred on the very day the governer's commission for Virginia was published. It is of value as pointing to some church question as the origin of discord.

That Nicholson could sink his conscience if occasion demanded has already been shown; but as he advanced in years he assumed more and more the position of an ardent defender of the church. In this he was quite as successful as he had been in his other ventures. The bishop of Litchfield thought him fit to be a bishop. There were not wanting those who believed that his appointment as governor of Virginia would produce a great alteration there in the church for the better. "If his Excellency was governor here, and your Lordship would send here a good bishop, with a severe observation of the Canons of the church, and eager for the salvation of souls, there would be a great alteration in the church. When I do think with myself of Governor Nicholson, I do call him the Right hand of God, the father of the church, and more, a father of the poor. An eminent Bishop of that same character being sent over here with him, will make Hell tremble, and settle the church of England in these parts forever." So Rev. Nicholas Moreau wrote in April, 1697, to the bishop of Litchfield.

Even James Blair was favorably impressed with his respect for the clergy, his constancy in public prayers, and his charities—qualities, to his mind, quite as much to his credit as his activity and diligence in conducting the business of government. Blair had come from Scotland in 1685, and in a few years was appointed commissary, whose general supervision of church-matters in the colony conferred upon him great authority. Under Nicholson as lieutenant-governor, Blair had been sent to England to plead the cause of the new college, and successful in his mission, he returned as the first president of the new institution, an office to be held during his life. Even before this voyage he had given occasion for some criticism, but this arose from a prejudice then prevalent against Scotchmen, a curious foreshadowing of what later became a hatred under Bute's misrule. Why, it was asked, was it necessary to place a Scotchman at the head of church matters in the colony? Cannot the English established church supply an Englishman for the place? He was charged with filling the appointments under him with Scotchmen—the people who had already engrossed the trade of the colony, the schools, and now sought to engross the church!

But Blair grew in importance, and it was deserved, for his talents and industry were great.

The commissary was as much in favor of having Nicholson appointed to the government of Virginia as Nicholson himself desired the promotion, and in one of his visits to England he was charged with the mission of securing the transfer. The manner of attaining this end was not very creditable to the morality of the day, for Nicholson expected to use money, as well as persuasion, with courtiers and others in the royal favor. He was in a better position to do this, as the governorship of Virginia was a more lucrative government than New York and Massachusetts Bay together. Blair appears to have used the pious reputation of the governor as a plea, for he obtained the voice of the clergy in the matter, and that was of no small weight in determining the appointment. So the change was made, and Nicholson superseded Andros in October, 1698.

The governor's experience in Maryland had perhaps been one that tended to sour his disposition, for he admits having hectored the colonists, and found it easier to browbeat than to appeal to England. He also had a grievance against certain persons high in trust in Virginia, and may have been nursing his wrath till a fitting opportunity for revenge should offer. Andros, as governor of Virginia, had attempted to take upon himself the government of Maryland upon the death of Governor Coply, when by right Nicholson, then absent in England, was the proper successor. Nicholson, even when at Annapolis, had retained a lively interest in the college of William and Mary, and as a member of the board, had attended regularly the meetings. On such occasions the dislike of Andros was freely shown, and some of the members of his council, also having a voice in the conduct of the college, did not hesitate to curry favor with Andros by insulting behavior toward Nicholson. Especially one, Colonel Parke, a young rake, drunken roysterer, and spark, whose name carried by a descendant—Daniel Parke Custis—has been indelibly written in our nation's history, did not hesitate to threaten, challenge, bluster, and even on one occasion horsewhip, Nicholson, who bore it all with a resignation and propriety that contrasted strangely with his repute.

There does not appear to be any evidence that Nicholson came to Virginia lacking the trust and confidence of the people, and his subsequent conduct, apart from his unfortunate temper, showed that at heart he was well disposed to the people's interest. It was against individuals that his enmity was first directed ; and a growing moroseness was attributed to a romantic and passionate yet hopeless attachment he had conceived for Miss Burwell. These premonitory indications of a change of disposition soon

became chronic and serious symptoms, and it was not long before the colonists realized that King Log, a very proper and desirable governor, had become King Stork, a rampant, destructive tyrant. So at least thought the good commissary, who had been largely instrumental in securing this head of the government.

In less than six weeks after his accession to the governor's chair, Nicholson had so embroiled his affairs as to be losing the confidence and support of his assembly; and unable to control it by persuasion, threatened to use violent means, and so coerce them to his wishes. This in itself would not imply a serious situation, for it was natural that the representative of kingly authority should, in the defense of prerogative, clash with the popular or democratic spirit that was ever becoming more aggressive, and eager to question the rule they chafed under. It was more serious when Nicholson antagonized the members of his council, for they were the connecting link between the monarchy and the democracy, exercising functions and monopolizing offices that made them at once guardians of the king's honor and defenders of the rights of the people. He refused to act upon their advice, taking neither reason nor contradiction, and when crossed, breaking out into such violence as to make it unsafe for any to approach him. Blair, whose interest, duty, and reputation were in a measure linked with those of the governor, was amazed at the stories of his misbehavior that soon began to reach his ears. His rudeness and abuse of the leading men of the colony were mingled with such terrible cursing as beggared description. Even in council he became so furious, menacing, and imperious that his oaths and threats were distinctly heard in houses far removed from the council room.

Had he laid down a rule to disoblige and abuse all mankind, he could not have been more consistent in his conduct. Men who had grown gray in the colony service, who had long been honored and respected, rewarded by office and enjoying the confidence of the people, rich in estate and reputation, and powerful by reason of their far-reaching influence—these men he called rogues, rascals, villains, and cowards, of no more estimation in his eyes than the dirt under his feet. He threatened to cut their throats, challenged them, knowing that his office shielded him from their accepting the gage, or avenging the insults he heaped upon them. Such fits of passion, acted with so much rage and fury, did "so lively resemble those of a mad man in his looks, gait, and gesture, that the greatest patience is not able to endure them, nor no words can sufficiently describe them. One might as well pretend to describe a hurricane to one that never saw it, as to think to describe the brutality and savageness of his passions, to

make strangers sensible what sort of things they are, if they never were eye and ear witnesses of them" (Blair). Take for an example a meeting of the governors of the college, when Nicholson, without cause, began to revile some gentlewomen, and then "immediately shifting the sense from the absent wives to the present husbands and others, he told us we were brutes, and understood not manners, that he knew how to govern the Moors, that he would beat us into better manners and make us feel that he was governor of Virginia." And this speech was addressed to gentlemen, four of whom were members of the council, and others some of the chiefest men in the colony.

Such was Nicholson as governor, and as a lover he was quite as violent. The father of the object of his attentions was opposed to the match, and Nicholson in dramatic language swore to have his blood. Remember, wrote an anonymous friend to whose ears the threat had come, "it is not here as in some barbarous countries where the tender lady is often dragged into the Sultan's arms just reeking in the blood of her nearest relations, and yet must strongly dissemble her aversion." His suit being denied, he vowed vengeance upon her father, brother, and other relations. Hearing that she was to be married, he threatened to cut the throats of the bridegroom, of the minister who should perform the service, and of the justice of peace who should issue the license. Suspecting as a rival one of the cloth, he waylaid him on the road, and in the king's name, and as his superior in the church, forbade him to enter the lady's house or to speak with her!

Some thought the governor was out of his mind, and had become irresponsible for his acts; that his passion and public exhibitions were proofs of an unsound mind. The more philosophic Blair thought he acted by design and intention; that his outbursts were mere acts of dissimulation to cover up the deep plots he was meditating for his own advancement and increase of authority. For he noted with care the inconsistency of the governor's behavior. How quiet and meek he could be with strangers when he thought it his interest to be so! How mild he was before his promotion, and how, that step made and his position secured, his passions increased and transformed his general carriage! Even then he could "admirably act a good-natured, courteous governor," when money was needed of the assembly, or when he desired an endorsement of his conduct. He conciliated a part of the clergy, so as to receive a strong commendation from them. No governor, it was admitted, had greater art to gain the affections of his people than he, if only he chose to make use of it.

This controversy over Nicholson's fitness has been attributed to a personal quarrel between the governor and the commissary. In a measure this was so, and the unutterable wickedness that Blair painted in his memorials was strongly colored by his personal animosity. "I really came at last to consider him as a man of the blackest soul and conscience that I had ever known in my life, for I found when once he had affronted any man to that height as to reckon him his enemy, he then thought himself absolved from all rules of justice, honor, and honesty to such a person to that degree that if he could ruin him in his good name by the falsest and grossest lies and calumnies, or in his estates by the basest tricks, law suits, and circumventions, or in his friends by all the seeds of enmity and discord that could possibly be sown, or in his correspondence by intercepting and breaking open his letters, or in anything else wherein he could work his ruin or prejudice, he stuck at nothing for compassing his revenge, and in contriving the ways and means thereof I found that of all other things he was by much the most inventive and ingenious."

After four years of such experience, the commissary recorded his opinion: "Never people were more deceived or disappointed in any man than we have been in him. Instead of the halcyon days we promised ourselves under his government, we never had so much storm and tempest, tornadoes and hurricanes, as in that time. He governs us as if we were a company of galley slaves, by continually roaring and thundering, cursing and swearing, base, abusive, Billingsgate language to that degree that it is utterly incredible to those who have not been spectators of it. . . . I do really believe, since Oliver Cromwell, there never was a man that deceived so many with a shew of religion, which is now turned into a mixture of the grossest hypocrisy, and lewdness, and prophaneness, that can be imagined." The patience of the colony was sorely tried, and finally the council, in 1703, asked for his removal on the grounds that they feared his revengeful and implacable disposition; that his life was a scandal, a standing menace to the peace and quiet of the colony, and that his continuance in office would injure his majesty's service. That the council should unite in such a representation is good evidence that Nicholson's misconduct did not affect Blair alone, but had become a matter of public importance. The petition was received, Nicholson was removed, and shortly after 1705 he went to London.

On a MS. letter of the governor, written from Williamsburg, June 9, 1705, is noted by Archbishop Wake: "This Fran. Nicholson, Esq., was famous in the wars of Tangier, Governor of Virginia, gave £500 to the buildings of the Royal College of Wm. and Mary in Virginia, £40 towards

building a church in Philadelphia, £30 towards three churches in North Carolina, and the like to many others. He is yet living, April, 1709, at London." In the face of such a record for benevolence and good deed, it is difficult to admit that the governor could be as black as Blair would have us believe. Yet there is not wanting other evidence of his weaknesses, the greatest of which was his infirmity of temper. Penn in 1696 spoke of the "violence and harsh carriage of Col. Nicholson"; and in 1703 Logan described how Nicholson had passed through Pennsylvania on his way to and from New York, and at his departure "did all the mischief it was possible for him at New Castle, though treated very civilly by friends here"; how some high words passed at Chester, "occasioned at first by the clergy." And Cadwallader Colden wrote: "He was subject to excessive fits of passion, so far as to loose the use of his reason. After he had been in one of these fits, while he had command of the army, an Indian said to one of the officers, 'The general is drunk.' 'No,' answered the officer, 'he never drinks any strong liquor.' The Indian replied, 'I do not mean that he is drunk with rum; he was born drunk.'"

The capacity of the man for recovering from apparent defeat was remarkable, and he never seemed to forfeit the confidence of the ministry. In 1710 he was appointed to command the provincial forces that were to attack Canada by land, while an English force was to co-operate by way of the St. Lawrence. This resulted in the capture of Port Royal, Nova Scotia, an achievement that only increased his desire for a larger movement against the French settlements. He hastened to England to lay his plan before the ministry, and not forgetting the effect of a dramatic adjunct, he took with him five or six Indians, making them personate, one, the emperor of the Five Nations, and the others, the kings of each nation. Colden, who was an expert in such matters, denounced the gross imposition, saying that the ministry, if they had not been so fond of amusing the people by such exhibitions, ought to have known that there was no such thing among the Five Nations as either king or emperor. Nicholson was successful in his suit, received a new commission, and conducted an expedition that was abortive, receiving as a reward the governorship of Nova Scotia, an appointment that he held till 1717.

Such a restless nature could ill brook being shut up in such a province, and he intrigued to be made governor of New York. "At this time the church clergy joined in the design to distress the governor [Robert Hunter], in hopes of having the good churchman, Col. Nicholson, appointed governor. He had a crowd of clergymen allwise about him, who were continually extolling his merits among the people, and doing all

in their power to lessen Mr. Hunter. Mr. Hunter had then a hard task. His friends in the ministry out of place; his bills to a great value protested. . . . At this time, while Mr. Hunter had the greatest reason to be shagreened and out of humor, he diverted himself in composing a farce with the assistance of Mr. Morris, which he called Androborus (the man-eater). In this the general (Nicholson), the clergy and the Assembly were so humorously exposed that the laugh was turned upon them in all companies, and from this laughing humor the people began to be in good humor with their governor, and to despise the idol of the clergy." Such was Colden's account of this intrigue.

Nothing disheartened, Nicholson returned to England, where he was knighted in 1720, and soon after was named governor of South Carolina, an office that he filled with great ability till 1725, and at a very trying period for the colony. In reward for his five years of service in Carolina he was made a lieutenant-general, and died in London in June, 1728.

Such a career, of more than thirty-eight years in the royal service, was remarkable for that day; and when the nature of that service is examined, it becomes even more remarkable. For Nicholson in his Maryland and Carolina experience had to deal with what was one of the most difficult problems of colonial policy—proprietary governments; while in his Virginia governorship he had to contend with the spirit of growing democracy. That he was successful in the one, and unsuccessful in the other, is no condemnation of his general capacity for leadership. Perhaps a suave, gentle nature might have placated Virginia; but the rugged force of a soldier was needed to give peace to Carolina, while his leaning to the church and education gave him an influence in Maryland apart from his mere authority. His very ambitions gave him strength, for he foresaw the necessity of uniting the English colonies against the French settlements, and while the means at his disposal were inadequate to carry out his aims, a generation had hardly passed away when the encroachments of the French led to the first public employment of Washington to check them. In the light of subsequent history we can give great praise to Nicholson's political foresight and his generous aid to the gentler arts of peace. If his personal failings have given him a bad name, his good deeds should be remembered; and in that remembrance should participate New England, New York, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENT

GEORGE III.'S PROCLAMATION AGAINST THE REBELS OF AMERICA [1]

About the time that this proclamation was sent forth, King George III. had received much provocation to such an act. The to him entirely reasonable and proper measure for raising revenue for paying off the debt of a war waged to deliver the colonies from the ravages of French and Indians, had been met with the most determined, universal, and persistent opposition. The Stamp Act had to be repealed, so invulnerable was this sentiment of the colonists. A very practical and "home-reaching" feature of this stubborn antagonism to the parliamentary device had been the non-importation agreements. No doubt the king had looked on in amazement and anger when the colonial merchants dared thus to conspire to interfere with the conduct of trade, and to presume to forbid those of the mother country to send their wares to America. But whether it was daring or presumption, or not, the effectiveness of that stand was undoubted; and a little more firmness or a more general fidelity to the policy all along the line of the colonial seaports might have secured many concessions afterward to be secured only by bloodshed.

When the Stamp Act agitation had blown over and the non-importation agreements were no more, there came the trouble with tea. It seemed a small matter for the Americans to exercise their audacity about; but that audacity *was* manifested became in the course of events painfully patent to king and cabinet and people. When the king said that the colonies should receive the tea-ships, the last word in the matter had not yet been heard. The tea-ships had yet to make their appearance in Boston, New York, and Charleston harbors; they did, but the tea did not get a landing in either of those ports. Some frolic, some violence, some rough-shod riding over the feelings of sea-captains and naval and customs officers there were; but the design and the will of British authorities were frustrated, and the march toward rebellion went bravely on.

[1] One of the original broadsides upon which the above proclamation was printed is preserved in the Boston Public Library, and a facsimile of it was published in its bulletin for October, 1892. By the courtesy of the librarian, Mr. Theodore F. Dwight, a copy of this facsimile appears on another page.

Non-importation agreements, tea parties, brawls on Boston's Common or New York's Golden Hill, finally resolved themselves into action more dignified and regular, and in the summer of 1774 the first continental congress met. It was just twenty years since the Albany conference of 1754. Then had Benjamin Franklin labored to effect a plan of union for all the colonies, and it had been matured and adopted by the delegates; but when it was submitted to the authorities in England and to their colonial constituent, it met with a double-edged opposition which proved its death-blow. The king and his ministers thought the plan gave too much liberty to the colonies, and the colonies feared that it placed too much power in the hands of the king. The fact of union, on whatever plan, had now shown itself so indispensable to the colonies, that delegates were elected to the congress of 1774 to deliberate on the common defence, and to concoct a scheme for a common government. There was as yet no renouncing of royal authority, but the royal will or wish was of exceeding little account in any measures the congress might adopt. And hence it was with no friendly eye that George III. contemplated the congress. Its meeting was a distinct element in the accumulating provocation.

But defiance went further. Besides the general congress there were provincial congresses, meeting in the place of royal councils and provincial assemblies of the old regime. In November, 1774, Earl Percy, afterward to win some note on the disastrous day of Lexington, wrote home to his friends in England, from Boston: "The Provincial Congress I find met again yesterday, and I am informed they mean to proceed to the choice of a new Gov^t^ They have already raised an Army, seized the Publick Money, and have taken on themselves all the Powers of Government." Surely the march toward rebellion was proceeding at a quickstep pace. To a man of the temperament of George III. it was all surpassingly exasperating; it was getting to be more than he could bear.

The next step could only be the breaking out of actual hostilities, the arraying of force against force, the clash of arms, and the spilling of blood of embattled hosts. And that too came. The soldiers of George III. and the colonial militia, or rather the patriot trainbands, looked into each other's faces at Lexington for the first time; and the snapping of the British major's pistol, on their refusal to lay down their arms at his behest, began the armed contest and was the first alarum of war. At Concord there was a return of volleys, and then all the way from Concord, back through Lexington to Boston, war raged fiercely and disastrously on that first day of revolutionary war. To George III. it was the outbreak of armed rebellion after the rebellion of the years that went before, which had found

By the KING,

A PROCLAMATION,

For ſuppreſſing Rebellion and Sedition.

GEORGE R.

WHEREAS many of Our Subjects in divers Parts of Our Colonies and Plantations in *North America*, miſled by dangerous and ill-deſigning Men, and forgetting the Allegiance which they owe to the Power that has protected and ſuſtained them, after various diſorderly Acts committed in Diſturbance of the Publick Peace, to the Obſtruction of lawful Commerce, and to the Oppreſſion of Our loyal Subjects carrying on the ſame, have at length proceeded to an open and avowed Rebellion, by arraying themſelves in hoſtile Manner to withſtand the Execution of the Law, and traitorouſly preparing, ordering, and levying War againſt Us; And whereas there is Reaſon to apprehend that ſuch Rebellion hath been much promoted and encouraged by the traitorous Correſpondence, Counſels, and Comfort of divers wicked and deſperate Perſons within this Realm: To the End therefore that none of Our Subjects may neglect or violate their Duty through Ignorance thereof, or through any Doubt of the Protection which the Law will afford to their Loyalty and Zeal; We have thought fit, by and with the Advice of Our Privy Council, to iſſue this Our Royal Proclamation, hereby declaring that not only all Our Officers Civil and Military are obliged to exert their utmoſt Endeavours to ſuppreſs ſuch Rebellion, and to bring the Traitors to Juſtice; but that all Our Subjects of this Realm and the Dominions thereunto belonging are bound by Law to be aiding and aſſiſting in the Suppreſſion of ſuch Rebellion, and to diſcloſe and make known all traitorous Conſpiracies and Attempts againſt Us, Our Crown and Dignity; And We do accordingly ſtrictly charge and command all Our Officers as well Civil as Military, and all other Our obedient and loyal Subjects, to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to withſtand and ſuppreſs ſuch Rebellion, and to diſcloſe and make known all Treaſons and traitorous Conſpiracies which they ſhall know to be againſt Us, Our Crown and Dignity; and for that Purpoſe, that they tranſmit to One of Our Principal Secretaries of State, or other proper Officer, due and full Information of all Perſons who ſhall be found carrying on Correſpondence with, or in any Manner or Degree aiding or abetting the Perſons now in open Arms and Rebellion againſt Our Government within any of Our Colonies and Plantations in *North America*, in order to bring to condign Puniſhment the Authors, Perpetrators, and Abettors of ſuch traitorous Deſigns.

Given at Our Court at St. *James's*, the Twenty-third Day of *Auguſt*, One thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-five, in the Fifteenth Year of Our Reign.

God ſave the King.

LONDON:
Printed by *Charles Eyre* and *William Strahan*, Printers to the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty. 1775.

expression only in mutinous speech, or sudden brawls, or legislative deliberations.

But he was yet to learn of Bunker Hill, and the assumption of all the forms and rights of a national being independent of the mother country. The challenge of war was boldly accepted, and an American commander-in-chief appeared opposite Boston, and cooped up the royal troops within it by regular leaguer. And all this had time to travel across the ocean, and to stir up the mind of the would-be despot to deepest wrath before August 23. Then he poured forth his troubled soul, exasperated beyond all bounds against his rebellious subjects, in the proclamation, which was printed as a broadside, and scattered throughout the colonies.

We must observe the philosophical exhortation "to put ourselves in his place"—which is at the same time the scientifically historic attitude—to appreciate the terms of this proclamation. From the king's standpoint England was "the Power that has [had] protected and sustained" the colonies. Surely they could have got along without much of that protection; and the sustaining did not reach their commercial or manufacturing development to any great extent. Their real prosperity, their rights as political integers, were serenely ignored or even trampled upon, to advance or protect the commerce and manufactures of the mother country. This had been the deliberate policy of a century and over, and allegiance based on a gratitude for protecting and sustaining which had itself such slender ground to stand upon, could not be expected to be very firm. But [again from the king's standpoint] when this protection was repaid by their "arraying themselves in hostile Manner to withstand the Execution of the Law, and traitorously preparing, ordering, and levying War," no wonder that it seemed high time to pronounce summary sentence and denunciation in the form of this proclamation.

THE ESCAPE OF THE CONSTITUTION—The frontispiece of this number represents one of the most thrilling incidents in the history of the American navy. It deserves particular emphasis because, by reason of the more distinctive and brilliant glory derived from the victory of the Constitution over the Guerrière a month later, the merit and the profound interest and importance of her escape from a British squadron have been somewhat obscured. By a law passed in 1794, which received Washington's signature, the Constitution was constructed as one of six first-class frigates at a cost of nearly three hundred thousand dollars, and was launched at Boston, October 21, 1797. In the quaint and stilted style of the early American newspaper, the *Boston Commercial Gazette* of Monday, October 23, 1797, described the event as follows:

THE LAUNCH—A MAGNIFICENT SPECTACLE.

On Saturday last, at 15 minutes past M., the frigate

CONSTITUTION

was launched into the adjacent element, on which she now rides an elegant and superb specimen of American naval architecture, combining the unity of wisdom, strength and beauty. The tide being amply full she descended into the bosom of the Ocean, with an ease and dignity, which, while it afforded the most exalted and heartfelt pleasure and satisfaction to the many thousand spectators, was the guarantee of her safety, and the pledge that no occurrence should mar the joyous sensations that every one experienced. On a signal being given on board, her ordnance on shore announced to the neighboring country that the

CONSTITUTION WAS SECURE.

This, then, was the birth of "Old Ironsides," as the vessel came to be called after her famous exploits in the war of 1812. When that war broke out, the Constitution, Captain Isaac Hull, was recalled from the European station and ordered to refit and recruit at Annapolis, in the Chesapeake. This was done with great celerity, resulting in a crew many of whom received their first training after arrival on the ship. On July 12, 1812, the Constitution left Annapolis. On July 17, out at sea, her company descried at a great distance several sail toward the north and east, and on July 18 it had become evident that these vessels constituted a squadron of the enemy, of four frigates and one ship-of-the-line. It was of course out of the question for a single vessel to engage such an overwhelming force; the only thing to do was to get away. But just as the chase began the wind failed, whereupon the possibility of escape depended upon fertility in expedients on the part of the Americans. They proved adepts in these. In the first place, as there was no wind some other mode of propulsion must be resorted to. "The Constitution," says Cooper, "hoisted out her boats, and

sent them ahead to tow, with a view to keep the ship out of the reach of the enemy's shot." But the enemy soon followed suit, with the advantage of being in a condition to concentrate several boats from other vessels upon the towing of one or two which it was deemed best to engage the American first. Hence there was a decided and perceptible gain on their part. What next to do? Cooper tells the story in his seaman-like manner:

> At half-past six [A.M.] Captain Hull sounded in twenty-six fathoms, when finding that the enemy was likely to close, as he was enabled to put the boats of two ships on one, and was also favored by a little more air than the Constitution, all the spare rope that could be found, and which was fit for the purpose, was payed down into the cutters, bent on, and a kedge was run out near half a mile ahead, and let go. At a signal given, the crew clapped on, and walked away with the ship, overrunning and tripping the kedge as she came up with the end of the line. While this was doing, fresh lines and another kedge were carried ahead, and though out of sight of land the frigate glided away from her pursuers before they discovered the manner in which it was done.

Neither in the *Naval History of the United States*, from which the above is cited, nor in his article on "Old Ironsides," in *Putnam's Magazine* (vol. i.), does Cooper tell us who suggested this novel and effective expedient. An account in *Niles' Weekly Register* for August 24, 1833, informs us that "during the most critical period of the chase, when the nearest frigate, the Belvidera, had already commenced firing, and the Guerrière was training her guns for the same purpose, the possibility of kedging the ship was suggested by Lieutenant, now Commodore, Morris, and was eagerly adopted, with the most brilliant success."[1]

But while a "lucky mile" had been gained, the chase was by no means over. Very soon the enemy penetrated the mystery and again followed the example of the Americans. Thus the day wore on, and night came; and another day and night were passed in the same trying and anxious manner. There was no rest for officers or men; but there was also no discouragement. At last the wind, which had so often promised to return and had blown only with tantalizing fitfulness and feebleness, came up in earnest. On the third day—

> At meridian the wind began to blow a pleasant breeze, and the sound of the water rippling under the bows of the vessel was again heard. From this moment the noble old ship slowly drew ahead of all her pursuers, the sails being watched and tended in the best manner that consummate seamanship could dictate, until 4 P.M., when the Belvidera was more than four miles astern, and the other vessels were thrown behind in the same proportion, though the wind had again got to be very light. . . . At a

[1] It is pleasant to notice that Captain Hull did not arrogate to himself all the praise for this fine exploit. *Niles' Weekly Register* for August 8, 1812 (vol. ii., p. 381), contains the following: "Captain Hull, after escaping from the English squadron with the Constitution, was greeted by the citizens of Boston and made the following entry on the Coffee House Books: 'Capt. Hull finding his friends in Boston are correctly informed of his situation when chased by the British squadron off New York, and that they are good enough to give him more credit for having escaped them than he ought to claim, takes the opportunity of requesting them to make a transfer of a part of their goodwishes to Lt. Morris and the other brave officers, and the crew under his command.'"

little before 7, however, there was every appearance of a heavy squall, accompanied by rain; when the Constitution prepared to meet it with the coolness and discretion she had displayed throughout the whole affair. . . . In a little less than an hour after the squall struck the ship, it had entirely passed to leeward, and a sight was again obtained of the enemy. The Belvidera, the nearest vessel, had altered her bearings in that short period two points more to leeward, and she was a long way astern. . . . All apprehensions of the enemy now ceased, though sail was carried to increase the distance.—Cooper's *Naval History*, vol. ii., pp. 46–51.

Thus the Constitution was saved, "secure," in a somewhat different sense from that intended by the *Boston Gazette* of 1797. The importance of the event can hardly be overestimated. Had she been captured then, there would have been no victory over the Guerrière a month later, and it may be doubted, if the first of that series of triumphs had failed, whether those of the United States, the Wasp, the Hornet, and the others would have followed.[1]

A Rare Colonial Relic[2]—There is in the possession of General Henry Heth, now residing in Washington, a colonial relic of unique historical interest, which deserves more than a passing notice. It is a goblet that has been fashioned out of the head of the awe-inspiring mace that was carried before the royal governors of Virginia on all state occasions, and always preceded them when they opened the House of Burgesses of that then loyal colony. It is made of sterling silver, gilt on the outside, is of chalice shape, stands about seven and one-half inches high, and is five inches wide at the rim. It is elaborately embossed in high relief with four designs, the two principal ones being: First, a shield bearing the cross of St. George, the arms of Great Britain, Ire-

land, France, and Hanover being in the four quarters, underneath being the motto: "En Dat Virginia Quartam." (This motto, be it said *en passant*, was granted to Virginia by Charles the Second, in recognition of her unswerving loyalty to the cause of the Stuarts.) Second, a female warrior in quilted armor, with a spear in her right hand, her left hand resting upon a shield on which appears the head of Medusa.

[1] The picture of the Constitution in the frontispiece was copied by the artist from a drawing made from the actual ship by a naval architect.

[2] Contributed by David FitzGerald, Washington, D. C.

Below this is the motto: "Virtute et Labore Florent Res Publicæ." Between these two designs are, on one side, the typical "belle sauvage" of that day, viz.: an Indian maiden with flowing hair, a crown on her head, nude, but cut off short at the waist; and on the other side is a bird which is undoubtedly meant for the bald eagle of America. What was formerly the top of the mace has been converted into the foot of the goblet. This bears embossed in high relief the royal arms of England, inscribed within the "garter," which has the legend: "Honi soit qui mal y pense." On either side of the arms are the lion and the unicorn "fighting for the crown," which is between them, with the letters G. R. on either side of it, the legend "Dieu et mon Droit" being below. Tradition has it that it was a present from one of the Georges, most probably the First, to the colony, and it certainly looks like a royal gift. At the outbreak of the Revolutionary war, all the articles pertaining to the royal government were sold, and this mace was bought by General Heth's great-great-granduncle, Col. William Heth, who had it made into the goblet as it now stands. It is highly prized by General Heth, who comes of famous fighting Revolutionary stock, and is perhaps as interesting a colonial relic as any in the country.

TOWN RESOLUTIONS OF 1774[1]—The following extract from the *History of New Britain, Connecticut*, by D. M. Camp, gives an account of an early movement in New England, looking to independence, which may be of interest to such as have not seen it.

The sentiment of the people of Farmington, Conn., which then included New Britain and Berlin, was strong in opposition to the tyranny of the English government. This sentiment was repeatedly and emphatically expressed. At a very full meeting of the inhabitants of the town, held June 15, 1774, when persons were present from New Britain and Berlin, it was voted:

> That the act of Parliament for blocking up the port of Boston is an invasion of the Rights and Privileges of every American, and as such, we are determined to oppose the same, with all other arbitrary and tyrannical acts in every Way and Manner, that may be adopted in General Congress; to the intent we may be Instrumental in Securing and Transmitting our Rights and Privileges Inviolate to the Latest Posterity.
>
> That the fate of American freedom Greatly Depends upon the Conduct of the Inhabitants of the Town of Boston in the Present Alarming Crisis of Public affairs: We therefore entreat them by every thing that is Dear and Sacred, to Persevere with unremitted Vigilance and resolution till their labor shall be crowned with the desired success.

A committee of thirty-four of the principal men in the different parishes of Farmington was appointed for the following purpose: "To take in subscriptions of wheat, rye, Indian corn and other provisions of the Inhabitants, and to collect and transport the same to the Town of Boston, there to be delivered to the Select Men of the Town of Boston, to be by them Distributed at their Discretion to those who are incapacitated to procure a necessary subsistence in consequence of the late oppressive Measures of Administration."

At the same meeting another committee was appointed "to keep up a correspondence with the towns of this and the neighboring colonies," and also to correspond with the town of Boston, and transmit a copy of the votes of the meeting. At another town meeting held in Farmington, September 20, of the same year, the selectmen were directed to purchase "Thirty Hundred weight of lead, Ten Thousand French flints, and thirty-six barrels of powder, to be added to the Town Stock for the use of the Town." Special encouragement was also given for the manufacture of saltpeter.

[1] Communicated by General Marcus J. Wright, Washington, D. C.

Traditions of Major André[1]— The eastern part of Long Island, New York, was free from the horrors of war during the Revolution, yet nowhere in the colonies were the daily lives of residents more influenced by British control. The island was in the hands of the enemy most of the Revolutionary period, and in various places English soldiers were stationed. It was their duty to command obedience to the laws of King George, but it was often their pleasure to make concessions while enforcing the same. Many times this course was taken in appreciation of personal attentions which were received from American people in whose homes they were intruders. Thus, when a detachment of the British army was in East Hampton, Sir Henry Clinton, Sir William Erskine, Adjutant-General André, and Lord Percy enjoyed social intercourse with such patriotic characters as Priest Buell, the Gardiners, Wyckhams, and other resident families. Differences of political sentiments were not allowed to interfere with an interchange of courtesies, thus alleviating many annoyances that were beyond the power of either party to avert.

An incident connected with André's sojourn in this village during September, 1780, but three weeks before his tragic death, accords with all that is pathetic in the career of this accomplished young officer. One evening, while in the midst of a convivial gathering of rebels and loyalists at the house of Colonel Abraham Gardiner, where André was quartered, the company was annoyed by hearing various mysterious sounds. The house stood where is now the residence of J. T. Gardiner, which was built by President Tyler, who spent his summers in the quaint town with his beautiful wife, who had been Miss Julia Gardiner, of Gardiner's Island. Comments were made and a shade of gloom was cast over the guests. Perhaps the "dark day," which occurred in the month of May previous, made even strong-minded folks apprehensive of things grewsome or weird. Be this as it may, unaccountable noises disturbed the nerves of sensitive people sometimes, at that time as at the present. It was observed that Major André in particular was thus affected. He withdrew from the room to one which was vacant, and sat for a long time wrapt in silence and reflection. He was urged to return, and rallied as to his dejected countenance, but finding that he could not be diverted, his friends made many solicitous inquiries. The burden of his replies was: "These sounds are meant for me. I am fated. I shall always be unfortunate."

The scheme of betraying West Point into the hands of the English had at this time been devised by Benedict Arnold. Sir Henry Clinton was in secret communication with his aide regarding its accomplishment, and doubtless Adjutant André at this time was seriously meditating the dangerous undertaking, for a few days after he went to New York, and received orders from General Clinton to proceed with the business. Between this date and October 2, 1780, the over-zealous André had caused the failure of the plot, and disgrace, arrest, trial, sentence, and execution quickly ended this drama of real life.

[1] Contributed by Anna Mulford, Sag Harbor, L. I.

It may be conjectured that those satirical verses on American officers called "The Cow Chase," of which André was the author, were written while in East Hampton. The last canto was published on the day of his capture. No doubt some idle moments in that quiet and pastoral spot were thus enlivened, and we may well wish that this unfortunate young man had never attempted a more harmful project than the sobriquet "Mad Anthony" for General Wayne, which had its origin in these verses.

Another tradition blends aptly with the former. Dr. Nathaniel Gardiner, son of Colonel Abraham Gardiner, was a young surgeon in the American army. He was at home visiting his family, and being in the house with British officers made him very liable to arrest as a spy, and, besides, East Hampton was within the British lines. His parents tried to keep from the enemy the knowledge of their son's presence, but soon it was apparent that André had discovered the secret, who remained, however, magnanimously indifferent to household affairs. After the departure of young Gardiner, André expressed the wish that circumstances might have been so as to have favored an acquaintance. Under the saddest surroundings was this fulfilled. Dr. Gardiner was one of the guard the night before his execution, and with no great stretch of the imagination we may suppose these two young men to have conversed. On this same evening André made a pen-and-ink sketch of himself which he gave to an American acquaintance. It is not improbable that his companion was permitted to look at the lovely features of Honora Syned, which from memory he had painted in miniature, which had been successfully hidden when he was searched by his captors. A niece of Dr. Gardiner vividly remembers hearing these stories in her youth. Such traditions are fascinating. They should be hoarded and treasured in memory, and be as cautiously preserved for inspection as rare laces, old china, and old Bibles. Few localities are more fraught with such charms than the "Hamptons" of Long Island, nor are there many colonial families richer in such lore than those of the name of Gardiner.

PRICE OF SLAVES IN NEW YORK (1659–1818)[1]—I. *Price of slaves newly imported.* In 1659 negroes purchased at Curaçoa for $60 could not be sold at New Amsterdam for the same price. In 1661 a few sold there for $176 each, less the freight. Three years later negroes brought $200 at a certain sale, the highest price being $270.60, and the lowest $134.20. On the same occasion negresses brought about $129 each, although in 1694 "good negresses" sold for $240, and in 1723 anywhere from $225 to $300. Negroes had risen in value, meantime, to $250, and there remained as long as the importation of slaves continued.

II. *Price of slaves whose character and abilities were known to their masters.*

In 1705 a Bermuda merchant sold, in New York City, a young negro woman, about eighteen, who had lived in his family some time, for $200. A negro wench, nineteen years old, "whom he

[1] Contributed by Edwin Vernon Morgan, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

brought up from infancy," was sold by Dr. Duprey, of New York City, in 1723, for $275. In the same year a negro wench and child, belonging to a former sheriff of Amboy, brought $375. In the inventory of an estate, in 1719, another negro wench and child stood for only $300. Able-bodied men were selling for about $250.

During and just after the Revolution the price of slaves appears to have varied exceedingly. The assessors in Ulster county, in 1775, valued a male slave between fifteen and forty at $150; between forty and fifty, ten and fifteen, and seven and ten, at $75, $90, and $50, respectively. Female slaves between the same ages brought $100, $50, $60, and $40, although in 1783 the Council of Sequestration sold a negro boy for $56.25. Ten years later another (in Albany county) was bought for $100, and a third (in Richmond county) in 1798 for $410, though by agreement he was to be manumitted in nine years. In the Oswego *Herald*, 1799, appeared this advertisement: "A Young Wench—For Sale. She is a good cook and ready at all kinds of house-work. None can exceed her if she is kept from liquor. She is 24 years of age—no husband nor children. Price $200; inquire of the printer."

From the beginning of this century, owing to the Manumission act of 1799, the price of slaves decreased. In 1801, William Potter and Mary his wife purchased their freedom for $400. A negro nineteen years old brought in Rockland county, March, 1809, $250, and finally a negro woman aged thirty-seven, with all the rights her present mistress had to the service of her children, was sold for $100.

From these facts we may draw the following conclusions: First, that while agricultural laborers were scarce, male slaves were more valuable than female, but when domestic servants rather than farm-hands were in demand, the previous condition of things was reversed; second, that in the years preceding the Revolution slaves brought their highest price; and third, that from 1790, when it became apparent that the legislature contemplated measures to bring about emancipation, the price of slaves gradually declined. A fourth and last conclusion is that during the colonial period the average price of both male and female slaves varied from $150 to $250.

A Forgotten Battle of the War of 1812[1]—There was a battle of considerable importance in determining the respective position of the British and American navies on Lake Ontario, in the second war with England, which seems to have escaped entirely the notice of later historians. A history of the United States during the administration of Jefferson and Madison written by Henry Adams, and which is in nine volumes, has not one word in regard to the Big Sandy battle, in which the percentage of the British loss was as great as in almost any contest in which the troops of that empire were ever engaged, being about sixteen per cent. of the men on their side killed, and about thirty-five per cent. killed and wounded. Every British soldier and sailor not killed was captured. In this part of Jefferson county, New

[1] Contributed by "Jack Evans."

York, the streams all converge toward the great marshes, separated from the lake by a line of sand-hills, where the Big Sandy joins its north and south branches, and pours the accumulated waters through a deep channel into the Ontario. The creeks before reaching the marshes dash downward from rock to rock, forming innumerable rapids and miniature waterfalls. As far as navigation is concerned the creeks are not available; but when the marshes are reached, the branches force their sluggish way with many a turn, making in many instances a perfect S, into a channel sometimes seventy to a hundred feet wide, and deep enough for navigation for about three miles at least. There is no wharf on the south branch of Big Sandy, and no building from the inland edge of the marshes out to the life-saving station at the mouth of the creek at the present time. But in 1814 there was maritime trade there, and houses were standing on bits of hard ground here and there along the courses of the two streams through the marshes. At noon of May 29, in that year, a line of American rowboats entered the mouth of the creek from the lake. There were eighteen of them, and they contained munitions and armament for two vessels, the Mohawk and the Jones, which were still on the stocks at Sackett's Harbor, awaiting their necessary furnishing before being added to the little American fleet on the lake. The boats had left Oswego the day before, and included in their cargoes twenty-one long thirty-two-pounders, ten twenty-four-pounders, three forty-two-pounder carronades, ten cables, and shot, shell, and rigging, all of which had been sent up the Mohawk and down the Oswego river, and which it was of supreme importance to have on board of the new vessels at the earliest possible date. A company of the First United States Rifles, under command of Captain Daniel Appling, was scattered among the various boats, and a party of Oneida Indians had been taken aboard a few miles back, so that the entire force in charge of the supplies amounted to about one hundred and fifty men. Seeing some sails in the distance, as they were hugging the shore at this place, they ran into the creek with the hope of having their goods landed and dispatched overland by wagons toward Sackett's Harbor before the supposed enemy could reach them at the creek. Runners were accordingly sent out to invite the sparse farming population to bring teams for the rescue, and a watch was set on one of the sand-hills to keep the strange vessels in sight. Before daylight the next morning it was discovered that the outside boats were really the enemy's and were making for the mouth of the creek. They comprised three gunboats, three cutters, and a gig. Messengers were immediately dispatched to Ellis village for militia support, and preparations were made by Lieutenant Woolsey, the naval officer in charge, and Captain Appling to give the British the warmest possible reception.

Fences were torn down and brush cut away to facilitate movements of cavalry and artillery, which were expected from the neighboring hamlets, and the work of landing the marine stores under the old chestnut-trees at the head of navigation near the edge of the marsh was

entered upon with spirit. In the meantime the sun rose, and the enemy brought their vessels into the mouth of the creek, and speedily assisted in rousing the country by opening upon the Americans with six eight-pounders across the marsh. Not the slightest damage was done by this cannonade, and the British commander, Captain Popham, soon ordered its cessation and worked his boats further up the south branch of the creek, having seized one of the residents named Edmunds and compelled him to act as a pilot. At nine A. M. a battery of two six-pounders and a squadron of cavalry arrived from Ellis village, and reported that infantry would soon follow. By this time the British were landing troops on the south shore of the branch, to the joy of the Americans, who knew they would be unable to make their way through the marsh there, and therefore gave them a few scattering cannon shot, while Captain Appling posted his soldiers in ambush among some bushes near the edge of the marsh on the north side of the stream.

The Indians refused to be posted, but spent their time in foraging the neighborhood for provisions on the strength of the plea that they were going to fight. When the British found the south shore impracticable they returned to the north shore, and formed in line of battle under command of Midshipman Hoare, advancing boldly in the direction of Appling's ambush, until within about ten rods of the concealed riflemen, when, at Appling's order, a full volley was poured into the faces of the British, every shot apparently taking effect. Nineteen of the attacking party fell dead to the ground, including Mr. Hoare, whose heart was torn out by eleven bullets. Fifty men were wounded. The order was given to "charge bayonets," and the Americans rushed upon the paralyzed troops with their empty rifles in the proper position, although unprovided with bayonets. In an instant the enemy had dropped their arms and held up their hands in token of surrender. Then the Indians came up valorously, and were with difficulty restrained from murdering the disarmed Britons. Captain Gad. Ackley's company of infantry militia also arrived, but the battle was over, with the exception that a negro on one of the gunboats persisted in prying a cannon overboard in spite of orders to stop, and as the gun splashed into the water the young African fell after it, pierced with a dozen fatal wounds. Besides the wounded there were taken of the enemy twenty-seven marines, with one captain and two lieutenants, and one hundred and six sailors, with two post captains, four lieutenants, and two midshipmen. Of the American forces, one Indian was killed, probably by our own troops in preventing massacre, and one rifleman wounded. The victory was as complete and satisfactory as any ever gained by any troops in resisting an attack, and was an efficient factor in securing Lake Ontario against British control. Ten days afterward the Mohawk was launched, and Sir James L. Yeo abandoned the blockade which he had hitherto kept up at this end of the lake. The wounded of the enemy were taken to the neighboring houses and provided for as well as possible.

After the battle, all of the stores and

armaments had been forwarded overland to "The Harbor," except one big cable, and that was shouldered by four hundred and fifty stalwart citizens, to be carried for the twenty long miles in front of them, and thus they marched to the sound of drum and fife for two days before they reached their destination and received the plaudits of the Sackett's Harbor people. There is only one living spectator to the battle which proved so successful to the Americans. She still lives near the scene of the conflict, and is a bright old lady of about eighty-five years, who still retains vivid impressions of these incidents of her childhood.

A COLUMBUS CELEBRATION IN 1792.—The following extract from the *Mail, or Claypole's Daily Advertiser*, Philadelphia, Wednesday, August 22, 1792, was sent by Mr. Edward F. DeLancy, corresponding secretary of the New York Historical Society, to Mr. Henry F. Thompson, Baltimore, and was read by him before the Maryland Historical Society. It has reference to a Columbus celebration in 1792:

A LETTER RECEIVED FROM BALTIMORE, DATED AUGUST 17, 1792.

We are informed by a correspondent, that on Friday, the third day of this month, being the anniversary of the departure of Christopher Columbus from Spain, for the voyage in which he discovered this new World, and that day closing the third century and secular year of the event that led to that great discovery, the corner stone of an obelisk, to honour the memory of the immortal man, was laid in a grove in one of the gardens of a villa "Belmont," the country seat of the Chevalier d'Amnour, near this town. He adds that suitable inscriptions, on metal tables, are to be affixed to its pedestal, on the twelfth of next October, the anniversary of the day on which he, for the first time, saw the land he so eagerly was in quest of; the same day closing also the third century and secular year of that important epocha of the annals of this Globe. He remarks that in none of the countries that have so much benefited by the discovery of this almost half of the earth, no monuments of public or private veneration have been raised to his memory by deserved gratitude; and that great man, towards whom his contemporaries were unjust, even to cruelty, has not yet obtained from time and posterity, the reward they never fail to grant to real virtue and useful merit.

Our correspondent, however, congratulates this Country on having, for some years past, taken the first step to restore him part of the honours due to his name. There are in the United States, districts of Columbia, counties of Columbia, towns of Columbia, colleges of Columbia, &c., &c., &c. Some future State, he hopes, will also be called by that name; and he observes that it is often employed by the Columbian favourites of the muses, in their poetical performances. This leads him to believe, or at least to hope, that the time is approaching when universal justice will be done to the man, whose courage, fortitude and talents place him among the first heroes of modern times; and to whom, in ancient Rome, and still more in ancient Greece, public respect and gratitude would have dedicated statues, temples, altars, and public solemnities.

He also observes that the nominal day of the week on which Columbus sailed from Spain, and the same also which crowned his enterprise by the discovery of the land, terminates the secular year of the third century of these two events; and that it is the same nominal day (viz. Friday) which the superstition of many modern navigators makes them believe ominous; and prevents them from sailing on that day, often to the prejudice of their owners, or other parties concerned.

(Charles Francis Adrian Le Paulmier d'Amnour, Chevalier, &c., was appointed Consul of H. M. C. Majesty at Baltimore, October 27, 1778, and Consul General, September 13, 1783.)

QUERIES

LORD STIRLING'S HOUSE — In the February number of the MAGAZINE appeared an illustration representing the house of the Revolutionary general, William Alexander, called also by courtesy, Earl of Stirling. I have ascertained that it stood in Broad street. Can any local antiquarian of New York city indicate the precise spot where this dwelling stood? J. A. D.

A POWDER MILL OF THE REVOLUTION—I have learned, either from reading or from conversation with residents in that section of the country, that as soon as war with the mother country was determined upon by the Continental Congress, one of the members, hailing either from Ulster or Orange county, New York, went quietly home and began the very practical work of preparing for the manufacture of gun-powder. Can any reader furnish the name of this practical patriot and the location of his powder mill?

ULSTER.

REPLIES

THE OLDEST DWELLING HOUSE IN NEW YORK STATE—The following dates may be relied upon:

The old Pelletreau house, in Southampton, Long Island, was built in 1686. It is not *now* standing entire. The Townsend house, Port Jefferson, L. I., the east part of which is still standing, *tradition* says was built in 1680. The Captain John Young's house in Southold, L. I., was built in 1650. These ancient homesteads are certainly among the *oldest* (if not positively the *most ancient dwellings*) in the state of New York.

C. H. G.

In reply to the inquiry of your correspondent, R. B. S., in the March number, about the documentary account of the burning of the Tiger in New York harbor in 1614, I desire to say that I communicated with the General Archivist of the Netherlands at the Hague. This gentleman reported that after carefully going over the records, no document of August 14, 1614, or any other document referring to the Tiger's mishap was found. The archivist added that upon every paper in the bundle containing those near the above date were still to be seen Mr. Brodhead's pencil marks, to indicate that he had examined it, and how much of it was to be copied. If he had found such a document as the one in question, he certainly would have had it copied for his collection for the state of New York. Some one to whom Mrs. Lamb intrusted this part of her investigations must have misinformed her, doubtless unwittingly.

D. V. P.

In reply to query of "P. Q. W." in your March number, 1893, I do not find that Lafayette was ever sick in a farmhouse near the Delaware river, in a New Jersey village.

A few days after the battle of Brandywine, September 11, 1777, where he received a bullet wound through the leg,

he was taken to Bristol, Bucks county, Pennsylvania, on the right bank of the Delaware, and thence in a few days to Bethlehem, Northampton county, Pennsylvania, about ten miles in a direct line from the Delaware, where he remained about two months, until his wound healed sufficiently to permit him to repair to Valley Forge. After the evacuation of the latter place, we find him in New Jersey on June 22, 1778, at Coryell's Ferry (now Lambertville), on the left bank of the Delaware, Hunterdon county, New Jersey, in the old Richard Holcombe house (still standing), and the headquarters of Washington at the same time. After remaining here about two days, he marched with the main army to Hopewell, New Jersey, where the famous council of war was held just previous to the battle of Monmouth. He could not have been *very* sick on this march, nor at the time of the last battle, as he took a very conspicuous part on that momentous occasion.

After the battle of Monmouth, he accompanied Washington up the Hudson river; and when the latter, in the autumn of 1778, came down with a portion of the army to Middlebrook, Somerset county, New Jersey, and there made his headquarters, Lafayette remained behind, and we find him figuring very prominently in the states of New York and Rhode Island. Early in 1779 he obtained a leave of absence and made a visit to France.

He returned to America in 1780, and I find no record in local or national history of his spending any time in sickness or health, on or near the Delaware river during the Revolutionary war, in New Jersey. J. H. G.

NOTES FROM THE HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

CALIFORNIA—The Historical Society of Southern California [Los Angeles], at its meeting in March, besides listening to papers keeping alive the memories of thrilling events in the history of the State, discussed the sending of an exhibit to the World's Fair, illustrating that history by relics and curios.

CONNECTICUT—Captain Charles H. Townshend read a paper before the New Haven Colony Historical Society at its meeting in March, on "The Quinnipiac Indians and their Reservation at Roynham, near New Haven." Among other things he said: "The land of the Quinnipiac Indians lay adjoining the land of the Mohawk Indians, who dwelt to the westward of the Hudson river. The village of the Quinnipiac Indians lay near what is now Perry Hill. Beacon Hill was their lookout and signal fireplace. The reservation comprised twelve hundred acres, being a tract of land about two square miles extending inland from Long Island sound. By treaty the Indians had the right to fish, cut wood, and till the soil, and the English were pledged to protect them in any just cause." The new building of the society will not be ready for dedication in June as was hoped. It will resemble that of the Century Club, of New York city, but on a smaller scale.

—A bill has passed the legislature appropriating one thousand dollars annually to the Connecticut Historical Society [Hartford], to be used for the compilation and publication of important documents.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—In Washington there is an organization which bears the name of the Memorial Association of the District of Columbia. The purpose of that society is declared to be a threefold one of "preserving the most noteworthy houses at the capital that have been made historic by the residence of the greatest men of the nation"; of "suitably marking, by tablets or otherwise, the houses and places throughout the city of chief interest to our own residents and to the multitudes of Americans and foreigners who annually visit the capital"; and of "thus cultivating that historic spirit and reverence for the memories of the founders and leaders of the republic upon which an intelligent and abiding patriotism so largely depends."

NOTE.—This department aims to present such notes of the proceedings of historical societies throughout the country as are of general historical interest, with such items of a local nature as will serve to stimulate the formation of new societies, or to encourage the activities of those already established. Thus we hope to furnish a comprehensive survey of the character of the actual historical work done by these organizations, and to indicate the growth everywhere of the historical spirit.

FLORIDA—The South Florida Historical and Archæological Society [Orlando], having been allowed to almost die out, an effort is now being made to resuscitate it. In his appeal in the public prints its secretary says :

"Where is the patriotism of our people? I do not mean the profitless patriotism which finds its vent in trashy speeches concerning politics, or which begins and ends at the polling booth, but that higher patriotism which shows its love of country in preserving its ancient and modern past for the study of future generations. Is it not a shame that to-day, if a Floridian desires to know aught of the distant past of his state, or even more modern events which make its history, he would seek the information in some museum in Massachusetts, or in the archives at Washington?"

LOUISIANA—The board of governors of the Louisiana Historical Association [New Orleans], met in March and elected officers. The society is in the most flourishing condition, from the fact that the citizens of the state are awakening to its great importance and future usefulness in preserving historical relics and data.

MARYLAND—We are informed by the secretary of the Maryland Historical Society that a replica of the bronze work upon the monument to the Maryland Line on the battlefield of Guilford Court-House, which was dedicated October 15, 1892, was presented to the society by the subscribers to the Monument Fund. An oil portrait of General John Spear Smith, the first president of the society (from 1843 to his decease in 1867), by Robertson, was presented to the gallery committee, by Captain Robert Carter Smith. There was also presented an excellent portrait, by Bendann, of the present eminent and beloved president, Mr. S. Teakle Wallis. The society has now portraits of all its presidents, including one of Colonel Brantz Mayer, by Frank B. Mayer, and of the late John H. B. Latrobe, by Dabour. Mr. Latrobe, who was the son of the architect of the capitol at Washington, and father of the present mayor of Baltimore, presided from 1869 to the date of his death in 1891. The society is also preparing to make an exhibit of colonial and Revolutionary relics, as one of the original thirteen states who are invited to make such an exhibit by the government, in the rotunda of the government building at Chicago.

—A Maryland branch of the Society of Colonial Wars was organized at Baltimore in March. This organization is an extension of the society formed some time since in the city of New York, which aims to do for the colonial period of America that which it is the purpose of the Revolutionary societies to do in regard to the struggle for independence. While the history of Maryland as a colony is without much of the Indian warfare which was so marked in others of the colonies, it bore an important part in the French war, both prior and subsequent to the defeat of Braddock at Fort Duquesne ; and Forts Cumberland and Frederick are visible memorials, standing to this day, of the share the Marylanders took in that war.

—The recent organization of the Frederick County Historical Society has already begun to stimulate the citizens of Cumberland to follow that good example.

—The Frederick County Historical Society [Frederick] continues to give impetus to local historical research. Many interesting incidents are being brought to light. In 1781 it was discovered in Frederick that it was part of the enemy's plan for a British force, by entering from Canada and seizing Fort Pitt, to co-operate with the tories in liberating the British prisoners of war confined in large numbers at Frederick, Sharpsburg, and other points near by, and effect a junction with Cornwallis. It happened, however, that an American officer was standing at the very place appointed for a tory messenger to meet a British officer in the disguise of a Continental, so that the papers were delivered to him, revealing the plot and the names of the leaders. Seven of these leaders were shortly captured in the vicinity of Harmony, in the western part of the county, and taken to Frederick, where they were tried on July 25th, before a commission presided over by Judge Hanson, found guilty, and sentenced to be hung, drawn, and quartered. This sentence was executed on three of them, and the others were pardoned. At the meeting of the Society in March there was exhibited for inspection the original commission, on parchment, given by the Continental Congress of 1776 to Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Chase, and Charles Carroll of Carrollton, as a committee to go to Canada and endeavor to effect a union between the Canadians and the American colonies in an effort to accomplish their independence by a separation from England.

MASSACHUSETTS—In the paper read by Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis before the Colonial Society of Massachusetts [Boston], mentioned in our last number, he gave a classified list of the historical societies of the state. The societies strictly of this nature are the following:

I. GENERAL.

1. American Antiquarian Society. Worcester.
2. American Statistical Association. Boston.
3. Archæological Institute of America. Boston.
4. Colonial Society of Massachusetts. Boston.
5. Massachusetts Historical Society. Boston.
6. New England Historic Genealogical Society. Boston.

II. LOCAL.

7. Berkshire Historical and Scientific Society. Pittsfield.
8. Beverly Historical Society.
9. Bostonian Society.
10. Canton Historical Society.
11. Cape Ann Historical Society. Gloucester.
12. Cape Cod Historical Society.
13. Concord Antiquarian Society.
14. Connecticut Valley Historical Society. Springfield.
15. Danvers Historical Society.
16. Dedham Historical Society.
17. Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society.
18. Dorchester Historical Society.
19. Essex Institute. Salem.
20. Framingham Historical and Natural History Society.
21. Historical, Natural History and Library Society. Natick.

22. Historical Society of Old Newbury.
23. Historical Society of Watertown.
24. Hyde Park Historical Society.
25. Lexington Historical Society.
26. Malden Historical Society.
27. Manchester Historical Society.
28. Medfield Historical Society.
29. Old Colony Historical Society. Taunton.
30. Old Residents' Historical Association. Lowell.
31. Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association. Deerfield.
32. Rehoboth Antiquarian Society.
33. Rumford Historical Society. Woburn.
34. Westboro Historical Society.
35. Weymouth Historical Society.
36. Winchester Historical Society.
37. Worcester Society of Antiquity.

Since this list was made, three more societies have come to light, namely, the Shephard Historical Society of Cambridge, the Roxbury Military Historical Society, and the Old South Historical Society of Boston.

—By the will of the late R. C. Waterston the Massachusetts Historical Society receives forty thousand dollars in four instalments of ten thousand dollars each. The library, collections of pamphlets, manuscripts, and autographs, etc., will remain in possession of the widow of the deceased as long as she lives. At her death they will also go to the society. The instalments of money are to be applied as follows: ten thousand dollars toward a building fund; ten thousand dollars to be invested in a separate fund to be known as the Waterston Fund No. 1, the income to be appropriated to the printing and publishing of a complete catalogue of his autographs and manuscripts; ten thousand dollars for Waterston Fund No. 2, the income to be used in the printing and publishing of any important or interesting autographs, original manuscripts, etc.; ten thousand dollars to be designated as the Robert Waterston Publishing Fund.

—The Connecticut Valley Historical Society [Springfield], at its meeting in March, adopted an amendment to the constitution, by which, on payment of fifty dollars, the privilege of life membership to the society should inure upon the death of a member to his oldest son or daughter. Steps were taken to secure the marking of all places of historic interest in the city and vicinity. A letter from John Brown, in possession of Rev. Dr. Buckingham, was read.

—The Danvers Historical Society arranged early in March for a series of fortnightly lectures, to extend into May. One of these falling in April is certainly of unique interest. Its title is "Old Anti-Slavery Days"; the meeting was to be addressed by some of the more famous abolitionists, who were earliest in the fight for freedom, and who were expected to give personal reminiscences of the battle in which they were faithful to the end.

—The Fitchburg Historical Society, at its meeting in March, listened to a letter from an old resident, now living in Colorado, giving an account of his recollections of the town in his boyhood. The letter confirms the fact of the apathy of Massachusetts toward the second war with England. "Soon after the war of 1812 broke out, I saw and heard of many military movements. The war was unpopular in Massachusetts. It was called 'Jim Madison's war.' Governor Strong did not respond readily to

calls for troops, but when a British fleet appeared off Boston harbor he became alarmed, and issued a call for all the independent companies in the state to repair to Boston for the protection of the capital town of the state."

—The Hyde Park Historical Society, as was noticed last month, completed arrangements to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the town, on April 22d. The details of the celebration will be noticed in our next number.

—The Lexington Historical Society celebrated the one hundred and eighteenth anniversary of the battle, by services in the churches on Sunday, April 16th; a ball on the evening of the 18th; on the 19th a concert for the school children in the Town Hall, bells being rung and salutes fired at the break of day. In the afternoon of the 19th an oration by the Hon. Alfred S. Rowe, and a poem by Henry O'Meara, of the *Boston Journal*, were delivered; and in the evening there was a public reception by the society.

—The Rumford Historical Association [Woburn], at its annual meeting in March, considered the question of securing a replica of the famous statue of Count Rumford, the celebrated chemist, and a native of their town, which now adorns one of the finest streets of Munich, Germany.

—The Wakefield Historical Society has taken steps to become incorporated under the laws of the state. Its services are to be solicited in the approaching commemoration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the town.

—At a meeting of the Massachusetts Society of Sons of the American Revolution in April there was a discussion of the matter of continuing the work of marking historic spots in the state. It is proposed to send a circular to the selectmen of towns, invoking their aid and co-operation in this matter. Last year the graves of about seventy-five Revolutionary soldiers in the town of Acton were designated. This year, on Memorial Day, some one hundred such spots in Concord will be marked, and probably twenty-five more in Acton. It is proposed to place bronze tablets on these sites as fast as they can be obtained. The sub-committee is composed of five gentlemen in Boston, Nantucket, Groton, Cambridge, and Lexington.

New York — On April 8th, the New York Historical Society met to commemorate the two hundredth anniversary of the appointment of William Bradford to be public printer of the colony of New York. The meeting was held in the hall of the Cotton Exchange, which stands on the site of the building in which Bradford published the first number of the *New York Gazette*, the first newspaper issued in the middle colonies. The hall was crowded with members of the society, but the small available space made it impossible to issue invitations for other guests to be present. The Rev. Dr. Morgan Dix opened the exer-

cises with a prayer, and the Hon. John A. King, president of the society, then introduced Charlton F. Lewis, the orator of the occasion. Mr. Lewis dwelt mainly on Bradford's career, speaking of his trouble with the Pennsylvanian colonial authorities which forced him to come to New York. Here, through the influence of Benjamin Fletcher, governor of New York province, he was appointed public printer. The profession was so unremunerative, however, that Bradford died in poverty. He is buried in Trinity churchyard. Dr. Chambers, senior minister of the Collegiate church, pronounced the benediction. The society have set a tablet in the Cotton Exchange building, on the Hanover square side, inscribed: "On this site William Bradford, appointed Public Printer April 10, A. D. 1693, issued November 8, A. D. 1725, the *New York Gazette*, the first newspaper printed in New York. Erected by the New York Historical Society, April 10, A. D. 1893, in commemoration of the two hundredth anniversary of the introduction of printing in New York." Another tablet will be placed in Pearl street, upon the building on the site where Bradford's first office stood.

The society, in the death of Benjamin H. Field, mourns the loss of a generous friend and patron. From 1860 to 1877 he was the treasurer. He was vice-president from 1878 to 1885, when he was elected president. At the time of his death he was a member of the executive committee. He was actively identified with the movements which secured the present fireproof building which is the society's home, and also with the purchase of the new site opposite Central Park.

—The Suffolk County Historical Society (Riverhead, Long Island) enjoys the prospect of soon possessing a fund sufficient to put up a permanent home for itself. Ex-Senator John A. King and Hon. Joseph Nimmo have contributed largely toward the enterprise, and several residents of Riverhead have promised to give one hundred dollars each.

—The Rockland County Historical and Forestry Society [Nyack] possesses quite a collection of official records of the war of the rebellion, annual reports of state and national officers, executive documents, congressional debates, year books of various societies, etc. They have also an old safe which is crowded with documents and relics which are of considerable curiosity and worth.

—On April 1st, General Charles W. Darling, secretary of the Oneida Historical Society at Utica, delivered in the First Presbyterian Church, at Whitestown, Oneida county, New York, an address on the early history of that church. It is one of the earliest churches in Central New York, and the facts relating to its organization are extremely interesting.

—At the meeting of the Rochester Historical Society in March, Frank H. Severance read a scholarly paper on "Niagara and the Poets." He described the manner in which the poet who first wrote upon the falls journeyed through the wilderness and emerged from the

woods near Lake Erie in July, 1804. This was Tom Moore, "a handsome, ruddy-faced Irishman." The speaker said that he not only wrote what probably was the first poem composed in Buffalo, but also the poem which contained the first allusion to Niagara. The writer then referred in an interesting manner to the visits of various other poets to Niagara, and their poems.

—A meeting of old residents of Warsaw was held in March for the purpose of organizing a historical society. The object of the organization is to prepare and preserve records of the history of this town, which will be one hundred years old at the end of another decade.

Ohio—The agent for the Ohio Historical and Archæological Society [Columbus], who is gathering relics to display at the World's Fair, is meeting with pronounced success in his work. Among the curious and invaluable relics he has in his charge are some Blennerhassett and La Fayette pieces. An autograph letter of the former is especially interesting, and a brass sand box used by our great French sympathizer in the time of our early struggle for liberty is of especial merit. The society will endeavor to have panoramic pictures of all the different cities of the state on exhibition. When the exposition is over, these pictures are to be returned to Columbus, and placed with other historical articles in the state museum building now being erected on the university grounds at Columbus.

—The New Century Historical Society [Marietta] was given permission by the city authorities to celebrate the landing of the Ohio pioneers on April 7, 1788, by placing a stone memorial on the spot made memorable by that event.

—The Muskingum County Pioneer and Historical Society [Zanesville] also took occasion to celebrate this first settlement of Ohio by appropriate exercises.

Pennsylvania — The Pennsylvania Historical Society [Philadelphia] is having a course of essays on the provincial history of the State. The first paper, read at the March meeting, was on "The Early Welsh Quakers and their Emigration to Pennsylvania," by Dr. James J. Levick. The second essay, read in April, was by the president, Dr. Stillé, on "The Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776," in which the writer retold the story of how the constitutions were changed in the different states upon the recommendation of Congress, May 15, 1776, and of the difficulty attending the modification in Pennsylvania. He described the irregular methods by which the convention which framed the constitution accomplished the defeat of the advocates of old "Home Government," and stated that the principal change brought about by the then new constitution was the transfer of power from a small body of men of a certain social condition to those elected by universal suffrage.

—The Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania [Allegheny], at its meeting in March, enlivened its exercises by reci-

tations and songs interspersed among the reading of papers on more serious subjects. Some valuable relics were also exhibited, among them a receipt written by General Grant when he was a lieutenant, and the tally-sheet of an election held in 1807.

—A movement has been started at Uniontown to organize a Fayette County Historical Society. It is the intention of the movers in the matter to get all those interested in local history to become members, and assist in gathering relics of Fort Necessity, the expeditions of Jumonville, Washington, Braddock, etc., and to collect a library of rare and local interest. Few sections of Pennsylvania are more rich in the material for interesting local history than Fayette. It is of the highest importance that relics and records that will be of value in coming times be preserved, and it is hoped that the movement now in progress will be completely successful.

Rhode Island—At a meeting of the Rhode Island Historical Society [Providence] in March, a paper was read by Judge Stiness, of the Supreme Court, on "A Century of Lotteries in Rhode Island." At the April meeting the society empowered the committee on publications to issue a quarterly, at a total cost of not more than five hundred dollars, the first number to contain the annual proceedings of the society, and the others such matter as was thought best. Professor W. H. Munro, of Brown University, was elected editorial assistant.

—The Newport Historical Society held its annual meeting in March. The election of officers took place. It was learned from the librarian's report that a volume of deeds and wills, dated prior to 1779, is being arranged chiefly through the liberality of certain members, and will be of special value, as the public records are not accessible. There have also been deposited, for the benefit of the public, private alphabetical lists of births, marriages, and deaths in this vicinity, the data being obtained from all the churches, town records, tombstones, and newspapers of Providence and Newport. Years of labor were required to produce these lists. During the year one hundred and fifty-three bound volumes, sixty-eight pamphlets, three maps, one portrait, three photographs, and forty-two manuscripts have been added; also fifty volumes of newspapers, and five hundred and seven single copies, one hundred and sixty-three magazines, and fifty-six relics.

—The Soldiers and Sailors' Historical Society [Providence], at its meeting in March, listened to a paper by Dr. Charles O'Leary, late medical director of the Sixth Army Corps, on "Experiences of an Army Surgeon." He spoke at length on the importance of medical officers as conservators of the health, of the spirits, and of the fighting powers of the men. He emphasized the fact that the equipment of the surgical staff of the Army of the Potomac under McClellan was absolutely nothing, and to this circumstance was due the excessive and entirely needless suffering of the sick and wounded during the campaign on the Peninsula. Special reference was made

to the peculiar depression existing in the army at Harrison's Landing prior to the arrival of fresh vegetables from the North, and the marked effect produced after a few days in the restoration of the men to health and energy.

—Before the Rhode Island Veterans' Historical Association a paper was read by Hon. Benjamin G. Chace, on "The Valley of the Taunton River." Mr. Chace entered into an elaborate and exhaustive history of the towns along the river, giving an account of the industries in Fall River, and laying stress on the cotton manufactories. The influence of the Quaker element of Somerset was also described. The early history of that town is not generally known, as for one hundred and sixteen years it was settled by Quakers alone, who preserved no history. Religious tolerance was the foundation of its success.

TENNESSEE—A special meeting was called of the Confederate Historical Association [Memphis], for the purpose of preparing suitable resolutions regarding the death of General E. Kirby Smith, of Sewanee, Tennessee. Measures have also been adopted by the society to do their share toward maintaining a Tennessee table at the Confederate bazaar held in Richmond, Virginia, in behalf of a monument to Jefferson Davis.

VIRGINIA—The Virginia Historical Society [Richmond], having in contemplation the removal into new quarters, and the better preservation of its historical treasures, the Old Dominion chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution have generously contributed nearly nine hundred dollars in aid of that purpose.

The secretary made a report on the number and condition of the manuscripts in the possession of the society. This number includes many that have already been published, but also many which have not, but which ought to be made accessible to the public in a printed form. Among them are several manuscripts of great value, prepared for publication by the late Conway Robinson, bearing on the early history of the colony, and on the period of the Revolution; the journal of the Confederate steamer Georgia; the parish register of Sussex county, 1749–1775; the History of Virginia, by Edmund Randolph; a list of members of the Phi Beta Kappa Society at William and Mary; the letter-book of the first William Byrd; the letters of William Fitzhugh; the Rose diary; Appellate court decisions, 1731–39; the account book of William Massie, 1747–48; and a number of papers in the gift of the late Cassius F. Lee of Alexandria, to the society.

CANADA—At the monthly meeting of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society [Montreal] a paper was read on the "Early Currency of Maryland, and the Early Trade of Wisconsin," which, with notes, appeared in the April number of the society's journal, *The Antiquarian*. The Smithsonian Institute and the Kansas Academy of Science have contributed some important works, which, with the generous donations from the members, have largely increased the archives.

EDITORIAL NOTES

As was to be expected, the proposal to have a history of the United States written, which shall be acceptable to the south, and which the people there shall be willing to have taught to their children, meets with some adverse criticism from the northern press. It is observable, however, that those papers which rather boast of being narrowly partisan in political controversies object to this measure. There is no doubt that books written from the northern standpoint are sometimes unjust to the south. There have been some grossly so. In a boy's history of Abraham Lincoln, for instance, not content with referring to the confederates from beginning to end, with the most contemptuous emphasis, as "Rebels," the author pauses every now and then to explain that these southerners were "traitors" and villains. The effect of this is not to teach history but to instil into the minds of children a malignant hatred. No right-minded person anywhere in this country can approve of such teachings. Fortunately such books are the exception, but doubtless in a milder way, a degree of the same influence may be wrought by other northern histories. It is not in human nature to relish getting such books into one's children's hands, if one happens to live in the south. Hence it is natural that the movement which we noticed in our last number has taken shape. But, it is without question, that southern writers will find it as hard to be perfectly impartial as the northern ones have found it to be. And it will be very nearly as bad for the southern children, if they in turn are inoculated with sentiments of contempt or hatred toward their northern countrymen. In all such matters the *section* should be sunk as much as possible, and the nation raised to the pinnacle of devotion and love. We rejoice in the spirit manifested in the columns of a southern journal on this subject. It says :

"We would resist just as strongly the proposition to place in the hands of southern children a history that did not do justice to Abraham Lincoln, or that told them that the federals were scoundrels, or that contained false or garbled statements of facts. Such a writer is the enemy of the reunited nation. All, in short, that the south asks for, is the truth, and a spirit of fraternity such as should now prevail between the two sections."

***

It is interesting to note how on every hand the effort is being made to preserve and appropriately mark the various buildings and places with which our history is interwoven. This is especially true of those which are connected with the Revolutionary period ; and we are glad to give place to the following communication, which relates to that time and to one of its more interesting episodes.

"A large historic interest centres about the west bank of the Hudson. Washington's headquarters were near Tappan at the time of the Arnold treason, and the house and grounds are now kept in the best condition. The church, rebuilt on the foundation of the one in which André was tried, marks the place

for all time. The spot on the hill where André was executed, surrounded by an iron railing, perpetuates this event. The stone "1776 house," in which André was imprisoned and from which he walked out to his execution, is neglected, and if not protected at once will go to ruin. These mementos, with the monument where André's arrest was made at Tarrytown, across the river, form the historic points of *one event.* It does seem that the '1776 house,' which bore so important a part at this period, should be preserved to complete the historic group.

"General Washington was often in the '1776 house' in consultation with officers; General Greene, in charge of this division, made it his headquarters; General La Fayette also often met officers there; and it was the central rendezvous for the yeomanry far and near, when they learned the progress of the national struggle. This house can be purchased and put in good condition for a small amount, and with some one residing in it to protect it, it will always be open to visitors, with little outlay.

"The value of preserving this house will in a few years be appreciated. Its loss would be a perpetual regret. The whole sum needed to purchase and repair the building would not exceed three thousand dollars. It is hoped that those who are themselves descended from the men who helped make history at Tappan will aid in its preservation and protect the historic interest from being made the basis of trade."

***

There is an interesting story told of Mrs. Lamb's earliest successful literary effort. When she was fifteen years of age she went to visit the birthplace of her mother, who died when she was a child. She wrote a long account of the impressions she received, and sent it unsigned to a paper at Northampton, Massachusetts, near by where she was living. The editor learned who the author was, and published it over her signature. Her father was a deacon, and a very savage deacon at that, and he didn't take much stock in newspapers or in people who wrote for them. According to all accounts, when she saw her article in print she was so surprised and frightened that she ran to her room, locked herself in, and would not come out until her father assured her that she should not be scolded for her first literary effort. Before she was twenty she had a number of stories for children accepted by magazines and periodicals, and during her lifetime she wrote eight books for children.

***

It is gratifying to learn that the study of American history will be the main feature of this summer's meeting of the "American Society for the Extension of University Teaching." This is to be held at the University of Pennsylvania buildings, in Philadelphia, from July 5 to August 3. It is expected that fifty thousand pupils will attend. The Revolutionary period will receive particular attention; but the Colonial era will also receive a large share of study. Subsidiary studies will be the American newspaper, the American magazine, and American art, as illustrated by the stage, by painting and sculpture, and by architecture. Philadelphia is a happy selection for these thoroughly patriotic inves-

tigations, and was chosen just because of its national historic interest. Excursions will be made by the various classes to the famous sites and spots in and around the city. The proposal of these studies, and the vast numbers who are confidently expected, and partly known to be coming for their pursuit, indicate how deep and universal the historic spirit has grown, as touching our own land.

***

To improve the tone of citizenship and the *quality* (we have too much of a *quantity*) of voters, there is need of beginning early to form the prospective citizen and voter's mind. This practical subject is discussed ably and thoroughly by Charles A. Brinley in a pamphlet on "Citizenship and the Schools." Referring to a number of articles on the subject in prominent periodicals he concludes as follows: "The more general the interest in the past history and the future of the government, the better. Let us, by all means, glory in our country and love her; but let it be a love that finds expression in fidelity to her—fidelity in the only way that is possible for most of us—by the sacrifice of some ease and money, if necessary, in an effort to raise the standard of citizenship. Above all, let us bear in mind that as our country is our mother, our children are her children and should be made worthy of her."

***

In connection with the article on John Brown in the preceding number of this MAGAZINE, it seems proper to call attention to the instructive reference to that unique incident in our country's history, found in Rhodes' *History of the United States from the Compromise of* 1850. His treatment of this particular episode speaks well for his judicious and impartial manner of writing history. If it is difficult in any case to be impartial, and maintain the judicial frame of mind, it is when one deals with events wherewith living generations are contemporaneous. He says: "A century may perchance pass before an historical estimate acceptable to all lovers of liberty and justice can be made of John Brown. What infinite variety of opinions may exist of a man who on the one hand is compared to Socrates and Christ, and on the other hand to Orsini and Wilkes Booth! The likeness drawn between the old Puritan and these men who did the work of assassination revolts the muse of history; yet the comparison to Socrates and Christ strikes a discordant note. The apostle of truth and the apostle of peace are immeasurably remote from the man whose work of reform consisted in shedding blood; the teacher who gave the injunction, 'Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's,' and the philosopher whose long life was one of strict obedience to laws, are a silent rebuke to the man whose renown was gained by the breach of laws deemed sacred by his country." "And who can say," he adds, "that the proclamation of emancipation would have met as hearty a response, that northern patriots would have fought with as much zeal, the people have sustained Lincoln for the abolition of slavery as faithfully, had not John Brown suffered martyrdom in the same cause on Virginia soil?"

RECENT HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

General Jackson, by James Parton. New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1893. (Great Commanders Series.)

A melancholy interest attaches to this volume because it was the last work of a prolific pen. Two months before Mr. Parton's death the last page of the MS. of this biography was finished. It is therefore worthy of especial note, that its style is so vigorous, the treatment so vivacious, the narrative so skillful, that it is no mere conventionalism to say that these pages are as "interesting as a novel." There is no need for the editor's apologetic caution in introducing the work in the preface. A more positive tone might have been adopted in speaking of such a charming and yet discriminating work as this.

It is difficult at this date for one not blinded by partisanship, and for one who wishes to cherish a high ideal for political life, to keep the mind in a state of calm judicial impartiality in dealing with a man who gave to our republic the baneful spoils-system with all its heritage of evil and of shame, involving the degradation of politics and a waste of the public money so reckless as to amount to thievery. Yet Jackson did other things, and vastly better things, for his country than committing that sad mistake, in which his temperament got away with his judgment, and of which, could he have seen the consequences as we now see them, we are certain he would have repented in sackcloth and ashes; for with all his faults he was a true lover of his country. Nevertheless, as we follow this book, which does its subject full justice and vividly presents his merits, but glosses over no real defects of character and conduct, we are painfully impressed with the unworthiness of the earlier career. There is unfortunately a good deal of the rowdy and the ruffian in it—the playing with dice, the racing of horses, the brawling and fighting, the dueling with deadly intent and remorseless execution. All this makes up an unhappy record, and the faults of temper, of imperious willfulness, of unforgiving revengefulness for political hostility, which led to the mistakes of the later life, were no doubt the harvest of the wild oats sown at the beginning.

The two conspicuous acts of Jackson as President were the erection of the spoils-system and the casting down of the Bank of the United States. In treating of the former, Mr. Parton significantly begins:

> It is delightful to observe with what a scrupulous conscientiousness the early Presidents of this republic disposed of the places in their gift. Washington demanded to be satisfied on three points with regard to an applicant for office: Is he honest? Is he capable? Has he the confidence of his fellow citizens? Not till these questions were satisfactorily answered did he deign to inquire respecting the political opinions of a candidate. . . . The example of General Washington was followed by his successors.

Then without direct censure, but without varnishing the act, the biographer indicates the real extent of the new departure. The author, again, clearly shows what was the animus inducing Jackson to attack the bank. It was essentially political hatred, glossed over (and undoubtedly to his own mind sincerely) with a zeal for the public good in defence against "bloated bondholders." And ingeniously does Mr. Parton exhibit how Jackson's act defeated his own best ideas of financial policy :

General Jackson desired a currency of gold and silver. Never were such floods of paper money emitted as during the continuance of his own fiscal system. He wished to reduce the number and the importance of banks, bankers, brokers, and speculators. The years succeeding the transfer of the deposits were the golden biennium of just those classes. In a word, his system, as far as my acquaintance with such matters enables me to judge, worked ill at every moment of its operation, and upon every interest of business and morality. To it, more than to all other causes combined, we owe the inflation of 1835 and 1836, the universal ruin of 1837, and the dreary and hopeless depression of the five years following.

Notwithstanding all this, let us, as impartial students of our annals, make an effort to be just to Jackson. We shall find our author aiding us most effectively to attain that laudable end. Among other things, he cautions us as follows (a specimen, by the way, of the writer's vivacity of style) :

No man will ever be quite able to comprehend Andrew Jackson who has not personally known a Scotch-Irishman. More than he was anything else, he was a North-of-Irelander—a tenacious, pugnacious race ; honest, yet capable of dissimulation ; often angry, but most prudent when most furious ; endowed by nature with the gift of extracting from every affair and every relation all the strife it can be made to yield ; at home and among dependents, all tenderness and generosity ; to opponents, violent, ungenerous, prone to believe the worst of them ; a race that means to tell the truth, but when excited by anger or warped by prejudice, incapable of either telling, or remembering, or knowing the truth ; not taking kindly to culture, but able to achieve wonderful things without it : a strange blending of the best and the worst qualities of two races. Jackson had these traits in an exaggerated degree : as Irish as though he were not Scotch ; as Scotch as though he were not Irish.

In weighing the merits of this book, we are to remember, however, that it does not belong to the *American Statesman Series*, where the political merits and shortcomings are more properly the theme of the biography. But it is part of the *Great Commanders Series*, and mainly as a military man is Jackson here to be placed before us. Mr. Parton has duly heeded this obligation, although he is one of the two or three exceptions of non-military men treating of these lives of generals and admirals. The larger proportion of the volume follows Jackson in his career as a soldier, and the narration of campaigns, minute in details, vivid and picturesque in presentation, constitutes the chief fascination of these pages. Jackson does come out strongly and yet justly before us as a consummate commander, daring, prompt, prudent, vigilant, overcoming mountainous difficulties with patience, perseverance, but iron determination ; striking hard when the moment comes, but warily awaiting its coming, and leaving no stone unturned to be ready for it. We need not compare him with Wellington, or put Grant and Sheridan into the shade by the side of him, as some seem inclined to do. We may give vast credit to Jackson

as general without vitiating that just meed of praise by such extravagance.

In view of all that Jackson was and did, we cannot but admire the fine conclusion of this book, reading like the peroration to an eloquent discourse, and especially noteworthy (as we intimated above) as the last paragraph composed by this veteran and accomplished author :

"Most of our history for the last hundred years will not be remembered for many centuries ; but perhaps among the few things oblivion will spare may be some outline of the story of Andrew Jackson — the poor Irish immigrant's orphan son ; who defended his country at New Orleans, and, being elected President therefor, kept that country in an uproar for eight years ; and, after being more hated and more loved than any man of his day, died peacefully at his home in Tennessee, and was borne to his grave, followed by the benedictions of a large majority of his fellow citizens."

A Pathfinder in American History, for the use of Teachers, Normal Schools, and more Mature Pupils in Grammar Grades, by Wilbur F. Gordy, Principal North School, Hartford, Connecticut ; and Willis I. Twitchell, Principal Arsenal School, Hartford, Connecticut. Two parts in one vol. Boston : Lee & Shepard, 1893.

This is an exceedingly useful little work, the result of great industry and a keen insight into the needs of teachers and pupils regarding the subject of our national history. In the introduction the authors sound a note of warning based on the overwhelming flood of foreign immigration endangering our republican institutions. The remedy—or at least a very important one—is to create a *national* feeling in the hearts of the children of this country by infusing into them a knowledge of, not only, but an *interest* in, the history of our republic. To do this the teachers of history must have at command a thorough knowledge themselves, and be apt in awakening interest in the subject. This book is intended to be an aid to them in both lines of instruction. It indicates methods to be pursued ; books on history that are useful and readable, especially for the young of various grades in the schools ; gives a list of patriotic poems ; advises instruction in local history, if the locality was distinguished for happenings of importance in any of our wars ; suggests programmes for various patriotic holidays, and for flag-raising ; denotes standard books on various departments of American history for older scholars and teachers. In short, it is truly what it calls itself—a *Pathfinder*, a guide, or manual, that no teacher or advanced scholar can afford to do without.

INDEX

ACADIA, 108: Claude and Charles la Tour came to, 1609, 110.
Adams, John Quincy, dramatic ending of his career, by R. C. Winthrop, 394.
Alabama, colored literary and historical society organized January 2, 1893; first paper to be read on "Nature, Necessity, and Object of such Society," 285.
Alamo, siege and slaughter of, 239; hymn of the, by R. M. Potter, 242, 296; defense of, 281–2.
Alaska, administration in, by L. F. Bower, 390.
Alexander, Sir Wm., Earl of Sterling, his powers, 111.
Allaben, A. E., La Tour and Acadia in the Suffolk deeds, 108.
Alleghanies, settlements west of, 332.
America, naming of, by J. A. Baldwin, 72; theory of its population across Bering Strait, 410; George III., proclamation against rebels of, 514; fac-simile of, 516.
American college, first attempt to found, 367.
American history, fountain-heads of, 388; study of, 540; officers prisoners of war on L. I., 163.
Anderson, Major Robert, and Fort Sumter, 196; dispatch of the fall of Sumter, 198.
André, Major, traditions while on Long Island in 1780, 522–3; mentioned, 539–40.
Andros, Sir Edmund, arrives at Castine, Me., 1688, and demands its surrender, 26.
Arbuthnot, Admiral, on privateers, 248.
Archdale, John, and some of his descendants, by Stephen B. Weeks, 157; governor-general of Carolina, 1695, 157; pub. in London, 1707, a description of Carolina, 160.
Arnold's raid on Connecticut avenged, 393.
Artois, Count of, 445; plot to assassinate Bonaparte, 449; becomes Charles X., 452.
Association of American authors, January meeting, review of late meeting in Boston, the mooted "stamp" plan discussed at length, committees appointed, 187.
Astor library, by F. Saunders, view, 150; opened January 9, 1854, 153.
Authors and publishers, relations of, 185.

BADLAM, W. H., on cruise of Kearsarge and fight with the Alabama, 292.
Baldwin, J. A., naming of America, 72.
Ballad and sonnet, prize competition, 415.
Baltimore, Columbus celebration, 1792, 527.
Bancroft, George, library, 184.
Barlow, Joel, vision of Columbus, 13.
Bartlett, John R., on Columbus's birthplace, 15; portrait, 15.
Bassett, J. S., a North Carolina monastery, 131.
Beardslee, W. A., first attempt to found an American college, 367.
Behring sea arbitration, 183.
Behring strait, population of America across, 410.
Belknap, Jeremy, organized Mass. Historical Society, 1790, 2; address at first Columbian celebration in Mass., 1792, 5; sent Mr. Pintard an Eliot's Indian Bible, 1790, 3.
Benedictine, first one in United States in 1842, 132.
Bennington monument, 293.
Berkshire Historical Society, February meeting at Pittsfield, address by Prof. John Bascom on Mark Hopkins, 401.
Besant, Walter, London, noticed, 77.
Beverly Historical Society, held an interesting meeting, Columbus and other topics being discussed, steps taken to secure a desirable room, 401.
Bibliography of Wisconsin authors, 293.
Blackhawk's farewell speech, 40.
Blair, James, commissary of Virginia, 506; his opinion of Nicholson—he governs us as if we were galley slaves, 511.
Book, a perfect book never yet been printed, 192.
Bradford, Wm., 200th anniversary by N. Y. Historical Society, 534.
Brinley, Chas. A., citizenship and the schools, 541.
British plot discovered at Frederick, Md., to seize Fort Pitt to liberate British prisoners, etc., 532.
Briton, under the caption of, 189.
Broadhead, G. C., settlements west of Alleghanies prior to 1776, 332.
Broadway, New York, in 1892, 68.
Brooks, Phillips, Bp., obituary, 188.
Brower, J. V., the Mississippi river and its source, noticed, 186.
Brown, Alexander, account of two manuscript volumes in library of congress, 371.
Brown, John, what support did he rely upon? 348; facsimile letter of, 359; reference to, 541; his daughter Sarah, 297; letter of, 533.
Browning the poet, 184.
Buffalo Historical Society, January meeting, bequests of J. Scoville and Wm. Moffatt, gift from H. F. Glowacki of Batavia of original title deeds, etc., of Holland Land Company, 290.
Burgoyne's surrender, an eye-witness of, 279.
Bushnell's submarine torpedo, 262–65.
Butler, B. F., the flag he raised over the New Orleans custom house, 285.

CALIFORNIA Historical Society, January meeting, election of directors, paper read on early California schools, 285.
California in paragraphs, by C. L. Norton, 61; in civil war, by F. K. Upton, 387; files of southern California newspapers, 285; crossing the plains, etc., 399.
Calonne, French minister of finance, 451.
Campbell, Douglas, autograph letter from W. E. Gladstone on reading his "Puritan in Holland, etc.," 181.
Canada, the oldest bell in, 64; committee to effect a union with American colonies in 1776, B. Franklin, Samuel Chase, and Charles Carroll, 532.
Canada Numismatic and Antiquarian Society, a paper on the "Early Currency of Maryland and Early Trade of Wisconsin," 538.
Carlyle, Thomas, 184, 189.
Carolina, John Archdale, governor-general, 1695, 157; he published in London, 1707, a description of Carolina, 160; Cary rebellion, 1707–11, 161.
Carrying-trade, increase of, 422.
Cartier's voyage in 1534, 188.
Cary rebellion in N. Carolina, 1707–11, 161.
Castine, Me., the story of, 21; its early history, 22; street scene (view) in 1892, 23; named after Jean Vincent de St. Castin, 24; Gov. Andros demands its surrender, 26; ceded to the English, 26.
Cathedral of St. John the Divine, by Allan Grant, 172.
Catholics, Old Catholics of Italian revolution, by Wm. C. Langdon, 73.
Chamber of Commerce organized, 1768; incorporated by legislature, 1784, 312; on privateers, 248–50.
Chambers, Henry E., how to study United States history, 37.
Charles X., 440–58.
Charleston harbor, called "Rebellion Roads" by the English, 1806, 424.
Charnisay, d'Aulnay de, perfidy to Lady La Tour, 120; death of, 123; account of, 276–79.
Chester, Rebecca, of Groton, 394.
Chicago Historical Society, Marshall Field presented a valuable collection of historical documents, 286.

Christ church, Boston, signal light on, 362.
Christmas sentiments, 18.
Citizenship and the schools, by Charles A. Brinley, 541.
Clinton, Gov. George, death and funeral of, 435.
Coal, price of in 1803, 297.
Cogswell, Dr., librarian of Astor library, 151–55.
College, first attempt to found an American college, by Wm. A. Beardslee, 367; first periodical, 284.
Colonial era, the, by G. P. Fisher, noticed, 191.
Colonial society of Massachusetts, first stated meeting, paper on historical work in Mass., by Andrew McF. Davis, revival of the Lady Mowlson scholarship at Harvard, the first of the sort in this country, 1643, 403.
Colorado, by C. L. Norton, 271.
Columbian picture gallery, 14.
Columbian celebration of 1792, the first in the United States, by E. F. de Lancey, 1; originated in N. Y., 1; first in Mass., 1792, 4.
Columbus, illuminated monument in honor of, 5; description and inscriptions on, 8, 9; dinner in honor of, at Tammany Wigwam, 6; early works on, 12–13; oration on, by Rev. E. Winchester, 1792, 13; ancient portrait, 14; birthplace and early life, 16; in poetry, by E. Lawrence, 72; letter on discovery of America, 79.
Columbus, character of, 189; allegorical drawing by, 267; facsimile of, 268; discussed, 289; monument in Baltimore, 1792, 400; searching for relics of, 409; celebration in Baltimore, 1792, 527; voyage in 1493, 188.
Commerce, revolutionary troubles and, by J. A. Stevens, 243; world of, 408.
Concord monument, hymn to, by Emerson, 266.
Connecticut Historical Society, February meeting, paper on description of treasures in its possession, 398; application to legislature for appropriation, 398; tape printed with Prof. Morse's first telegraphic message, and identical flag that Gen. Butler raised over New Orleans custom-house, 285; $1,000 by the state annually for compilation and publication of documents, 530.
Connecticut, early medicine and early medical men in, by G. W. Russell, noticed, 79; East India Company, or story of Wyoming, 398; Arnold's raid avenged, 393.
Connecticut Valley Historical Society (Springfield), on payment of $50 for life membership to society should inure, upon death, to oldest son or daughter, letter from John Brown was read, 533.
Constitutional convention, 1787, 327.
Constitution (frigate), launch of, 518; escape from the British, 518.
Continental army, officers of, 295.
Cornbury, Lord, 500.
Cornwallis surrendered Yorktown Oct., 1781, 385.
Cotton industries, 538.
"Cousin," whether used in 16th and 17th centuries for nephew or niece, 184.
Crandall, W. I., an incident in the life of Webster, 252.
Crown Point and Ticonderoga expedition, 1759, 395.
Curtain is the picture, 69.
Curtis, Wm. G., United States historical exhibit at Madrid, 180.

DARLING, Gen. C. W., early history of first Presbyterian church in Whitestown, Oneida Co., N. Y., 535.
Daves, Edward G., Raleigh's new fort in Virginia, 1585, 459.
Davis, A. McF., classified list of historical societies in Massachusetts, 532.
Davis, Eugene, Blackhawk's farewell speech, 40.
Davis, R. H., defense of the Alamo, 281–2.
Dawson, Sir J. W., Indian names, 183.
Dedham Historical Society, annual meeting in March, election of officers, reports, 403; Historical Register, Vol. IV., 295.
De Lancey house, afterwards Fraunce's tavern, 10.
Delaware Historical Society, February meeting, action on death of ex-Chief Justice Joseph P. Comegys, 398.
Detroit, surrender of, by Gen. Hull, 398.
Diodati, Count Jules, sketch of, with portrait, by F. D. Thompson, 60.
Dix, Gen. John A., history of the famous dispatch, "If any one attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot," with fac-simile, 194–5.
Dress worn in N. Y. city in 1789, 104.
Duane, James, sketch of, 89.
Du Chaillu's historical novel, 183.
Dustin, Hannah, captured by Indians, 50.

EDWARDS, Amelia B., queen of Egyptology, noticed, 79.
Egyptology, queen of, 79.
Elements of sea power, by Capt. Mahan, 52.
Eliot's Indian Bible, 3.
Elizabeth, Queen, a glance at the age of, 32.
Emancipation of slaves in New York, 314.
Embargo on shipping, 246; Col. Wm. Tryon against it, 246.
Emerson, hymn to Concord monument, 266.
Ephrata house at Nazareth, Pa., 407.
Erikson, Leif, claimant for discovering America, 297.
Estrem, A., statesmanship of William H. Seward, noticed, 79.
Ex-Confederate Historical and Benevolent Association, February meeting at St. Louis, treasury in a healthy condition, member deputed to find the St. Louisan who was with Jefferson Davis when he was captured, 404.

FAIR in Rochester, 1841 or 2, 252; Daniel Webster orator of, 253.
Fairfield County Historical Society, meeting in March at Bridgeport, paper on Connecticut's East India Company, or the story of Wyoming, 398
Fall River, cotton industries in, 538.
Farragut, Admiral, by Capt. A. T. Mahan, noticed, 301; midshipman on Essex, 1812, 438.
Federal Constitution procession in N. Y., 330.
Fisher, George Park, colonial era, noticed, 191.
Fisheries, 420.
Fiske, Prof., on Gen. Charles Lee, 288, 393.
Fitchburg Historical Society, January meeting, pay for clothing from colony of Mass. Bay, 1776, 288; March meeting, old resident now in Colorado, his recollections of town in boyhood, war of 1812, 533.
Flag of truce at surrender of Gen. Lee, 297.
Florida, along the Florida reef, by C. F. Holder, noticed, 76.
Florida, South Florida Historical and Archæological Society (Orlando), an effort to resuscitate it, 531.
Ford, W. C., a sketch of Sir Francis Nicholson, 499.
Fort Ancient, 291.
Fort Pitt, 532.
Fort Harmer, signing treaty at, 291.
Fort Sumter, Major Anderson and, 196; fall of, 198.
Fountain-heads of American history, 388.
Farmington, Conn., resolutions of, 1774, 521.
France declares war with Great Britain, 421.
Franklin, did he smoke, 69; objected to adoption of eagle as emblem of his country, 490; commission from congress, 532.
Franklin, B., Saml. Chase and Charles Carroll, committee in 1776 to Canada, 532.
Fraunce's tavern, 10; view of, 13.
Frederick County Historical Society (Frederick), March meeting, exhibited the original commission on parchment, given by congress in 1776 to B. Franklin, Saml. Chase, and Charles Carroll of Carrollton, committee to go to Canada, 532; organized, 287.
Free trade and sailors' rights, 436.
French officers gracefully yielded supremacy of rank, 385.
French war and the Revolution, by Wm. M. Sloane, noticed, 413; Revolution, 446.
Freneau, Philip, his poems on Columbus, 12.

GALLATIN, Albert, on profits of glass made by his firm, 297.
Gambrall, Rev. Dr., early Maryland, 183.
Gardiners of East Hampton, L. I., 522–3.
Genoa, description of, 15; view of, 17.
George III.'s proclamation against the rebels of America, 514; facsimile of, 516.

Georgia Historical Society, February meeting, election of Gen. H. R. Jackson, for president, reports of officers, 398.
German Historical Society of Maryland, February (annual) meeting, presented with a German book printed in Philadelphia in 1705 (it has eighty members), 401.
Giddings, H. A., the ride of Paul Revere, 360.
Gladstone, W. E., an autograph letter from, to Douglas Campbell, October, 1892, 181.
Glass, price of window glass in 1797, 297.
Goblet made from head of the mace used by royal governors of Virginia, 520.
Gordy, Wilbur F., a pathfinder in American history, noticed, 544.
Grant, Allan, the cathedral of St. John the Divine, 172.
Grape, the Scuppernong grape of North Carolina, 462.
Grasse, Count de, assists Lafayette, 385; his fleet of twenty-eight ships and six frigates, 386.
Great Britain, second war with, 419; France declares war with, 421; on international maritime law, 425.
Green, Israel, first suggested the name of A. Lincoln for President, 282.
Grenville, Sir Richard, expedition to Virginia, 463; death, 464.
Griffin, Cyrus, president of congress, sketch, 99.

HAKLUYT Society's early Maryland, by Rev. Dr. Gambrall, 183.
Halifax, log of a privateer of, 1757, 407.
Hamilton, Alexander, 90; engaged to Betsey Schuyler, 91.
Hammond, Mrs. L. M., history of Madison county, N. Y., 442-4.
Harford County Historical Society, January meeting at Bel Air, donations by President Gilman, 401.
Harland, Marion, story of Mary Washington, noticed, 76.
Harper's Ferry, John Brown's raid, 348; what support, 348.
Harrison, President, proclamation on the death of ex-President Hayes, 174.
Harrison, Mrs. President, memorial to, 68-9.
Harrison, Richard, sketch of, 89.
Hayes, Rutherford B., President Harrison's proclamation on the death of, 174; Gov. McKinley's proclamation on, 175; funeral of, 177.
Heckwelder, Johanna, the first white woman born on Ohio soil, 406.
Heitman, F. B., historical register of officers of continental army, notice of, 295.
Henchman, Capt. Daniel, instructions, 1676, 187.
Henrico, Va., first college in, 367; destroyed, 1622, 369.
Hepburn, Geo. G., a glance at the age of Queen Elizabeth, 32.
Herkimer, Gen. Nicholas, monument, 291.
Heywood, James, and the British soldier at battle of Lexington, 392.
Holder, C. F., along the Florida reef, noticed, 76.
Holland Land Company, title deeds, etc., 291.
Holly song, the, 18.
Hopkins, Mark, address on, by Prof. John Bascom, 401.
Hopkins, Mrs. T. E., reminiscences of Rochester female seminary, 72.
"Horse Shoe Robinson" [concluding chapter, continued from page 468], 42.
Houston, Gen. Sam., 239-40.
Howard, Gen. O. O., the great commander series, Gen. Taylor, noticed, 192.
Huguenot Society of America, December meeting, letter read from Hon. John Jay, 74; reception held, 74; lecture on the moon and planets, with views, by Prof. J. K. Rees, 74; badge presented to every one present, by Mrs. Anderson, 74; on death of Martha J. Lamb, 296.
Huguenots of New Jersey, 186.
Hull, Capt., of the Constitution, captures the Guerriere, Capt. Dacres, with 267 prisoners, 439; voted the freedom of city of New York, 439.
Hurlbut, John, journal of a colonial soldier, diary of the expedition against Crown Point and Ticonderoga in 1759, 395.
Hurst, T. M., battle of Shiloh, 408.
Hyde Park Historical Society, January meeting, committee appointed on celebration of the 25th anniversary of the town, in April, 401.

IMPRESSMENT of seamen, 246, 422, 436.
Indians, medals, 65-6; Hannah Dustin's capture, 50.
Indian word of Missouri, 299; skeletons, 411.
Indians of New Jersey, Wm. Nelson, 290; names, by Dawson, 183; Quinnipiac Indians, 530; Iroquois, 260; Wayne's treaty, 406.
Inglis, Rev. Charles, with portrait, short sketch, 309.
Iowa Historical Society, board of trustees of the Iowa historical collection have decided to revive their publication of annals of Iowa, first number to be issued in February, 399; printing press curio, a funeral notice, 399; addition has been made to the Aldrich collection, 399.
Iowa, Adams Co., pit discovered with skeletons and tomahawks, 411; annals of, 399.
Iron, the first iron industry in America, 66.
Iroquois Indians, 260
Irving, Leonard, do we know George Washington? 222: historical novel and American history, 338.

JACKSON, Gen. Andrew, an incident in his career, 19; financial policy, 543; life, by James Parton, noticed, 542.
Jay, John, sketch and birthplace of, 87; residence on Broadway, N. Y., 88.
Jay, Mr. and Mrs. John, as host and hostess at dinners, 81; residence in Paris, 85.
Jay, Mrs. John, list of names who attended her dinners and sociables, with sketches, 89.
Jefferson, letter of Luzerne to, 1781, 381.
Jefferson County Historical Society, trying to erect a building, 290.
Johnston, H. P., Sergeant Lee's experience with Bushnell's submarine torpedo in 1776, 262; N. Y. after Revolution, 1783-9, 305.
Jumel, Madame, mansion, 178.

KANSAS Historical Society, eighth biennial report, 286; endeavors to provide suitable quarters, 400.
Kearsarge and the Alabama, cruise and fight, 292.
Kemble, Fanny, obituary, 188.
Kennedy, John P., sketch of, his works, wrote the fourth chapter second volume of Virginians for Thackeray, 48; how he came to write "Horse Shoe Robinson," 49.
King Hendrick, 68.
Kings College changed to Columbia, May 1, 1784, 315.
King's Mountain, battle of, 43; Philip Lindsay, 45.

LADIES' Historical Society of Washington, attention to Scandinavian history and mythology, 286.
Lamar, L. Q. C., obituary, 188.
Lamb, Mrs. Martha J., sketch of, by Daniel Van Pelt, portrait, 126; resolutions on, by colonial dames of America, 283, 292, 294, 296; sketch, by E. W. Whittaker, 404; as a literary worker, 409; earliest successful literary effort, 540, 188.
Lander, E. T., the great seal of the United States, 471.
Lang, Andrew, Mary Stuart, 189.
Langdon, Wm. C., Old Catholics of the Italian revolution, 73.
Langtry, Rev. J., history of the Church in eastern Canada, noticed, 77.
Lanier, Sidney, psalm of the West, 72
La Tour and Acadia in the Suffolk deeds, by A. E. Allaben, 108.
La Tour, Charles, goes to Acadia, 1609, 110; lieutenant-general, 112; Charnisay's intrigues against, 113; commission revoked, ordered to France, refused, 113; arrives at Boston, 114; articles of agreement, 115; marries Charnisay's widow to secure peace, 124; grant to, 119; mentioned, 276-79.
La Tour, Lady, secures a fleet at Boston to convey her and supplies to Fort La Tour, 117; takes command of the fort and defeats Charnisay, 120; his perfidy, 120; death of Lady La Tour, 121.
La Tour, grant from Sir Wm. Alexander to Claude and Charles, 119.
La Tour, Claude, 110; goes over to the English, 111; returns to French allegiance, 112.
Lawrence, Eugene, Columbus in poetry, 72.
Lee, Gen. Charles, Prof. John Fiske on, 393; the soldier of fortune, 288.

Lee, Sergeant Ezra, experience with Bushnell's submarine torpedo in 1776, 262.
Lee, Gen. R. E., piece of white toweling used as flag of truce at surrender of, 297.
Leisler, Jacob, executed for treason, 1691, 1.
Lewis, Morgan, 92.
Lexington, instantaneous duel at battle of, 392; James Heywood and the British soldier at, 392; 118th anniversary of battle, 534.
Lexington Historical Society, celebrated 118th anniversary of the battle by services in the churches on Sunday, April 16th, a ball on the 18th, concert on 19th for school children, oration by Hon. A. S. Rowe, and poem, and public reception, 534.
Libraries: Astor, by F. Saunders, 150; Congressional, by A. R. Spofford, 492–8; Bancroft, 184.
Lincoln, A., expressions to Sickles on the resolutions from N. Y., 199; assassinated, 219; obsequies in N. Y., 220; letter to his wife from City Point, 174; first suggestion for President, 282.
Lindsay, Philip, of Virginia, mortally wounded at King's Mountain, 45.
Livingston, John, short sketch, with portrait, 88.
Livingston, Robert R., his services, 91.
Livingston, Sarah Van Brugh, her marriage to John Jay, 84.
Lodge, Henry Cabot, 234.
Long distance rides, 183.
Longfellow, H. W., 189.
Long Island, moneys furnished by Lewis Pintard to Am. officers and prisoners on, 163; courtesies between residents and British officers, 522; old houses in Southampton, Port Jefferson, and Southold, 528.
Long Island Historical Society, manuscripts of Wm. Gilmore Simms in, 280.
Lotteries in Rhode Island, 537.
Louisiana Historical Association, March meeting, election of officers, 531.
Lowe, Emanuel, leader in the Cary Rebellion in N. C., 161.
Lowell (Mass.), old residents' historical association holds quarterly meetings, at which sketches are given of the lives of prominent citizens, 403.
Loyalists leave New York, 306.
Luzerne's letter to Jefferson, 1781, 382; fac-simile of, 384.

MACON, Ga., historical club formed of ladies and gentlemen, 398.
Madrid, U. S. historical exhibit at, 180.
Mahan, Capt. A. T., influence of sea power, noticed, 75; Admiral Farragut, noticed, 75, 301; elements of sea power, 52.
Maine, Henry C., an unknown exile: was he Charles X.? 440.
Maine Historical Society, paper on pre-Columbian discovery, 287; promised gift of sword from British brig Boxer, 400.
Martinique captured from the French, 243.
Maryland, proposal to establish a state historical museum in, 411; capital removed from St. Mary's to Annapolis, 504; first provision for a free school, 505; early currency, 538; early Maryland, by Rev. Dr. Gambrall, 183.
Maryland Historical Society, February meeting, reports of officers, besides papers read at successive meetings, has issued 2 vols. of state archives, 400; March meeting, paper on Columbus monument erected in Baltimore, 1792, 400; presented with replica of bronze work on monument to Maryland line on battlefield of Guilford Court-house, and oil portraits, has portraits of all its presidents, 531; organization, 287.
Maryland Society of Colonial Wars, organized in Baltimore in March, 531.
Massachusetts Bay Colony, letter asking pay for clothing of the colony, 288.
Massachusetts, classified list of historical societies in, by A. McF. Davis, 532; apathy toward war of 1812, 533.
Massachusetts Society, the, organized in Boston, January, 1893, 288.
Massachusetts Society of Sons of the Am. Revolution, April meeting, continuing the marking of historic spots, etc., 534.
Massachusetts Historical Society, organized 1790, 2; the first in America, 2; by bequest of R. C. Waterston receives $40,000, and after his widow's death his books, MSS., autographs, etc., 533.
Massachusetts Historical Society, January stated meeting, notice of death of Dr. F. E. Oliver, three unpublished letters read, a paper on voyage of Columbus in 1493, and voyage of Cartier in 1534, by Justin Winsor, instructions to Capt. Henchman in May, 1676, 187. February meeting, presented with a silver watch once owned by Cotton Mather and an original miniature of Increase Mather, sent by Mrs. Elizabeth A. B. Ellis, a lineal descendant of Cotton Mather, 402; Reminiscences of Bishop Brooks, 402.
Mather, Cotton, silver watch once owned by him, 402.
Mather, Increase, original miniature of, 402.
Mayes, Wm. H., the struggle of Texas for independence, 235.
McLean County, Ill., Historical Society, March meeting at Bloomington, several papers read, one on "Sports and Amusements of the Pioneers," and another on "Experiences in Crossing the Plains and in California in its early Days," 399.
McKinley, William, proclamation on the death of ex-President Hayes, portrait, 175.
Memorial Association of the District of Columbia preserving the most noteworthy houses and marking by tablets, etc., 530.
Mercer, H. C., the grave of Tamenend (Tammany), 255.
Mercer, Gen., at Princeton, by Chas. D. Platt, 370; application and appointment as colonel, 410.
Mexico, first revolt against, 236.
Minisink Valley Historical Society, March meeting at Port Jervis, reading of a poem, addresses and music, 405.
Mines, J. F., a tour around New York, noticed, 80.
Minnesota Historical Society, November meeting, valuable gifts reported, steps for a fire-proof building, 73; January meeting, vol. vii. of collections issued, memorial to legislature for $150,000 for building, 186; March meeting, opening library on Sunday discussed, the vol. on the Mississippi, noticed, 403.
Mississippi river and its source, by Prof. J. V. Brower, noticed, 186.
Missouri, Indian word of, "wooden canoe," 299.
Missouri Historical Society, presented with shackle once worn by a slave at Lexington, Mo., 404.
Mohawk valley, New Year's day in, 68.
Montana Historical Society, its volumes, newspapers, diaries, letters, MSS., Indian relics, 403.
Montreal, capture of, 243.
Monument to Columbus, 5; description and inscription on, 8, 9, 287, 400; Herkimer, 291, 405; Miles Standish, 288; Confederate, 72; Concord, 266; Bennington, 293.
Moore, Tom, probably wrote the first poem composed in Buffalo, but also the first poem which contained the first allusion to Niagara, 536.
Moravian Historical Society, list of members, headquarters are at Nazareth in the old Ephrata house, begun by George Whitfield in 1740, the fourth volume now in process of publication, 407.
Moreau, Gen., in America, 451.
Morris, Gouverneur, in Europe, humorous description of his dinner in Paris with the poets, 54; in London, 55; his brother, S. L. Morris, a general in the British army, 56; letter to Washington about Pitt, 56; dines with Madame de Staël and others, 57; Washington's letter to, 58; Minister to France, 58; sympathy for French king and queen, 59; plan for their escape, 59; generosity to son of Louis Philippe, 179.
Morse, Prof., tape of his first telegraphic message, 285.
Mound-builders of Ohio, etc., 71.
Moustier, Marquis de, French ambassador, in N. Y., 100; ball given by, 106.
Mowlson, Lady, founder of a scholarship at Harvard university, 1643, the first "foundation" of the sort in this country, and amongst the oldest in the world, 403.
Muller, Louis Anathe, at Georgetown, Madison Co., N. Y., 440, etc.

NAPOLEON, 184, 442-457.
National History Company, 189.
Nelson, Lord, fears trouble with the American navy, 422.
Nelson, Wm., Indians of N. J., 290.
Newark Historical Society (Ohio) has a likeness of Johanna Heckwelder, the first white woman born on Ohio soil, b. 1781, d. in Bethlehem, Pa., 1868, 406.
Newburgh Historical Society, annual meeting on March 1, election, 405.
New Century Historical Society of Columbus, January meeting, 100th anniversary of signing treaty at Fort Harmer, 291; to celebrate landing of Ohio pioneers, April 7, 1788, 536.
New England Historical Genealogical Society, November meeting, Prof. Fiske read a paper on Charles Lee; January meeting, election of officers, 288.
New France organized, 113.
New Haven Colony Historical Society, February meeting, paper on Surrender of Detroit by Gen. Hull, 398; March meeting, paper by Capt. C. H. Townshend on Quinnipiac Indians, 530; new building, 530
New Jersey, Huguenot families of, J. C. Pumpelly, 186.
New Jersey Historical Society, January meeting, paper by Wm. Nelson on the "Indians of New Jersey," 290; election of officers, and die for centennial medal for society finished, 404.
Newport Historical Society, March meeting, election of officers, a volume of deeds and wills prior to 1779 is being arranged, also deposited for use of public, private alphabetical lists of births, marriages and deaths, 537.
New Year's day in Mohawk valley, 68.
New York city, tour around, Felix Oldboy (J. F. Mines), noticed, 80; society in early days of republic, 81; ministers and physicians, 93; corner-stone of cathedral of St. John the Divine laid, with view, 172; memorial history, noticed, 190; N. Y., by Gen. T. F. Rodenbough, 193; Lincoln obsequies, 220; resolutions on war for the Union sent to President, 199; Seventh Regiment's departure for Washington, 203; women of, their work and patriotism, 205; a foreigner's views in 1861, 207; draft riot, 212-16; letter from Gen. Washington, in answer to address sent him, day after evacuation, with fac-simile, 232-4; newspapers in 1772, 246; City Hall, 295; after the Revolution, 305; loyalists, 306; societies in, 313; emancipation of slaves, 314; restoration of city government, 310; politics, 320; Chamber of Commerce, 312; Federal Constitution procession, 330; freedom of city to Capt. Hull, 439; Papists in, 501; price of slaves in, 523-4.
New York Historical Society, December meeting, final paper on Columbus in poetry, 72; January meeting, annual reports, $350,000 for new building, additions, election of officers, 186; April 8, 200th anniversary of printing press in N. Y., by Wm. Bradford, at Cotton Exchange, Charles F. Lewis delivered oration, tablet placed, death of Benj. H. Field noticed, 534-5.
New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, January meeting, paper on some Huguenot families of New Jersey, by J. C. Pumpelly, election of officers, 186.
N. Y. state fair in Rochester, 1841 or 2, 252.
Niagara and the poets, by F. H. Severance, 535.
Nichols, Rev. Geo. W., miscellanies, religious and personal, and sermons, noticed, 192.
Nicholson, Sir Francis, sketch of, by W. C. Ford, 499; gov. of New England 1688, 501; gov. of Virginia, 502, 508; gov. of Maryland, 1693, 504; removes capital from St. Mary's to Annapolis, 504; horsewhipped, 508; his abuse and temper, 509-11; opinions of him, 511-12; gov. of Nova Scotia, 512; gov. of South Carolina, 512.
Non-importation act passed, 424.
North Carolina, 459; Scuppernong grape of, 462; monastery, by J. S. Bassett, 131; gold in, 72.
North Carolina Historical Society, October meeting, paper on Columbus and the spirit of his age, by Dr. Stephen B. Weeks, 72; selections from Sidney Lanier's psalm to the West, by Prof. J. L. Armstrong, 72; paper on naming of America, by J. A. Baldwin, 72; paper on the fortunes and fate of Columbus, by J. F. Shinn, 72; December meeting, paper on first discovery of gold in North Carolina, by Mr. Shinn, 72; Dr. Weeks on subscriptions to new Confederate monument and on work of the Confederate press, 72.
Norton, Chas. Ledyard, the United States in paragraphs—California, 61; Colorado, 271.
Norwegian prelates to ordain priests for Greenland by order of Pope Nicholas V. in 1448, 389.
Nova Scotia, Sir F. Nicholson governor, 512.
Nova Scotia Historical Society, annual meeting, February, election of officers, reports, paper on the log of a Halifax privateer in 1757, read by Prof. MacMeehan, 407.

OBITUARY, January: Bp. Phillips Brooks, Gen. B. F. Butler, Gen. and ex-President R. B. Hayes, Mrs. Frances Anne Kemble, L. Q. C. Lamar, Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, 188.
Ohio Archæological and Historical Society, Gen. R. Brinkerhoff elected president to succeed the late ex President Hayes, decided to have a celebration at Greenville in 1895, on Gen. Wayne's treaty with the Indians, relics for the World's Fair, 406, 536; 8th annual report, on Fort Ancient, 291.
Old Colony Historical Society, January meeting, paper by Rev. P. W. Lyman on Shay's Rebellion, additions, 288.
Oldest dwelling-house in N. Y., 284.
O'Leary, Dr. Charles, on experiences of an army surgeon in the rebellion, 537.
Oliver, Dr. F. E., death of, 187.
Oneida Historical Society, to erect monument to Gen. Herkimer, 291; February meeting, Herkimer monument, 405; women elected exempt from dues, 405.
Onondaga Historical Association, January meeting, election of officers and directors, 290.
Oriskany, battle of, 291.
Our leading libraries: Congressional library, by A. R. Spofford, 492-8; Astor library, by F. Saunders, 150.

PAPERS sent by the Pope to the Columbian fair, 389.
Papists in New York, 501.
Parker, Mrs. J. M., on Jesuit relations, 72.
Parton, J., Andrew Jackson, noticed, 542; his last work, 542.
Pasteur, M., 189.
Pathfinder in American history, a, 544.
Peale, C. W., portrait painter, 275.
Pelletreau house in Southampton, 528.
Pennsylvania, early Welsh Quakers in, by Dr. J. L. Levick, 536; the constitution of 1776, by Dr. Stillé, 536.
Pennsylvania Historical Society, March meeting, paper on early Welsh Quakers, by Dr. J. L. Levick; April meeting, the Pennsylvania constitution of 1776, by Dr. Stillé, 536.
Persian and Arabic pæan, Ave Kaisar-i-Hind, 188.
Phelps and Gorham purchase, 294.
Philadelphia, oldest house in, 412.
Philippe, Louis, 59, 179.
Philipse, Mary, one of Washington's sweethearts, 177; married Capt. Roger Morris, 178.
Phillipse bridge, battle of, 404.
Philosophy, 189.
Pintard, John, founder of historical societies, and Tammany Society, and its first sagamore, 1-3; first suggested Columbian celebration, 1791, 2.
Pintard, Lewis, account of moneys furnished by, to American officers; prisoners of war on Long Island, 163.
Polignac, Duke of, 449.
Politics in New York, 320.
Port Royal taken, 111; surrendered to the French, 111.
Potter, Rubin M., hymn of the Alamo, in fac-simile, 242.
Prime, W. C., along New England roads, noticed, 78.
Prisoners of war on Long Island, 163.
Privateers, Gov. James Robertson on, 247; Admiral Arbuthnot on, 248; Chamber of Commerce on, 248-50; log of Halifax privateers, 1757, 407.
Prize competition, 303, 415.
Provoost, Bishop Samuel, 95.

Pulling, John, placed signal light on Christ church, Boston, 362; his escape and return, 365.
Pumpelly, J. C., Huguenot families of New Jersey, 186.
Puritan Sunday, 189.
Putnam, Capt., of Minn., anecdote on, by Thurlow Weed, 215.
Pynchon, William, the meritorious of price of our redemption, 192.

QUAKER element of Somerset, R. I., 538.
Queries.—*January:* Tom Thumb and Haydon, 69; did Washington and Franklin smoke, 69. *February:* oldest dwelling-house in N.Y. state, 185; C. H. Gardiner claims Sayre house at Southampton, L. I., oldest, built 1648, 185. *March:* house occupied by Lafayette; David Crockett; burning of the Tiger; first place of worship on Manhattan island, 284. *April:* Lafayette's body guard, 397; Indian war of 1835 in Alabama and Georgia, 397. *May* and *June:* Lord Sterling's house, 528; powder mill of the Revolution, 528.
Quebec built and sent to sea first ocean steamship, 186.
Quebec Historical Society, January meeting, annual report for the year, on view the original wooden model of the steamship Royal William, addition of 357 vols., treasurer's report, election of officers, 186.
Quinnipiac Indians, by Chas. H. Townshend, 530.

RALEIGH, Sir Walter, reception of, 463; named the new country Virginia, 463; second expedition in 1585, 463, 469; new fort in Virginia, 1585, by E. G. Daves, 459.
"Rebellion Roads," Charleston harbor, named by the English in 1806, 424.
Reed, Capt. J. C., on the General Armstrong at battle of Fayal, 394.
Rees, Prof. J. K., on the moon and planets, 74.
Replies.—*January:* the curtain is the picture, 69; Bishop William R. Whittingham, 69; mound-builders of Ohio, 70; the mound-builders, 71; error corrected, 71. *February:* Tom Thumb killed poor Haydon, 185. *March:* first college periodical, oldest dwelling house in N. Y. state, 284. *April:* oldest dwelling-house in N. Y. state, the Moore house at Southold, built 1647, 397; house occupied by Lafayette in Ringoes, N. J., 397; first place of worship on Manhattan island, 397. *May* and *June:* oldest dwelling-house in N. Y. state, 528; burning of the Tiger in N. Y. harbor in 1614, 528; Lafayette's sickness, 528–9.
Revere, Paul, the ride of, 360.
Revolutionary army conditionally discharged, 299.
Revolutionary document, moneys furnished by Lewis Pintard to American officers, prisoners of war on Long island, 163.
Rhode Island Historical Society, November meeting, lecture on the Old Catholics of the Italian revolution, by Rev. Wm. C. Langdon, 73; January meeting, Mrs. Lamb's death, papers to be published, 292; February meeting, paper on Samuel Gorton; March meeting, paper on world of commerce, 408; paper by Judge Stiness, a century of lotteries in, 537; April meeting, empowered committee to issue a quarterly, 537.
Rhode Island Soldiers' and Sailors' Historical Society, January meeting, paper by W. H. Badlam on the "Cruise of the Kearsarge and fight with the Alabama," 292; March meeting, paper by Dr. Chas. O'Leary on experiences of an army surgeon, 537.
Rhode Island Veteran Citizens' Historical Association, January meeting, paper on the valley of the Taunton river, 292; paper by Hon. B. G. Chace, valley of the Taunton river, and influence of Quaker element of Somerset, 538.
Richmond Literary and Historical Association organized, 293; February meeting, constitution read, and several added to roll, 408.
Right of search, 423, 426.
Roanoke island, 459, 462; first English colony, 459.
Rochambeau arrived with 6,000 troops in 1780, 383.
Rochester (N. Y.) female seminary reminiscences, by Mrs. T. E. Hopkins, 72; state fair in 1841 or 1842, 252; tableaux relating to early history of city, 294.
Rochester Historical Society, December meeting, paper on the Jesuit relations, by Mrs. J. M. Parker, 72; paper on the reminiscences of the Rochester female seminary, by Mrs. T. E. Hopkins, 72; February meeting, paper on "An Unknown Exile," by Henry C. Maine; he might have been a brother of Louis XVI. (afterward Charles X. of France), 406; March meeting, Frank H. Severance read a paper on "Niagara and the Poets," 535.
Rockland County Historical Society, annual meeting in February, dinner, election of officers, and display of recently acquired relics, 405; has official records of civil war and old documents and relics, 535.
Rodenbough, Gen. T. F., Great cities in the civil war: I. New York, 193.
Rodgers, Com., receives orders on June 20 and sails against the enemy, 436; fires the first shot, 437.
Rodgers, Rev. John, with portrait, 94.
Roxbury Military Historical Society, annual dinner, January, statue of Gen. Warren, 289.
Royal Exchange, Broad street, view of, 10.
Royal William, original wooden model of, the first ocean steamship, 186.
Rumford Historical Association (Woburn), March meeting, considered the question of securing a replica of the statue of Count Rumford in Munich, 534.
Russell, G. W., early medicine and medical men in Connecticut, noticed, 79.

SANTA Anna, Gen., 281; cruelty, 239.
Saunders, F., the Astor library, view, 150.
Savage, Edward, Columbian picture gallery, 14.
Scott, Walter, 184.
Scott, Gen. Winfield, calls President Buchanan's attention in Oct., 1860, to unprotected state of certain fortifications, 196.
Seal of the United States, 471; descriptions, 474; Franklin objects to the eagle as the emblem of his country, 490.
Secession, truth about, 178.
Seventh Regiment of New York leaves for Washington, 203.
Seward, Wm. H., statesmanship of, by A. Estrem, noticed, 79.
Shackleton, R., Jr., what support did John Brown rely upon, 348.
Shay's rebellion, by P. W. Lyman, 288.
Shiloh, battle of, by T. M. Hurst, 408.
Shinn, J. F., the fortunes and fate of Columbus, 72; first discovery of gold in N. C., 72.
Sickles, Gen. Daniel E., resolutions draughted by, 199; Lincoln's expressions on them, 199.
Sidney, Sir Philip, 34.
Simetière, Eugène Pierre du, artist, 473.
Simms, W. Gilmore, his MSS. in the Long Island Historical Society, 280; life by W. P. Trent, noticed, 300.
"Sinewes of Warre," mentioned in 1639, 193.
Slaves in New York, 314; price of, 523–4.
Sloane, Wm. M., the French war and the Revolution, noticed, 413.
Society in the early days of the Republic, by J. G. Wilson, 81.
South Carolina, how we lose our history, 280; Sir F. Nicholson, governor of, 1720–5, 513.
Southern California Historical Society, annual meeting, election of officers, 74; March meeting, papers on events in history of the state, 530; exhibit to World's fair, 530; complete files of southern California newspapers, 285.
Spencer, Emanuel, the successful novel of fifty-six years ago, 42.
Spofford, A. R., Congressional library, history of, 492–8.
Sports and amusements of pioneers, 399.
Stamp act, 246, 514.
Standish, Miles, monument to, 288.
Starin family in America, by W. L. Stone, noticed, 78.
St. Castin, Jean Vincent de, sketch of, 24; his marriage with daughter of chief Madockawando, 25; returned to France, 1701, 26.
Sterling, Lord, grant to La Tour, 119; house on Broad street, N. Y., 528.

Stevens, John Austin, revolutionary troubles and commerce, 243; second war with Great Britain, 419.
Stevenson, E. I., story of Castine, Me., 21.
Stillé, Dr., Pennsylvania constitution of 1776, 536.
Stone, W. L., Starin family in America, noticed, 78.
Stow, Samuel, annals of God's blessing of N. E., 387; sketch of Stow, 388.
Stuart, Mary, by Andrew Lang, 189.
Suffolk County Historical Society, at Riverhead, L. I., annual meeting in February, election of officers, Rev. E. W. Whittaker read a biographical sketch of Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, 404; expects a permanent home, 535.
Sumter, Gen., of South Carolina, 64.

TAMENEND, Indian chief, see Tammany, 255.
Tammany, the grave of Tamenend (Tammany), by H. C. Mercer, 255-61.
Tammany and Columbus in character, 11.
Tammany Society or Columbian order organized, 1789, 4; wigwam in Broad street, 5; view of Tammany hall in 1830, 7; corner-stone of new building (now Sun office), 1811, 11; hall, 259; society, 259.
Tappan, "1776 House" at, 540.
Taunton river (R. I.), valley of, 292; valley of the, by Hon. B. G. Chace, 538.
Taylor, Gen., biography of, by Gen. O. O. Howard, noticed, 192.
Tea, non-importation of, 515.
Tennessee Confederate Historical Association, special meeting, on death of Gen. E. Kirby Smith, table at the Confederate bazaar in Richmond, 538.
Tennessee Historical Society, January meeting, donations, proceedings of Confederate Veterans' Association, etc., 292; February meeting, paper on battle of Shiloh, by T. M. Hurst, 408.
Texas, the struggle for independence, by W. H. Mayes, 235; Austin, colony of, 235; poem on, by Whittier, 241.
Thompson, F. D., Count Jules Diodati, sketch with portrait, 60.
Thornton, Col., of 85th Regiment (English), on Gen. Jackson, at New Orleans, 19.
Thurston County Historical Society, at Olympia, Wash., 293.
Ticonderoga expedition in 1759, 395.
Timrod's poems, 183.
Tom Thumb and B. R. Haydon, 69, 185.
Townshend, Chas. H., the Quinnipiac Indians, 530.
Trade and commerce, 243.
Trent, W. P., life of Wm. Gilmore Simms, noticed, 300.
Tryon, Col. Wm., against embargo, 246.
Tyler, J. G., the successful novel of fifty-six years ago, "Horse Shoe Robinson" [concluding chapter], 42; Whittier's birthplace, 50.

UNITED STATES, how to study its history, by H. E. Chambers, 37; in paragraphs, California, 61; historical exhibit at Madrid, 180; archives in state department, 298; school history acceptable to the south, 412, 539; second war with Great Britain, 419; between two fires, 424-6; great seal of, 471; various devices, 474; Franklin objects to the eagle, 490.
Upton, Capt. F. K., on California in the civil war, 387.

VANDERBILT, Com. C., fitted out steamer Vanderbilt and presented her to government, 204; congress votes him a gold medal, 204.
Vaudreuil, Marquis de, 451.
Van Pelt, Daniel, Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, 126.
Vespucius, Americus, an autograph manuscript of, by Walter S. Wilson, 169.
Virginia, Raleigh's new fort in 1585, 459; description of, 463-5; Sir Richard Grenville's expedition, 463; first white child born in, 467; savage Manteo baptized, 467; social régime of colony, 503; origin of discord, 507; goblet made from head of mace carried by royal governors, 520.
Virginia company, of London, gives land for college at Henrico, 1618, 367; charter revoked, 369; records of the courts, 1619-24, 2 MS. vols. in library of congress, 371.
Virginia Historical Society, November meeting, gifts reported of a large mass of papers and documents relating to the Carter family, from 1700 to 1800, 72; bequest from Cassius F. Lee, books and papers of the Lee family, 72; arrangements for annual meeting, 72; new quarters, report MSS., several by Conway Robinson on early history of colony, etc., 538.

WADSWORTH, Gen. J. S., 220. Wagner's manuscripts, 184.
War of 1812, second war with Great Britain, by J. A. Stevens, 419; proclamation, 435; Com. Rodgers first to sail against the enemy, 436; forgotten battle of the "Big Sandy," 524; apathy of Massachusetts, 533.
Warren, Gen., statue, 289.
Washington, Gen., letter to Gov. Morris, 58; description of his own person and height, 1763, 66; did he smoke, 69; note to Mrs. Jay, 82; title, or mode of address, 102; receptions, 103; one of his sweethearts, 177; do we know George Washington, 222; McMaster's sneer, 222; H. C. Lodge on, 222-32; passions, 228; facsimile letter, 233; letter in reply to N. Y. residents, 232; first portrait by Peale, 275, 298; annoyances, 409; first public employment, 513; headquarters near Tappan, 539; mentioned, 184, 294.
Washington, Mary, story of, by Marion Harland (Mrs. Terhune), noticed, 76.
Waterston, R. C., bequeathes to Massachusetts Historical Society $40,000, 533.
Watertown Historical Society, January meeting, address by O. W. Dimick on Marco Polo, Miss E. M. Crafts read Barlow's vision of Columbus, Columbus discussed, 289.
Wayne's treaty with Indians, 406.
Webster, Daniel, incident in life of, by W. I. Crandall, 252; orator at Rochester fair, 253.
Weeks, Stephen B., Columbus and the spirit of his age, 72; subscriptions to new Confederate monument, 72; on extent and character of Confederate press, 72; John Archdale and some of his descendants, 157.
Wellington, 184.
Western Pennsylvania Historical Society, March meeting, recitations, songs, and reading papers, etc., 536.
West Virginia Historical and Antiquarian Society, 293.
Whitestown, N. Y., first Presbyterian church, 535.
Whittaker, Rev. E. W., on Mrs. M. J. Lamb, 535.
Whittier, J. G., 189; birthplace, by J. G. Tyler, 50.
Whittingham, Bp. Wm. R., 69.
Willing, J. C., on Behring sea arbitration, 183.
Wilson, J. G., society in the early days of the Republic, 81; on Bayard Taylor, 136; memorial history of N. Y., noticed, 190.
Wilson, Walter S., an autograph manuscript of Americus Vespucius, 169.
Winchester, Mrs., widow of famous inventor of the rifle, 297.
Winchester, Rev. E., oration on Columbus, noteworthy for a prophecy since fulfilled, 1792, 13.
Winthrop, Gov. John, an injustice to, 275.
Winthrop, R. C., on the death of John Quincy Adams, 394.
Wisconsin Historical Society, January (40th annual) meeting, reports, bibliography of authors of Wisconsin, 293.
Wisconsin, a bill introduced to appropriate $200,000 for a building for the libraries of Historical Society, University, etc., 408; early trade of, 538.
Witchcraft, monument in Salem, 411.
Women of New York, work and patriotism in civil war, 205.
World's fair, papers sent by the Pope to, 389.
Wyoming Historical Society dedicated its building, 292; February meeting, election of officers, reports, to arrange for a public opening of rooms in April, 408.
Wyoming, story of, 398.
Wrangell, Baron F. P. von, Russian explorer, sketch of, 390.

YONKERS Historical and Library Association, March meeting, a paper was read on the battle of Phillipse's Bridge, 404.

Vol. XXIX. MAY-JUNE, 1893. No. 5.

Public Library

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

A MONTHLY ILLUSTRATED JOURNAL

FOUR DOLLARS PER ANNUM

THIRTY FIVE CENTS PER COPY

Magazine of American History Company
120 Broadway
New York

JOSEPH GILLOTT'S STEEL PENS
THE MOST PERFECT OF PENS.

PUBLISHERS' ANNOUNCEMENT.

THE new management of the MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY brings to its conduct new facilities and far-reaching plans, which will maintain the publication at the high standard established by its early editors and so ably maintained under the management of Mrs. Martha J. Lamb. Additional features are contemplated and will be added from time to time, extending the usefulness of the magazine in fields long awaiting the enterprising research of historians.

Among other features there will be one which will mark a departure from the course usually pursued by Eastern historical publications, which have mainly confined themselves to the New England and Eastern states. A series of articles is in preparation relating to the early settlement and development of other sections, it being the purpose of the present management to interest the residents of every part of the country, by gathering the rich harvest of historical material relating to localities of which the beginnings are little known, but of deep interest and significant value.

A series of papers on the leading Revolutionary leaders, never before published, based on unedited manuscript documents and letters, will be made a special feature. One of them treats of the private affairs of General Washington, the management of his distillery, etc.

The systematic publication of early town records, replete with valuable genealogical data, and side-lights on important historical events, will be a feature highly appreciated by all who are interested in research in these lines, and whose labors will be lightened by the printing of them.

Old documents, hitherto unpublished and inaccessible; ancient landmarks, rapidly passing away, or possible to preserve by directing public attention to their value and their sanctity as relics; antiquities of every kind with an historical interest or value; will be set forth and described as a regular feature of the magazine.

A new department will be made of a feature which, appearing heretofore occasionally, will hereafter appear regularly—genealogical records of prominent American families. Probably there never was a time when the interest in this subject was so deep as at present, when there is hardly a family in the land but is busily investigating the identity and history of its ancestors, to qualify for membership in one or another of the admirable societies now in existence, based on heredity. To all such the value of the records to be presented will be very great.

The usual "Notes and Queries" department will be continued, and all inquirers for historical facts and for personal information may utilize through it the facilities at our disposal for reference to published and unpublished data.

The editor-in-chief, under the new management, is Mr. Nathan G. Pond, of Connecticut.

The Index for the last volume, January–June, 1893, will be issued with the July number.

In consequence of change in management, the "Historical Prize Competition" will be modified, and the new terms will be announced in the August number.

Magazine of American History Company,

120 Broadway, New York.

12 Samples for trial, different numbers, on receipt of 6 cents in stamps.
THE SPENCERIAN PEN CO., 810 Broadway, New York.
SPENCERIAN STEEL PENS ARE THE BEST
For EXPERT WRITERS, ACCOUNTANTS, and CORRESPONDENTS.

Esterbrook's Easy Writer
No. 130.
ESTERBROOK & Co. EASY WRITER

The Mutual Life Insurance Co. of New York,

RICHARD A. McCURDY, PRESIDENT.

Statement for the year ending December 31st, 1891.

Assets,		**$159,507,138 68**
Reserve on Policies (American Table 4%)		$146,968,322 00
Liabilities other than Reserve,		507,849 52
Surplus,		12,030,967 16
Receipts from all sources,		37,634,734 53
Payments to Policy-Holders,		18,755,711 86
Risks assumed and renewed,	194,470 policies,	607,171,801 00
Risks in force,	225,507 policies, amounting to	695,753,461 03

NOTE.—The above statement shows a large increase over the business of 1890 in amount at risk, new business assumed, payments to policy-holders, receipts, assets and surplus; and includes as risks assumed only the number and amount of policies actually issued and paid for in the accounts of the year.

THE ASSETS ARE INVESTED AS FOLLOWS:

Real Estate and Bond & Mortgage Loans,	$81,345,540 48
United States Bonds and othe. Securities,	57,661,455 78
Loans on Collateral Securities,	10,223,903 90
Cash in Banks and Trust Companies at interest,	5,070,153 03
Interest accrued, Premiums deferred, etc.,	5,206,085 49
	$159,507,138 68

I have carefully examined the foregoing statement and find the same to be correct.

A. N. WATERHOUSE, *Auditor.*

From the Surplus a dividend will be apportioned as usual.

REPORT OF THE EXAMINING COMMITTEE.

OFFICE OF THE MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY OF NEW YORK.

January 25, 1892.

At a meeting of the Board of Trustees of this Company, held on the 23d day of December, ultimo, the undersigned were appointed a Committee to examine the annual statement for the year ending December 31, 1891, and to verify the same by comparison with the assets of the Company.

The Committee have carefully performed the duty assigned to them, and hereby certify that the statement is in all particulars correct, and that the assets specified therein are in possession of the Company.

In making this certificate the Committee bear testimony to the high character of the investments of the Company and express their approbation of the system, order, and accuracy with which the accounts and vouchers have been kept, and the business in general is transacted.

H. C. VON POST, GEORGE BLISS, JULIEN T. DAVIES, ROBERT SEWELL, J. H. HERRICK, D. C. ROBINSON, JAS. C. HOLDEN.

BOARD OF TRUSTEES.

SAMUEL E. SPROULLS.
SAMUEL D. BABCOCK.
GEORGE S. COE.
RICHARD A. MCCURDY.
JAMES C. HOLDEN.
HERMANN C. VON POST.
ALEXANDER H. RICE.
LEWIS MAY.
OLIVER HARRIMAN.
HENRY W. SMITH.
ROBERT OLYPHANT.
GEORGE F. BAKER.
DUDLEY OLCOTT.
FREDERIC CROMWELL.
JULIEN T. DAVIES.
ROBERT SEWELL.
S. VAN RENSSELAER CRUGER.
CHARLES R. HENDERSON.
GEORGE BLISS.
RUFUS W. PECKHAM.
J. HOBART HERRICK.
WM. P. DIXON.
ROBERT A. GRANNISS.
HENRY H. ROGERS.
JNO. W. AUCHINCLOSS.
THEODORE MORFORD.
WILLIAM BABCOCK.
STUYVESANT FISH.
AUGUSTUS D. JUILLIARD.
CHARLES E. MILLER.
JAMES W. HUSTED.
WALTER R. GILLETTE.
JAMES E. GRANNISS.
DAVID C. ROBINSON.

ROBERT A. GRANNISS, VICE-PRESIDENT.

WALTER R. GILLETTE, General Manager. FREDERIC CROMWELL, Treasurer.
EMORY McCLINTOCK, Actuary.

VOSE & SONS PIANOS. (Established in 1851.) ELEGANT DESIGNS, SUPERIOR WORKMANSHIP, GREAT DURABILITY, EASY TERMS. Instruments taken in exchange. Write for Catalogue and full information. 170 Tremont St., BOSTON, MASS.

Waterman's Ideal Fountain Pen is the Cheapest because it is the Best.
I still find it to be the best I ever used. —Chauncey M. Depew.
Send for a Circular and Price List. L. E. Waterman Co., 155 Broadway, N. Y.

THE FERRIS DELICIOUS HAMS & BACON

Royal Baking Powder
Absolutely Pure

A cream of tartar baking powder. Highest of all in leavening strength. —*Latest United States Government Food Report.*

Royal Baking Powder Co.,
106 Wall Street, N. Y.

To Be Safe

To be safe confine yourself to the use of such flavors as your experience and judgement tell you are of the purest quality.

DR. PRICE'S DELICIOUS Flavoring Extracts
Vanilla
Lemon
Orange
Rose, etc.

are just as they are represented to be. If not the cheapest they are the best, and no puddings, cakes, creams, or other table delicacies, are spoiled by their use.

Price Flavoring Extract Co.
Dr. V. C. PRICE, Pres't.
New York. Chicago.

The Noblest Breakfast Food on Earth!

The Most Nourishing.
The Most Palatable.
The Easiest Digested.
The Quickest Cooked.

No one can legally use the term HEALTH FOOD unless authorized by us. Unscrupulous imitators should be avoided.

HEALTH FOOD CO.'S WHEATENA.

25 Cents
ALL GROCERS SELL IT

FREE Pamphlets FREELY mailed to all applicants.

Health Food Co.'s Offices Everywhere.

HEAD OFFICE:
61 Fifth Avenue, New York.
NEW ENGLAND OFFICE:
199 Tremont St., Boston.
PHILADELPHIA OFFICE:
632 Arch St., Philadelphia.
WESTERN OFFICE:
1601 Wabash Avenue, Chicago.

A man

without a conscience is hardly worse off than without a watch—No excuse for lacking either.

A handsome 14-karat gold, filled, or coin-silver watch; jeweled movement; a perfect time-keeper; stem-set and stem-winding (in about five seconds); may be bought for ten dollars—even less. It is far superior to any Swiss watch at the price. The new, perfected, **quick-winding** "Waterbury."

Your jeweler sells it in a great variety of designs; ladies' hunting-case, dainty chatelaine with decorated dial, business-man's watch, and boy's watch, $4 to $15.

43